THE INDIAN

ANNUAL REGISTER

July—December 1945

VOL. II

Printed by D. N Singha at the
Singha Printing Works
30, Badur Bagan Street
and
published by N. N. Mitra,
16/1, Komedan Bagan Lane, Calcutta. (India)

Issued from 1919] THE INDIAN [28th. Year of Issue

ANNUAL REGISTER

An Annual Digest of Public Affairs of India

Recording the Nation's Activities each year in matters Political, Economic, Industrial, Educational, Social Etc.

BEING ISSUED IN 2 SIX-MONTHLY VOLUMES

Volume II] July–Dec. 1945 [Volume II

Editor :—Nripendra Nath Mitra

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION PAYABLE IN ADVANCE Rs. 15 ONLY
VOLUMES: CLOTH BOUND Rs 8/8 EACH POSTAGE EXTRA
FOREIGN SUBSCRIPTION PAYABLE IN ADVANCE Rs. 16 ONLY.

PUBLISHED BY

THE ANNUAL REGISTER OFFICE
16-1, KOMEDAN BAGAN LANE. P. O. PARK ST CALCUTTA. (INDIA)

CALENDAR FOR 1945

January

S.	...	7	14	21	28	
M.	1	8	15	22	29	
T.	2	9	16	23	30	
W.	3	10	17	24	31	
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S.	6	13	20	27	...	

February

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March

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July

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August

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F.	3	10	17	24	31	...
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September

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F	.	7	14	21	28	..
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October

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Th	4	11	18	25	...	...
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November

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Th	1	8	15	22	29	...
F	2	9	16	23	30	...
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December

S	...	2	9	16	23	30
M	..	3	10	17	24	31
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W.	...	5	12	19	26	...
Th		6	13	20	27	...
F.	. .	7	14	21	28	...
S.	1	8	15	22	29	...

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Chronicle of Events

July 1945

His Excellency Lord Wavell made the official announcement of the failure of the Leaders' Conference, when it resumed its last sitting at Simla.

The Congress Working Committee met at Manorville, Mahatma Gandhi's residence at Simla Mahatmaji was present. Maulana Azad explained to the Working Committee the developments relating to the Simla Conference and the position where it stood.

H. E. Mr R G Casey, in a broadcast from Calcutta, said "I believe Bengal as a whole is in a much better position now than it was 12 months ago"

Dr. Shyama Prosad Mukherjee, speaking on the "Wavell Plan" in Madras, explained the attitude of the Hindu Mahasabha towards the proposals and said that the country should reject the plan, as it would lead to the destruction of the rights of the Hindu majority and the continuance of foreign rule in the country.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League met at Simla. Mr Jinnah presided

The Congress Working Committee recommended 15 names for the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Mr. Jinnah communicated to the Viceroy the Muslim League Working Committee's unanimous decision, declining to submit a panel of names for the new Executive Council, on the ground that the assurance asked for by the League was not given.

The Special Committee of the Princes considered the result of the interview which the Chairman (the Nawab of Bhopal) had with His Excellency the Crown Representative

His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, said in Bombay that the Princes would wish God-speed to an interim national Government for British India.

Sir Stafford Cripps expressed his distress in London at the failure of the Simla negotiations.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President gave a detailed review of the Congress stand re. "Wavell plan" at Simla.

Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, said at Simla that he was not surprised at the failure of the Simla Conference considering the attitude of some of the delegates

The Hydari Mision arranged for the imports of such consumer goods from Britain and the U. S. A as were not manufactured in India.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar praised the Hindu Sanghatanists for raising a virulent pan-Hindu protest throughout India against the Wavell scheme.

Sir William Stampe, Irrigation Adviser to the Government of India, left London to search Britain for machinery to speed India's "Grow More Food" campaign.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was arrested by the Punjab police at Peshawar.

Mr. L S. Amery, following his defeat in the Sparbork Division of Birmingham, at a meeting of the East Indian Association in London, said : "The British community was wholeheartedly in sympathy with India's aspirations."

The General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress at a meeting in Calcutta, adopted a resolution demanding the immediate release of political prisoners.

1st A resolution condemning the Wavell Plan as anti-Hindu, anti democratic and anti-national" was adopted at a meeting in Calcutta in observance of the Mahasabha Protest week against the Viceroy's proposals.—It stated that the plan proposed to place the Hindu community at the mercy of Anglo-Muslim dominations "

Pandit Govind Ballav Pant, a member of the Congress Working Committee, who had talks with Mr. M. A. Jinnah in a interview at Simla, clarified certain issues regarding the composition of the Executive Council and dealt with the fears expressed in Muslim League quarters that under the Wavell Plan the Muslims would be in a minority and thus would not get a fair deal.

2nd. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru saw Lord Wavell at the Viceregal Lodge at the latter's invitation The meeting lasted over an hour and half.

The Working Committee of the Shiromani Akali Dal which met at Simla, appointed a committee of 5 members to help and advise Master Tara Singh, the Sikh leader attending the Simla conference, with regard to the day-to-day developments arising out of the conference.

Master Tara Singh explained to the members the stand taken up by him during the earlier sittings of the Simla conference.

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, General Secretary All-India Muslim League, in an interview at Simla said that the demand of the Congress for a share in the Muslim quota of seats in the Executive Council was "most unreasonable and has no justification whatsoever,"

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery told Sparbrook electors at Birmingham, that India was now very near the point when she would able to govern herself.

Acharya Narendra Deo, speaking in Bombay, said that India, while striving for her own freedom, should not forget its neighbours but should follow a "good neighbour policy", entering into non official non-aggression pacts and pacts of friendship

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, in an interview in New Delhi, said 'I can only say that all circumstances, internal and international, including the Congress struggle, the impossibility of carrying on the Government with the support of the people and the Congress, have compelled the British Government to transfer power to India. Sooner or later, they had to adopt this course. This they should have done earlier."

His Majesty the King was pleased to extend the term of office of H. E. Sir Arthur Hope, Governor of Madras, for another six months from 12th September.

3rd. The Congress Working Committee met at Manorville, Mahatma Gandhi's residence at Simla Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided. Mahatma Gandhi was present. Maulana Azad explained to the Working Committee the developments relating to the Simla Conference and the position where it stood

4th. H. E. Mr R. G. Casey, in a broadcast from Calcutta said . "I believe that Bengal as a whole is in a much better position now than it was 12 months ago, although there is very great deal still to be done before we can begin to be satisfied."

The House of Representatives' Immigration and Naturalization Committee (at Washington) reported favourably on the Indian Immigration Bill.

Mr. Haridas Majumdar M L C , presiding over a meeting in Calcutta, held under the auspices of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha said that the Wavell Plan fitted in only with the scheme of perpetuating British domination of Indian economic interests

Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani, President of the Jamiat-ul-ulema-i-Hind and Nationalist Muslim Conference, in a press statement at Simla reiterated on behalf of the Nationalist Muslims of India, their complete confidence in the leadership of Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, the Congress President and their preparedness to co-operate with all progressive forces in the country for the

realization of their common objective—complete independence with right to secede from the British Commonwealth.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, M.L.A. (central) and President of Mohammadan Association of Calcutta, repudiating the representative character of the All-India Muslim League, in a telegram to Lord Wavell appealed for due representations of Muslims outside the League on the proposed Executive Council (at Simla), at the centre.

5th. At the conclusion of the Congress Working Committee, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, President said, that all the Congress ex-Premiers and the Congress delegates to the Leaders' Conference were with the committee for two hours for consultation. They gave their opinion on the proposal the Working Committee had framed.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, speaking on the "Wavell Plan" at a public meeting in Madras, explained the attitude of the Hindu Mahasabha towards the proposal and said that the country must reject the plan as it would lead to the destructions of the rights of the Hindu majority and the continuance of the foreign rule in the country. He appealed to the Hindu community to consolidate itself and present a united front

6th. The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League met at Simla. Mr. M. A. Jinnah presided

The Congress Working Committee recommended 15 names, excluding the Commander-in-chief and the Viceroy, for the Executive Council —This was announced by the Congress President, Maulana Azad, at a Press Conference at Simla.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee at a Press conference in Madras observed · "The Executive Council envisaged in Lord Wavell's Plan, will be the last competent body to deal with the vast and vital problems, economic and political, leading to India's prosperity.

7th. The Congress Working Committee and the Congress invitees to the Leaders' Conference met at Simla to give a final approval to the list of names to be submitted to the Viceroy

The Congress President Maulana Abul Kalam Azad despatched his letter enclosing the panel of 15 names of the proposed Executive Council to the Viceroy, through his private secretary, Mr. Mohd. Ajmal Khan.—There were 15 names of whom 5 were caste Hindus, 5 Muslims, 2 Scheduled classes, 1 Indian Christian, 1 Parsi and 1 Sikh.

8th Mr M. A Jinnah had a 90-minute interview with Lord Wavell at Viceregal Lodge, Simla.

Speeches supporting the stand taken by Mr Jinnah regarding the Wavell Plan were made at a meeting in Calcutta Maulana Akram Khan presided.

Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram, presiding over a conference of Congress men in Bombay, examined the claim of the Muslim League to represent the Muslims of India.

The Mysore Legislative Council, which concluded its session at Bangalore, devoted a part of the day's proceedings to a debate on the food situation in the State. Mr. H. B. Gundappa Gowda presided.

9th. Mr. Jinnah communicated to the Viceroy the Muslim League Working Committee's unanimous decision, declining to submit a panel of names for the new Executive on the ground that the assurance asked for by the League was not given.

The Congress Working Committee sat for 4 hours at Simla, at the end of which the Congress President told the Press that the committee further considered the internal reorganization of the Congress in the light of what had happened during the last three years and in the light of what was likely to happen in the event of the Wavell Plan being successfully implemented.

10th. The Special Committee of the Princes at their meeting held in Bombay, under the presidency of the Nawab of Bhopal, considered the result of the interview which the chairman had with His Excellency the Crown Representative and found the talks quite satisfactory.

Mr. Manoranjan Choudhuri, Secretary of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement to the Press from Simla, said "The refusal of Mr. Jinnah to nominate a panel of Muslim League nominees has brought about a deadlock. Though gross injustice has been done by the British Government in regard to the Wavell Plan to the Hindu Mahasabha organization with the intention of placating Mr.

Jinnah and the Muslim League, yet in view of Mr. Jinnah's intransigence and consequent embarrassment to Lord Wavell and the Congress Party, I am ready to advise the President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha to offer his hand of co-operation to the President of the Indian National Congress in order to constitute the Viceroy's new Executive Council with the representatives of the Indian National Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha".

11th. His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes advising the constitutional Advisory Committee of the Chamber of Princes, in Bombay, said that the Princes would wish God-speed to an interim national government for British India and would co-operate with it most cordially on matters of all-India concern.

Referring to the Wavell Plan, the Nawab said that it was proof of the Viceroy's goodwill and sincerity towards India and her aspirations. The States were not directly concerned at this stage, in the formation of the Viceroy's Executive Council, but they shared the general desire in the country that an agreed settlement should be reached.

Mahatma Gandhi's interview with the Viceroy lasted nearly an hour.

Mr. G. D. Birla, member of the unofficial Indian Mission of industrialists visiting America, said at Washington: "Purchases made by Indian industrialists in the United States will be expensive but will be worth while owing to superior American technical methods."

12th. Members of the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes, who resigned in December 1944, received intimation from the Chancellor the Nawab of Bhopal advising them to withdraw their resignations, in view of the assurance received by him when he met the Crown Representative in June 1945.

The Mysore Government appointed a committee with Justice S. Venkataranga-iyengar (Chairman) and nine others to suggest suitable amendments to various provisions of the Hindu Law Women's Rights Act of 1933.

13th. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, ex-Premier of Bengal, in a statement strongly urged the formation of popular government in the provinces which were under Sec. 93 administration.

Sir Hugh Dow, Governor of Sind, addressing the annual general meeting of the Sind Scout's Association, said that communalism was delaying India's progress in every direction.

14th. The official announcement of the failure of the Leaders' Conference was made by Lord Wavell when the conference resumed its sitting at Simla for the last time —Party Leaders then made their own observations.

H E. the Governor of Sind declined to assent to the Muslim Education Cess Bill proposing to levy a Cess on Muslims only to encourage Muslim education in Sind.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had an interview with the Viceroy.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr L S. Amery cabled to Lord Wavell from London: "On the conclusion of the conference with Indian Parties, announced in your statement to-day, I desire on behalf of H M. G. to place on record their appreciation of the patience and skill with which you have conducted these negotiations, and which make the failure of the conference all the more disappointing."

Mr. M A. Jinnah at a Press conference at Simla, said: "On a final examination and analysis of the Wavell Plan we found that it was a snare. "There was the contribution consisting of Gandhi Hindu Congress, who stand for India's Hindu national independence as one India; the latest exponent of geographical unity, Lord Wavell; and the Glancy-Khizr combination who are bent upon creating disruption among Muslims in the Punjab; and we were sought to be pushed into this arrangement, which, if we had agreed to, as proposed by Lord Wavell, would have signed our death warrant"

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, speaking to Press Correspondents, gave his reactions to the situation arising from the failure of the Simla Conference.

15th. Sir Stafford Cripps, in a statement in London, said that he was very distressed to hear of the breakdown in the Simla negotiations and had great sympathy with all those, especially Lord Wavell, who had tried so hard to bring them to a successful conclusion —Sir Stafford said: "The obvious cause of the breakdown is not so much the constitution of an interim government as

the influence any temporary arrangement is likely to have upon more permanent decisions which will have to be made for full and free self-government of India."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, at a Press Conference at Simla, gave a detailed review of the Congress stand vis-a-vis the Wavell Plan.

Master Tara Singh, the Akali Leader, addressing pressmen at Simla, said: "I was not surprised at the failure of the conference in view of the attitude which some of the delegates adopted from the very start of the conference."

The Congress Working Committee passed a resolution at Simla on the San Francisco Charter.

The failure of the Simla Conference was closely followed by a demand by the All-India Muslim League Working Committee for fresh general elections both at the Centre and in the Provinces.

16th A number of political meetings were held at Cuttack, chief among them being that of the Orissa Assembly Congress Party, which met after the lapse of about three years

Mr. Mahomedbhoy I. B. M. Rowjee, Leader of the Khoja Sect in Bombay, in a statement regretting the failure of the Simla talks, said: "It is high time that Mr. Jinnah is brought to his senses by the sober judgment of the more reasonable members of his League."

17th Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made outspoken observations at Lahore, on the events in 1942, the Simla Conference, the Punjab government and the Punjab Congress leaders and the people.

Dr Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, in a statement on the failure of the Simla Conference, said: "Of all the political organizations, it fell upon the Hindu Mahasabha alone to point out unreservedly the obnoxious features of the Wavell Plan. It has carried out an intensive campaign throughout India during the last one month demanding its withdrawal. It stands completely vindicated today and our workers throughout the country feel inspired by the support extended to the Mahasabha cause."

The Orissa Congress Assembly Party passed a resolution on the Doduma Hydro-electric Scheme placing on record its claims that the Machkund river and Doduma waterfall were within Orissa and expressing the feeling that the Orissa Government should take the public into confidence before arriving at any agreement with the Madras Government on the matter.

18th Dr. Khan Sahib, Premier, N. W. F. P. returned to Peshawar and said. "The entire responsibility of the failure of the Simla Conference lay on the obstinate attitude of Mr Jinnah. I do not believe in such conferences as the conferences cannot get you independence. Countries get independence by revolutions only The Simla Conference has made people politically more conscious"

The Congress Working Committee authorised Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi Leader of the Congress Party in the Assam Legislative Assembly and ex-Premier of Assam to form a Congress Ministry in Assam

19th Mr C Rajagopalachari addressing a meeting in New Delhi, denied that Lord Wavell or His Majesty's Government had rejected Mr. Jinnah's claim. On the other hand they had acquiesced in that claim

20th. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, in an interview in Calcutta, said. "If the Viceroy's Executive Council was reconstructed with Congress cooperation in the spirit of the Wavell Plan it would present a picture entirely different from the present Executive Council."

It was officially announced at New Delhi that Lord Wavell had called a meeting of Provincial Governors at New Delhi on August 1 and 2

The Hydari Mission arranged for the imports of such consumer goods from Britain and the U S A as were not manufactured in India or were insufficiently manufactured. The imports would not flood the market but would meet the deficiency of consumer goods in Indian markets.

21st. The Hon. Dr. Hridayanath Kunzru in an interview at Allahabad, made suggestions that either the British Government should authorize the Viceroy to reconstitute his Executive Council and choose the new members himself, placing the Home, Finance, External Affairs and War Transport Departments under the control of Indian members, or in the interest of both of the immediate and future progress of the country, the British Government should announce that the Declaration of 1940 would be reasonably interpreted and that it would not be allowed to hold up our advance towards national freedom.

Mr. M. R. Masani, inaugurating the Ahmedabad branch of the Indian Council of World Affairs, declared: 'If the destruction of Fascism was what the war was fought for, then it has been fought in vain."

22nd. Mr A K. Fazlul Huq issued a reply to a statement made at Lucknow by Khawaja Sir Nazimuddin on the Bengal famine.

23rd. The Committee considering reorganization of the Indian Army after the war under the presidency of Lieut. Gen. Sir Henry Wilcox, examined, on general lines, the question of the futue status of the Viceroy's commisioned officers.

About fifty prominent Congress workers of Bengal met Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, at his residence in Calcutta, and discussed with him the political situation in the country as a whole with special reference to the problems facing Bengal

24th. Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy, Leader of the Congress Party in the Bengal Assembly, placed various problems engaging attention in Bengal before H. E. Mr. R. G. Casey, when he met the Governor.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, in the course of a statement, praised the Hindu Sanghatanists for raising "a virulent pan-Hindu protest throughout India against the Wavell Scheme."

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, addressing a public meeting at Dacca, warned the Hindus against any commitment by the Congress regarding communal parity and the principle of Pakistan.

Sir William Stampe, Irrigation Adviser to the Government of India, left for London to search Britain for machinery to speed India's "Grow More Food" campaign.

Sir B, L. Mitter, the Dewan-President, addressing the Baroda State Legislature referred to the Simla conference, and said that whoever might be responsible for the failure of the conference, there was no doubt that the cause of India's freedom had received a setback by the failure.

25th. The Central Parliamentary Board of the All-India Muslim League which met at Simla decided not to permit Muslim League parties in the provincial Legislatures to form ministries unless they had decisive majority in the Legislatures.

Mr. C Rajagopalachari, reviewing the situation emerging out of the Simla Talks in a speech in Madras, said that he was not without hopes that within the next few weeks, soon after a new government took charge, a solution might be found for the deadlock in India

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was arrested by the Punjab Police at Peshawar for alleged violation of the prohibitory order served on him by the District Magistrate of Attock

Mr. C. A. V, Savidge, Revenue Member, Hyderabad (Dn.) giving an account of the food situation in the Nizam's State, at a press conference, said that the Government aimed at building up a buffer stock of 1,00,000 tons of grains.

When the Sri-Mulam Assembly (Trivandrum) resumed its session, under the presidency of the Dewan-President, Sir C P. Ramaswami Aiyar, tributes to the wisdom of the Government of Travancore, especially the head of the Government, in evolving the budget, were paid by members in the course of the general discussion on the budget.

26th Mr. B. G. Horniman, Editor of the *Bombay Sentinel*, expressed his determination not to lay down the pen until the freedom of India was achieved, replying to the warm tributes paid by a number of speakers at a reception given to him to celebrate his golden jubilee in Bombay.

27th Mr. L S. Amery, following his defeat in the Sparbrook Division of Birmingham, attended a meeting of the East India Association in London and said · "The British community is wholeheartedly in sympathy with India's aspirations. It was that spirit which would ensure continued life to the British community in India and continued service which it could render to India in the fullest attainment of her ambitions and he believed that there would still be a valuable place for the British community in the political and certainly in the economic life of India."

28th. The General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress which met in Calcutta, adopted a resolution demanding the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners and detenus, the withdrawal of unexecuted warrants, the

legalizing of the Congress and other political organizations in the country whenever they had been declared illegal, and the restorations of civil liberties.

29th. Khawaja Sir Nazimuddin, presiding over a public meeting in Calcutta, made a strong plea for the early holding of General Elections for the Provincial and Central Legislatures

Maulana Abu Samad Rahamani, President of the Jamiat ul-ulema, Bihar, in a statement to the Press from Patna, observed: "The Muslim League's claim to exclusive representation of the interests of the Muslims does not hereby affect the question of a few seats in the legislatures It is fraught with danger to Islam's established principles. To accept such claim is to lay dynamite at the very foundation of our Islamic structure"

Dr. Khan Sahib, Premier of the North West Frontier Province expressed resentment at Abbotabad, over the treatment by the Punjab Government of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, in a Press interview at Abbotabad, held the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police, Attock responsible for his arrest.

30th. Dr. Shyama Prosad Mukherjee, addressing a Press Conference at Patna, asserted that the "claim for India's independence must be recognized forthwith and effective steps be taken for giving effect to it with the least possible delay"

At the concluding session of the All-Parties Sikh Conference at Ludhiana, a resolution demanding the unconditional release of all political prisoners in the country so as to bring the formation of a National Government nearer, was adopted.

31st. In the Sri-Mulam Assembly, the Dewan-President, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar announced that the Government had decided to constitute a committee to deal with the question of privileges of the legislature with the Deputy President as chairman

Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani, President of the Jamiat-ul-ulema, was nominated by the Congress President to be a member of the Congress Working Committee in place of Dr. Syed Mahmud, whose resignation from the Committee was accepted.

August 1945

With the surrender of Japan, the Second Great War came to an end.

The Japanese News Agency announced the death of Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose due to an aircrash

Bombay observed the 25th August as "Subhas Day" as a mark of respect to the memory of the late Sj Subhas Chandra Bose.

Mr M. A. Jinnah said in Bombay that India should strive for a final constitutional settlement.

Lord F W. Pethick Lawrence, Secretary of State for India declared equal partnership between the British and India as the ideal which he had set before himself.

The Bengal Government lifted the ban on the Congress organizations and was followed by other Provinces such as Bombay and Bihar.

Sir J P. Srivastava, Food Member, Government of India, said "There cannot be another famine in Bengal We shall not let it happen"

The British Government invited Lord Wavell to London

A Press Communique stated that the Government of India were considering the treatment to be accorded to those who joined the enemy forces.

Sir Firoz Khan Noon, Defence Member, resigned from the Viceroy's Executive Council

The Governor of Bihar ordered the dissolution of the Bihar Legislative Assembly.

The Government of India decided to disband the Defence of India units.

The French Government granted universal adult suffrage to all women in French India

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, in a speech in New Delhi, took upon himself the responsibility for the happenings of 1942

1st The Government of Bengal issued orders restricting the movements of 14 persons under the Restriction and Detention Ordinance 1944, with a view to preventing them from "acting in any manner prejudicial to the defence of British India, the public safety, the maintenance of public order and the efficient prosecution of the war".

2nd. Mr. I. B. Sen, President, Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, in a statement warned the Bengal Government against too much complacency with regard to the province's food situation.

The declaration that Bengal was a surplus province with regard to her stock of rice was deplored in a resolution which was adopted by the British Indian Association, Calcutta

Acharya J. B. Kripalani General Secretary of the Congress, in a speech in Bombay said that the Muslim League had escaped all blame for the breakdown of the Simla talks because it was the pet child of British Imperialism

The Tilak Week commenced at Karachi, with *Prabhat Pheris* and flag hoisting ceremony in front of the Tilak Statue.

3rd A Press Communique stated that the Bengal Government accepted the recommendations made by Sir Akbar Hydari, Mr. Krishnaraj Thackersay, Mr M K. Vellodi and Mr. Kasturibhai Lalbhai for the formation of an association under Government control to arrange for the procurement and distribution of cloth in Bengal.

The Executive Committee of the India League issued a statement in London after a meeting held under the chairmanship of Aldeman William Dob'r, M P.: "The India League rejoices in the great Labour victory which has placed real and abundant power in the hands of the Government in Britain pledged to independence and self determination for India and for ending the political deadlock, releasing political prisoners and establishing full civil liberty in India "

Sheikh Mohamad Abdullah, presiding over the annual session of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference at Srinagar made a fervent appeal to the Congress and the Muslim League and their leaders to find a way for coming to an agreement and to compose their differences.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel made an appeal to the mill agents and merchants to stop black market in Guzrat at a reception at Ahmedabad.

4th Sir Stafford Cripps, in an interview in London, said that the British Government would not allow the goodwill created by the Wavell Plan to be dissipated "through inaction"

Allama Mashriqi, the Khaksar Leader, instructed all provincial leaders of the Khaksar organization to make preparations to contest the general elections.

The Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League concluded a three day session after passing resolutions on the Simla Conference and the political situation in India.

5th Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in a Press interview in Bombay, suggested a new plan for a speedy and satisfactory constitution being framed for an Indian Union by a homogeneous Constituent Assembly.

A demand for full Reponsible Government in Kashmir was made through a resolution adopted at the 2nd day's session of the Kashmir National Conference.

6th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, addressing a meeting in Bombay expressed the view that India should strive for a final constitutional settlement rather than grope for an interim agreement

The sixth annual session of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference passed a resolution regarding the right of self-determination for nationalities.

7th The Punjab Government categorically denied the arrest of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan on July 25, 1945, in a statement on the controversy banning his entry into the Attock District.

Lord F. W. Pethick Lawrence, Secretary of State for India declared equal partnership between the British and India and Burma, as the ideal which he set before himself as the goal to be reached, at a Press Conference in London.

Acharya J. B. Kripalani, General Secretary of the Congress addressing the

students in Bombay, said "Non-violence is our weapon for winning the freedom of our motherland and not for the perpetuation of British Empire in this country."

9th. In a statement to the Press, Mr M. A Jinnah appealed to the Viceroy and the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, to release the correspondence that passed between them at Simla.

Marshal Gen Smuts, speaking at a reception at Pretoria, to H. H. the Aga Khan, announced his intention of calling a conference of Indian leaders in South Africa to overcome what he described as "small difficulties."

10th Japan offered surrender.

Mahatma Gandhi declined to comment on Mr. Jinnah's speech at Bombay, in which he referred to the Simla Conference with particular reference to Mahatma Gandhi's role in it.

The budget session of the Sri Chitra State Council met at Trivandrum under the presidency of the Dewan President, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar

11th. Rabindranath Tagore anniversary was celebrated in London. In the absence of Sir Stafford Cripps his speech was read by Lady Cripps. Sir Stafford described the late poet as "the greatest Indian of our time and one of the outstanding figures of all time"

Dr. G S. Arundale, President of the Theosophical Society passed away at Adyar, Madras

Mr M. A Jinnah accepted the invitation of Ceylon Muslims to pay a visit to the island

All the Indian industrialists including Mr J. R. D. Tata, Sir Sultan Chinoy, Mr A D. Shroff and Mir Laik Ali were back in England after their visit to the U. S A.

12th. The death occurred in Calcutta of Sir Nripendra Nath Sircar, former Law Member, Government of India He had been in failing health since 1942 and died of Cholaemia He was 69

The Industrial Research Planning Committee in its report recommended the setting up of a Central research organization to be called the National Research Council, authorised to initiate immediately a five year plan of development of scientific and industrial research.—Sir R. K Shanmukham Chetti was the Chairman of the Committee.

Mr. M. A Jinnah categorically refuted in Bombay the charges made against him by the Congress.

Mr. M N Roy, in a statement from New Delhi supported the idea of fresh elections to the Central and Provincial legislatures but advocated the adoption of adult franchise for the elections.

13th. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in an interview at Gulmarg, gave an assurance to the public that the correspondence between Lord Wavell and himself relating to the Simla Conference, whenever released for publication, would reveal nothing that would not satisfy every one of the good will of the Congress towards all parties and of its firm determination to accommodate them all for fruitful co-operation.

General discussion on the budget was continued when the Travancore Sri Mulam Council resumed its sittings.

14th The Government of India announced that they would endeavour to give assistance to manufacturers and producers for the production of civil supplies in the same way as for the production of war supplies

Mr. M. A. Jinnah issued a statement from Bombay, re Wavell-Azad correspondence.

15th. The Second World War came to an end with the acceptance of the Allied terms on the part of Japan ✓

H. E. the Viceroy in a broadcast speech from New Delhi observed · "Peace will bring no early solution of our many problems, political, social and economic. We have endured nearly six years of war, and there are many who are strained and weary, But we cannot afford relaxation ; remember that our real tasks are still ahead.'

The following was sent to the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, by the Secretary of State for India, Lord Pethick Lawrence "At this moment, when the Allied cause has achieved its final triumph in the defeat of Japan, it is my privilege to

convey to you the congratulations of His Majesty's Government to the truly magnificent part which India has played."

Mr. G. D. Birla stated in an interview in London that the reference to India in the King's Speech at the State Opening of Parliament "may be considered satisfactory since for the first time a categorial statement has been made from the Throne."

16th. The ban on Congress organisations and certain other specified associations in Bengal was lifted by an order issued under the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act.—The order cancelled a number of notifications by which the associations were declared unlawful in 1942

Sir J. P. Srivastava Food Member, Government of India, in an interview in Bombay, said: "There cannot be another famine in Bengal. We shall not let it happen again"

Dr Shyama Prosad Mookherjee, at a Press conference at Lahore, made a call for unity amost Indians for compelling the British not only to deal fairly with India's immediate post-war problems but also for paving the way for an early attainment of political freedom.

The death sentence of seven Chimur and Asti case prisoners were commuted to transportation for life by the Governor General.

17th. The Sind Muslim League prepared for the General Elections and decided to contest all the 35 Muslim seats in the Sind Assembly.

The Members of the Congress Coalition Party (Assam) after two days discussions deferred their decision to withdraw their support from the all-party cabinet of Sir Mohammed Saadulla.

18th. H. E. the Governor of Bengal appointed the following officers as his Advisers, with effect from Aug. 18, 1945 Mr. H. S E. Stevens, I. C. S, Mr. A Dec. Williams, I. C. S, Mr L. R. Fawcus, I. C S, Mr O. M. Martin, I C S and Mr R. L. Walker, I C. S.

Mr. A K Fazlul Huq, Leader of the Opposition in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, said in Calcutta: "There can be no doubt that we have still got actual famine in Bengal."

19th. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad sent the following message to Generalissimo Chiang-kai-shek "With feelings of profound relief and joy I take this opportunity to offer my sincerest congratulations to the people of China on the victory over Japan For eight years the indomitable spirit of the peoples of China had to struggle against the overwhelming forces of aggression and endure untold agony. The story of freedom at the cost of untold sufferings will constitute a glorious chapter of the world's history and will continue to inspire all those who cherish freedom as their birthright and who still struggle to attain it"

Sir Harold Derbyshire, Chief Justice of Bengal, in a victory message broadcast from Calcutta, said that the world was now faced with the work of clearing away the wreckage and repairing the ravages of war—a gigantic and difficult task He hoped that the victorious peoples, remembering with gratitude the splendid valour and sacrifices of those, who had made their victory possible, would work for the establishment of rule of law between nations and amongst all peoples, which would curb aggression and work justice in the greatest possible measure.

The All-India Committee of Hindu Mahasabha concluded its session in New Delhi, after adopting their political resolution without any amendment. The resolution declared that constituent Assembly based on separate electorates was unacceptable, that the Communal Award should go and that the parity principle in the Wavell formula was pernicious.

20th. The President of the Indian National Congress, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, demanded a final and permanent solution of the question of India's freedom. The Congress President said that such a solution could only mean the establishment of a democratic Government for a free and independent India co-operating in the international domain with the other free Governments of the world.

The British Government invited Lord Wavell to London for consultations.

A Press Communique from New Delhi stated that the Government of India were considering very carefully the treatment to be given to Indians who joined the enemy.

21st. H E. Sir Arthur Hope, Governor of Madras, broadcasting from Madras, said. "The transition from War to Peace is going to be difficult, and there

will be many problems and worries. If we keep that unity which won us the war, then we shall win the peace as well, a peace that I hope will last for ever."

The Government of Madras passed orders directing the re-opening of the Madras Forest College at Coimbatore with effect from Oct. 1, 1945

The Central Provinces Government removed the ban on the All-India Congress Committee, the Provincial and District Congress Committees and the Tehsil Congress Committees.

22nd The Government of Bombay cancelled its order declaring unlawful the All-India Congress Committee.

The Bihar Government lifted its ban on the All-India Congress Working Committee and the Bihar Congress Executive Committee

The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said at Srinagar that he would call a session of the All-India Congress Committee between Sept. 15 and 20 if the ban on the A. I. C. C was lifted The Working Committee would be called at that time or earlier, if necessary.

23rd 120 members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly urged in a cable sent to Lord Pethick Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, immediate withdrawal of Sec 93 rule in Bengal.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in an interview at Allahabad said: "It is clear that the Labour Government does not mean to sit idle but propose to tackle the Indian question seriously The invitation sent by the British Government to Lord Wavell to visit England has not come a minute too soon and I am really glad that Lord Wavell is going."

The Japanese News Agency announced the death of Sj Subhas Chandra Bose in a Japanese hospital as a result of injuries received in an air crash.

24th. A glorious tribute to the Late Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, ex-President of the Indian National Congress, was paid by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru while addressing a public meeting at Abbotabad

Pandit Nehru said at Abbotabad: "Congress needs few men, sincere and practical men. Too many persons who break and cannot withstand the strain of test can never be useful, and leave us like many leaders of the Indian organisation who were originally with the Congress, but left us when they were put to the test."

25th Dr Shyama Prasad Mukherjee said in Bombay "The future constitutional progress of India must not be allowed to depend upon full and complete agreement and assent of all parties in the country and must not be left to the mercy of a perpetual veto by the minorities.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu reminded the women of Hyderabad (Dn) of their responsibilities in shaping the new world which was coming She said that women now had every facility, scope and encouragement and there was no field in which they could not interest themselves or enter

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, in an interview at Hyderabad (Dn) said: "Lord Wavell's sudden summon to London naturally presupposes a desire on the part of the socialist Government of England to make a new offer or a new paraphrase of the old rejected offer to the people of India."

Bombay observed the 25th Aug as "Subhas Day" as a mark of respect to the memory of Late Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose.

26th. A Press Note issued by the Bengal Government said · "The rainfall conditions in the province have given rise to anxiety regarding the prospects of the season's food crops."

Mr. M S. Aney, Representative in Ceylon of the Government of India, opening the Educational Conference at the education week at Kandy, said: "The creation of a World Educationists' Federation and the praparation of world educational system are very necessary if the ideal of the establishment of a permanent peace on which world statesmen are concentrating is to have a fair trial"

Mr. G. D. Birla, a member of the Industrial Mission, addressing a social gathering of about 200 Indians in the East End of London, said that the unity of Indians in Britain deeply impressed him. This unity between Hindus, Muslims and other communities in Britain had greatly impressed all delegates of the Indian Industrial Mission. He added. "I think London Indians

are making great contribution to the advancement of India inspite of all difficulties."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in an interview at Lahore, made a request to all Provincial Governments, including the Punjab Government, to remove all the remaining bans on organizations or in individuals and to release all prisoners, detenues and others.

28th. The Government of Madras directed all the Congress detenues, 21 in number, confined in Vellore or other jails in the Province to be released.

Acharya Narendra Dev, addressing a public meeting in Madras, pointed out that the August resolutions of the Congress was their national charter and that they should implement it in all ways. He also stated that the economic programme of the Congress must be based on that charter.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in a statement from Hyderabad (Dn) on the death of Sj Subhas Chandra Bose, said *inter alia*: "A greater love hath not man than this, that he laid down his life for his country and his people.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, addressing the Law College students of Bombay described the rule under the Defence of India Rules as "marked Hitlerism under which people in India feel helpless.

29th. Sir Firoz Khan Noon, Defence Member, informed the Governor General that he wished to resign from the Executive Council on Sept. 15, 1945, in order that he might return to party politics.

The Governor of Bihar ordered the dissolution of the Bihar Legislative Assembly.

A Communique issued in New Delhi said that the Government of India decided that the Defence of India units would be disbanded on December 1, 1945.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, commenting on the Government of India's communique on the treatment to be allowed to the "Indian National Army", said: "I am glad that the Government of India have issued a communique in regard to the members of the Indian National Army formed in Malaya in 1942; the veil at last has been lifted but the facts are still hidden.

30th Sir Firoz Khan Noon, Defence Member of the Government of India, in an interview in New Delhi explained the resettlement and employment schemes for demobilised soldiers.

Master Tara Singh, the Akali Leader, in a statement to the Press contradicted the remark attributed to him in a section of the Press that he would rejoin the Congress if Mahatma Gandhi left the Congress.

The French Government decided to grant universal adult franchise to all women for the first time in the history of French India.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a pubic meeting in New Delhi, said: "I am prepared to take all responsibility for the happenings of 1942 because I am responsible for creating these conditions in the country "

31st. Mr. S. K. Patil, General Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, received a telegram from Mr. J B Kripalani, General Secretary of the Congress stating that the A. I. C. C. would meet on Sept. 21, at Bombay.

Mr Gopinath Bardoloi, ex-Premier and Leader of the Congress Coalition and Independent Muslim Party in the Assam Assembly, issued a statement on the report of a possible dissolution of the Assam Legislative Assembly by the Governor.

September 1945

Sj Sarat Chandra Bose was released from detention from the Coonoor special jail.

The Congress Working Committee decided to contest the General Elections in India.

The Government of India decided to abolish the penal settlement in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands

A cable was addressed to the Secretary of State for India by a number of Bengal leaders for the immediate release of all political prisoners.

The Government of Travancore decided to assume control and management of primary education.

H. E. the Governor of Orissa dissolved the Orissa Legislative Assembly.

H. E. Lord Wavell in a broadcast from New Delhi declared. "His Majesty's Government are determined to do their utmost to promote, in conjunction with leaders of Indian opinion, the early realization of full self-government in India."

The Famine Inquiry Commission submitted their final report.

Bengal's five year Post-war Reconstruction Plan, estimated to cost Rs. 145 crores, was announced by the Government.

The All India Congress Committee discussed the resolution of the Working Committee passed on the British Government's proposals announced by Lord Wavell and characterized the proposals as vague, inadequate and unsatisfactory.

The Congress Working Committee considered the demobilization of soldiers and of labour employed for war work.

Allama Mashriqi commented on the attitude of Mr. Jinnah towards the poorer Muslims.

The Government of Bengal cancelled the orders under the Detention and Restrictions Ordinance 1944 on 31 persons.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru unfolded his blue-print for a free and independent India.

1st The Government of India decided to abolish the penal settlement in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands as a major step towards their re-occupation.

A Press communique was issued by the Government of Travancore in connection with the agitation in a section of the Press regarding the resolution passed by the Sri Mulam Assembly and Sri Chitra State Council that Government should assume responsibility for the management of primary education throughout the State.

2nd. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, issued the following statement from Srinagar.—"The Government's decision about the prisoners taken from what is commonly known as the Indian National Army, while recognizing the special circumstances of the case, proposes that the law should take its course. This sounds ominous. It is commonly believed that inspite of their grave error of judgment these persons had no intention to embrace the axis cause but were moved by patriotic motives. The circumstances in which they are believed to have acted were extremely complex. Now that the war is over Indian sentiment and public opinion will in no case sanction extreme penalty."

Mr. Biswanath Das, ex-Premier of Orissa, at a conference in Calcutta, called on all nationalist forces in the country to rally round the banner of Indian National Congress in the general elections.

Sir Hari Singh Gour, in an interview at Simla, suggested the creation of a Privy Council and the bringing of India into the statute of Westminster.

3rd. Duties of Congress workers in connexion with the elections were defined at a meeting of the Executive Council of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee in Calcutta.

Dr N. B. Khare, Member for Commonwealth Relations, announced in a talk broadcast from Delhi that Government was arranging facilities for just over 9000 Haj pilgrims.

The Executive Council of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee adopted 16 resolutions on the political and general situation in the country. Mrs Labanya Prabha Dutt, President of the Committee was in the chair.

4th. Mr. Asaf Ali, member of the Congress Working Committee, made a plea, at Srinagar, for a revision of the electoral rolls on the basis of expanded suffrage.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said at Srinagar: "A careful examination of the Congress resolutions on the subject of self-determination will make it clear to any one that it is the population of a well-defined unit or area whose right to self-determination is recognised".

5th. His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur, while inaugurating the Legislative Council and the Representative Assembly in a joint session at Jaipur, said: "We do not find in this constitutional development the consummation of democracy, but it does provide a firm and well-planned foundation on which the structure can be built by those who are genuinely ready for both labour and self-sacrifice."

Sardar Istar Singh Marhal, General Secretary of the Shiromani Akali Dal, in the course of a statement at Amritsar, said. "The Shiromani Akali Dal has no intention to negotiate with the Muslim League as long as Pakistan is its goal."

6th A cable addressed by a number of Bengal leaders was sent to the British Prime Minister, Mr. C. R. Attlee, the Secretary of State for India, Lord Pethick Lawrence and several other members of the British Government urging them "to order the immediate release of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, Bengal's popular leader and all other political prisoners."

The Executive Committee of the Satara District Congress Committee at its meeting at Satara, reviewed the situation in Satara and passed a resolution holding the Government responsible for the prevailing condition in Satara The committee felt confident that normal condition would be restored if the Government removed the extra police and military, stopped the imposition and collection of collective fines, took the people's accredited representation into confidence and carried on the administration with their consent and co-operation.

The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee under the presidentship of Mr. Nagindas Master, unanimously decided to put forward a claim against the Government of Bombay exceeding Rs. 1,25,000 for the properties not returned by them to the B P. C. C.

7th. Restoration of Civil liberties and withdrawal of various restrictions on individuals were demanded in a resolution adopted at a special meeting of the Bombay Municipal Corporation.

8th. In a communication from the Private Secretary to the Viceroy to Sardar Sant Singh, M. L. A. (Central) in reply to his letter urging withdrawal of the D. I. Act, revision of the electoral rolls and summoning of the legislature before dissolution, it was stated: "There is no immediate likelihood of the repeal of the D I. Act and the Rules made under it and Sir John Colville, acting Viceroy, does not consider that the D. I. Act and Rules will interfere in any way with the holding of elections."

Mr. M. A Jinnah, in the course of a message to the Muslims on the occasion of Idul-Fitr, said "We maintain that the right of self-determination of Mussalmans is their birthright and we have definitely decided that in order to secure our freedom and live with honour and self-respect, there is only one solution of this great sub-continent and that is that we should be free to establish Pakistan in our home lands in all those provinces where Mussalmans are dominant—the north-west and north-east zones of India."

Diwan Chaman Lal, in a statement from Lahore, made an appeal to Sikh leaders to unite within the Congress to fight reaction and sectionalism.

9th. Mr. R. K. Sidhwa, leader of the Congress Assembly party, raised constitutional issues, in a statement from Karachi and objected to the continuance of the Ministers in office in Sind after the Assembly had been dissolved.

Dr. G. V. Deshmukh, in a letter to the Congress President, made a request to the Congress Working Committee "to proposal of considering the broad principle of the right of Self-determination and secession" as "it only makes confusion worse confounded."

10th. Dr. H. N. Kunzru and Mr. Sapru, in a joint announcement to the Press, urged the Government to adopt a bolder policy than what was announced by them with regard to the Indian National Army.

11th. Mr. Z. H Lari, M. L. A., in a statement from Gorakhpur, stressed the need for immediate resumption of fresh efforts to evolve a formula for a Congress-League settlement based on the principles of self-determination and coalition. He suggested that "for creating an atmosphere favourable to the resumption of such an effort, the Congress must first shake off the shackles of Mr. Jagat Narayan's resolution and Convention of party government."

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel gave a solemn warning at Poona, that Indians themselves would take control of their country within five years if the British did not allow it.

12th. The Congress Working Committee met at Poona. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided. Mahatma Gandhi was present.

M. Attiya, who was in charge of the Arab office in Britain, in an interview in London, said: "We have complete sympathy with the Indian struggle for liberation. We recognise the Indian National Congress as the leader of the struggle representing both Hindus and Muslims.

Proceedings of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore issued in the form of a Gazette Extraordinary, declared that having bestowed their anxious consideration on the subject, the Government of Travancore came to the conclusion that the responsibility of imparting education throughout the State devolved upon and had to be shouldered by them, and they had accordingly decided to assume control and management of primary education with the definite object of making such education both free and compulsory within as short a period as practicable

13th. Dr. N B Khare, Commonwealth and Relations Member, Government of India, addressing a public meeting in Madras, said that unless the people of India, both rulers and ruled, gave up the religious approach to political problem there was no help for India.

Questions relating to Indians overseas and the rights of Burma Indians in India were discussed with Dr. N. B Khare, by members of the Southern India Chamber of Commerce.

A Bill further to amend the Madras Civil Courts Act, 1873, was published for eliciting public opinion.

The Congress Working Committee met at Poona and considered for two hours the question whether the Congress should participate in the general elections to the Central and provincial legislature, in view of the fact that many Congressmen were still in prison and restrictions and bans on meetings and other demonstrations were still in force in many parts of the country.

Dr M R Jayakar, speaking at a meeting at Poona, said: "The claim that the Muslims are a separate nation is an absurd proposition. It is monstrous to tear up India's unity on the basis of religion

His Excellency Sir Henry Twynam K C S I, C I E, who was appointed acting Governor of Bengal during the absence on leave of H E. Mr R G. Casey, assumed charge of his office.

14th Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, who was in detention since December, 1941, was released from Coonoor special jail.

The Congress decided to contest the general elections in India. The Working Committee would immediately take necessary steps in this behalf. Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel were present during the deliberations

H E the Governor of Orissa, by a notification in the Orissa Gazette Extraordinary dissolved the Orissa Legislative Assembly.

15th. The Congress Working Committee passed a resolution re-stating the attitude of the Congress to the question of Self-determination. The resolution envisaged a few federal constitutions for India and said that "the Congress cannot agree to any proposal to disintegrate India by giving liberty to any component state or territorial unit to secede from the Indian Union or Federation."

Sardar Pratap Singh, M L A, General Secretary of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, in the course of a rejoinder to the statement of Master Tara Singh asked: "Who dies if the Congress lives and who lives if the Congress dies?"

Sir Firoz Khan Noon, immediately after relinquishing the charge of the Defence Membership of the Government of India, said: "My mission first of all is to achieve unity among Muslims Unless they are united they cannot speak with one voice and protect their interests Once they are united it would be easier for them to come to an understanding with the Congress."

16th. The Bombay Provincial Muslim League carried a resolution demanding one seat each for the three divisions in the Province and two for Bombay city in the Muslim League Parliamentary Board Mr I I Chundriger presided.

The Congress Working Committee appointed a sub-committee consisting of seven members of the Working Committee, as a first step to select candidates for the Central and local Assemblies.

The various Nationalist Muslim organizations who assembled in New Delhi, at the invitation of the Jamiat-ul-ulema, commenced their deliberations in order to decide their attitude to the general elections and to find out a common policy

acceptable to the various Nationalist organizations opposed to the Muslim League.

17th. H. E. the Right Hon. Sir John Colville resumed charge of the office of the Governor of Bombay.

An ovation was given to Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose when he arrived at Howrah.

The last day's session of the Congress Working Committee considered the report of the constitutional sub-committee on organisational matters.

Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, ex-Minister, U. P. in a special interview in New Delhi, said: "The Indian National Congress stands for a united India and Muslims in the Congress believed that establishment of Pakistan will adversely affect the Muslims in India."

The Congress Working Committee concluded its session at Poona—Maulana Azad told Pressmen that the Committee would meet again in Bombay on the morning of Sept. 21.

The Council of the U. P. Muslim League at Lucknow adjourned *sine die* after adopting a number of resolutions.

19th. His Excellency Lord Wavell, in a broadcast from New Delhi, declared. "His Majesty's Government are determined to do their utmost to promote, in conjunction with leaders of Indian opinion the early realization of full self-government in India."

The Famine Inquiry Commission in their final Report observed. "The State shall recognise its ultimate responsibility of providing food for all. During the past two years the Government of India has accepted the duty of preventing widespread deaths from famine, but the further obligation of taking every possible step not only to prevent starvation, but to improve nutrition and create a healthy and vigorous population—has not yet been fully recognized and accepted."

Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, addressing a Press Conference in Calcutta, emphasised the need for complete unity among Congress ranks and said: "I would certainly do all that lie in me to bring that about, not only in my own province but in other provinces as well. I shall also endeavour to do my little in bringing in all Nationalist Muslims inside the Congress as early as possible".

20th A Government resolution on the Famine Inquiry Commission's report said: "The Government of India consider that the report is a comprehensive and valuable account of the Indian food problem in relation to the agricultural and economic development of the country. The Commission's recommendations will receive the most detailed consideration by the government"

Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, formerly Commerce Member of the Government of India, expressed the view in Calcutta that Pakistan was not a practical proposition, either economically or financially.

21st Master Tara Singh, the Akali Leader, in a Press statement from Amritsar said "The Sikh Panth is being attacked from all sides On the one hand, the Communists are spreading atheism and on the other they are trying to establish Pakistan. The Congress has already conceded the right of self-determination to those units of the country which would decide in its favour by a majority. This means that the Punjab which is the home of the Sikhs, will be in Pakistan up to the Beas river and the rest of it in Hindustan, thus dividing the Sikh Panth into two parts each being a slave of the Muslims and the Hindus respectively."

The inquiry into the boundary dispute between Madras and Orissa Governments in relation to its location with reference to Machkund river was continued today by Sir B. N. Rau.

The All-India Congress Committee met in Bombay. Acharya Kripalani moved a resolution on temporary changes in the constitution.

22nd. The All-India Congress Committee resumed its session.—Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided.

Bengal's five year Post-war Reconstruction Plan, estimated to cost Rs 145 crores was announced by the Government.—The object of the Plan, which was drawn up on the assumption that the first post-war quinquennium would commence on the 1st April 1947, was to raise the standard of living of the common man to promote his well-being.

23rd. The All-India Congress Committee discussed the resolution of the Working

Committee passed on the British Government's proposals announced by Lord Wavell for a solution of India's constitutional problems and characterised the proposals as vague, inadequate and unsatisfactory.

The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in his concluding speech declared: "The fire that was kindled in the minds of the masses in 1942 in their urge for freedom is still burning, but I have no doubt that the country is now on its march to the goal of independence. No power on earth can now stop India's march towards her cherished goal."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru declared in Bombay: "India has a big part to play in the future and it can only do so if she is strong and united."

The Punjab Premier, Malik Khizr Hyat Khan Tiwana, Leader of the Unionist Party and Firoz Khan Noon had a meeting at Lahore, in pursuance of the latter's mission in the Punjab to bring about a Muslim League-Unionist compromise.

24th. The Congress Working Committee which met in Bombay, considered the demobilization of soldiers and of labour employed for war work and urged that the policy of resettlement of these men should be shaped in such a way as to fit in with other schemes of national development.

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan addressing the students of the Muslim University at Aligarh, referred to the broadcast of Lord Wavell and Prime Minister Attlee and said that they contained nothing new. They were the same Cripps proposals which the Muslim League had rejected in 1942

Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit said in New York: "The All-India Congress Committee's resolution on Asia's freedom is in keeping with the general policy of the Congress which has always emphasised the fact that India's fight for freedom was a fight for all suppressed peoples. India's freedom can have no meaning unless Burma, Malaya and other colonial possessions are also full."

25th. The annual session of the South Indian Christian Conference which met at Pallam Cottah, recorded its appreciation of the effort of Lord Wavell to solve the political deadlock in India and releasing Congress leaders and other political prisoners. Mr A. Sundari Savam presided

Dr. Khare, Commonwealth Relations Member, in a statement on the A. I. C. C. resolutions, said: "It is unfortunate that the Congress High Command in a latest resolution on the Prime Minister's broadcast has said, 'It has become notorious that the present government of India is responsible for the widespread corruption that prevails in the country." This is a grave allegation and as an individual member of the present Government of India I think it is my duty to challenge it"

Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose addressing a Press Conference in Bengal, said that the British Government's offer to India was unacceptable to the country Sj. Bose declared that he would be satisfied with nothing less than complete Independence. The words "substance of independence" did not satisfy him. He disagreed with those who thought Lord Wavell's offer showed a change of heart.

Mr. M. S. Aney, addressing the old boys of the Jaffna Hindu College at Colombo, said "A sense of justice and generosity rather than rancour and revenge should characterise the Allied attitude towards the vanquished nations."

26th. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing an informal meeting of States peoples and workers in Bombay explained the Congress attitude towards the aspirations of the people of the Indian States for full responsible government in the States.

Pandit Nehru said at a press conference in Bombay that he had developed a distaste to the idea of going to England. He was replying to a question about a Congress mission going abroad to put the Congress case before America and England.

Sir John Colville, Governor of Bombay, made reference to the Satara outrages, while addressing the joint meeting of the District Development Board and the sailors and soldiers and Airmen's Board.

Allama Mashriqi in a statement from Lahore, commented on the attitude of Mr. Jinnah towards the poorer Muslims.

Orders under the Restriction and Detention Ordinance 1944, on 31 persons, were cancelled by the Government of Bengal.

27th. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru unfolded his blueprint for a free and independent India, in Bombay.—His plan included State ownership of key industries, State

control of other important industries, reorganization of the land system by the abolition of Zamindaries and introduction of large co-operative farms. State control of the textile industry would be necessary in the interests of the handloom industry.

Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, speaking in Bombay, predicted the emergence of more powerful Imperialist powers in the world as a result of the scrambles for the spoils of war.

The final sitting of Hindu Law Reform Committee commenced at the Bombay Secretariat. Sir B. N. Rau, Chairman, Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, Dr. Dwarka Nath Mitter, and Prof. Gharpure, members of the Committee were present.

The Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes met in New Delhi. The Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, presided.

28th. The police opened fire to disperse rioters in the disturbed area in Bombay, and curfew was promulgated in the affected area of the city from 10 P.M. to 6 A.M. Troops were called out as a precautionary measure.

Mr W. H. Kirby, Rationing Adviser to the Government of India, remarked in Bombay : "Much talk and less thought is taking place regarding the prospects of another food shortage in Bengal."

A delegation of the Chamber of Princes, headed by the Nawab of Bhopal met the Crown Representative in New Delhi.

Sj Sarat Chandra Bose, who arrived at Poona, saw Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Patel, with whom he discussed the situation in Bengal

✓**29th.** Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, who resigned the Presidentship of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, resigned the Congress and joined the Muslim League.

Dr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee, leader of the Nationalist Party in the Central Legislative Assembly, and President, Indian Association, made an appeal to the government to be ready with their plans to tackle the problem of extensive unemployment in India.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, member of the Congress Working Committee, in a letter to the Secretary of the Shiromani Akali Dal declared that the Congress stood by the pledge given to the Sikhs in 1929 at the time of the Lahore Congress.

30th. The decision to co-operate whole-heartedly with the Congress in the Punjab in the elections to the Punjab Legislative Assemly from the Sikh constituencies was taken at the Central Akali Dal Conference held in Lahore. Baba Kharak Singh, the Sikh leader, presided.

October 1945

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel celebrated his 70th birthday. Messages of congratulations poured in from all parts India

In a communication sent to Mr. Haridas Majumdar, Lord Pethick Lawrence, Secretary of State for India said that he was fully conscious of the importance of food question

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's "blue print for India" evoked considerable interest in London political circles.

Sj Sarat Chandra Bose said in Calcutta that he could not conceive of any alliance between Gen. Chiang-kai-shek, leader of the Fascist forces in China and the leader of the movement for Indian independence.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad said in Calcutta that Congress would contest those seats which it thought it could win.

Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose suggested the sitting of a non-official enquiry committee to gather reliable evidence on alleged atrocities in Calcutta, Midnapore, Chittagong and other areas in the province during the past few years.

Mr. M. I. M. Rowji, one of the conveners of the Shia Conference at Lucknow informed . Mr. Jinnah that the Shias were not with the Muslim League.

Mr. A. deC. Williams, Adviser to the Government of Bengal, stated in Calcutta: "There is no cause for genuine alarm about Bengal's food position."

Acharya Kripalani remared re: I. N. A.: "Whatever British officials may say India cannot deny that such countrymen of theirs as joined the Indian National Army were motivated by political sentiments.

A resolution was passed at Triplicane (Madras) protesting against the Bill to amend the Religious Endowment Act

The Government of India informed the I. N. A., Defence Committee that the Court Martial trial could not be abandoned or postponed.

The Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhaka Committee declared that Pakistan would not be acceptable to the Sikhs.

1st. Lord Pethick Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, sent a communication to Mr. Haridas Majumdar, Leader of the Nationalist Party in the Bengal Legislative Council, in which he said that he was fully conscious of the importance of the food question and of the desirability of free and fair elections

Prof. Abdul Majid Khan in a statement from Lahore said that the Muslim League's claim was untenable.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's "blue print for India" roused considerable interest in London political and nationalist circles,

A conference of Presidents, Secretaries and workers of the District and subdivisional Hindu Mahasabhas of Bengal concluded in Calcutta, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee presided.—The conference recorded its emphatic protest "against the use of Indian soldiers for the supervision of freedom movements in Indo-China, Malaya and Java," and urged upon the Government of India, "to recall all Indian units that had been sent to these countries for this purpose."

2nd. Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, in a interview in Calcutta said: "I cannot conceive of any alliance between Generalissimo Ching-kai-shek, leader of the Fascist forces in China and the leader of the movement for Indian independence."

Telegrams were exchanged between Mr. Jinnah and the Propaganda Secretary of the Shia Conference, Lucknow.

The decision to suspend the 14 members of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee for violating the August Resolution was taken at a meeting of the Working Committee of the Punjab Congress

Over 800 Nationalist Muslims from all over Sind assembled in a conference at Karachi, when they decided to present a united front against the Muslim League during the elections and create a new political life among Muslim masses in the province.

Mahatma Gandhi's birthday was celebrated all thoughout India.

3rd. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, in a message to a public meeting at Hyderabad (Dn.) said: "The influence of Mahatma Gandhi will endure and shape the ideas of the new world civilization through the coming centuries The gospel he has given to humanity is based on fundamental principles which alone can save the future from disaster and despair."

The All-India Scheduled Caste's Federation at its meeting at Poona, adopted resolutions opposing the reconstruction of the Central Government and the formation of a constitution making body envisaged in the proposals of His Majesty's Government to India.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad in an interview in Calcutta said that in the elections, the Congress would contest those seats which it thought could win, both in the Muslim and non-Muslim constituencies.

Mr. A. C. Hartley, Director General of Food, Government of Bengal, said in an interview in Calcutta that the rice crops in the Province was not expected to be normal or up to the previous year's standard.

4th. A communique issued by the Government of India said that Sir Chandulal Trivedi, C.S.I., C.I.E., O.B.E., Secretary to the Government of India in the War Department was to be the Governor of Orissa in succession to H. E. Sir Hawthorn Lewis, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Evan Jenkins, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Secretary to the Governor

General (Personal) and Private Secretary to H. E. the Viceroy was to be the Governor of the Punjab in succession to H. E. Sir Bertrand Glancy, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

Sir Olaf Caroe, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India, External Affairs Department, was to be the Governor of the North-West Frontier Province in succession to H. E. Sir George Cunningham, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., O.B.E.

H. E. Sir Thomas Rutherford K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Governor of Bihar asked to be permitted to retire.

5th. It was announced from New Delhi that recruitment for vacancies under the Government of India and Provincial Governments reserved for "war service" would begin from the end of the year.

The Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, by a majority vote, decided to suspend from its membership, three Akali leaders on charge of anti-Congress activities during the past three years.

As a protest against the new "attitude taken by the Congress towards the communists" the Communist Party of India called upon the Communists—with the exception of the Communist members of the A. I. C. C.—to resign from the Congress.

Babu Rajendra Prasad, in an interview in Calcutta, said: "Quit India means Quit Asia", if India comes out of Empire, no other part of Asia can remain under any European power for any length of time."

Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, replying to an address in Calcutta, suggested the setting up of a non-official independent enquiry committee to tour the whole province and gather reliable evidence on alleged atrocities in Calcutta, Midnapore, Chittagong and other areas in the province during the past few years. Sj. Bose urged the citizens to take the lead in the matter.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a public meeting at Lucknow, said: "There is much talk abut war criminals. The time is not far off when we shall prepare one list of anti-national criminals—those who mercilessly crushed the spirit of our patriots, who opened fire on them, who accepted bribes and sucked the blood of the poor. We shall never forget them."

6th. Mr. Mohamedboy I. M. Rowjee, replying to Mr Jinnah's wire to the conveners of the Shia conference, informed him after stating his reasons that the Shias were not with the Muslim League.

288 Indian students who were proceeding to the United Kingdom for higher studies, refused to board the troop ship Georgie.

The final hearing of the enquiry into the boundary dispute between Madras and Orissa governments in relation to its location with reference to the Machkund River commenced in Madras.

Begum Shah Nawaz, who was in charge of the women's section of the Information and Broadcasting section resigned her office in order to be able to return to active politics in the Punjab.

7th. Mr. N. M. Joshi, General Secretary of the Indian Trade Union Congress, at an informal reception given to him in London by Indian residents, declared: "The British Government has no right to expect complete agreement among Indians before granting them Independence"

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said to the President of the Young India League at Lahore. "There will be no peace in my heart until each and every one of us is out of jail."

Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-Chancellor of the Benares University, inaugurating a series of discourses at Mylapore (Madras) observed: "Emphasis on spirit and sanctity of the human soul and comprehensiveness of tolerance were the two lessons of Indian culture which could serve as a corrective to the present miscarriage of the world."

8th. Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Planning and Development Member, reviewed the economic issues bearing on the planning and reconstruction in India and said that provided the Government and the people pulled together and certain conditions were satisfied there was no reason why economic activity in the country should not be sufficient to avoid a serious drop in expenditure, though its direction and purposes would be naturally different.—Sir Ardeshir Dalal was addressing the 4th meeting of the general policy committee in New Delhi.

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, addressing the members of the Congress Party

in the U. P. Legislature made an attack on the administration of the Province and the policy of the British Government.

9th. The Nationalist Muslims opened their election campaign in the U. P. with an attack on the British Government as well as on Muslim League accusing the former of sowing seeds of disruption among Indians of all communities and the latter of acting as hirelings of the bureaucracy.

10th Mr. Purshotam Tricumdas, a Congress Socialist of Bombay was set at liberty by Mr. Justice Sen and Mr. Justice Gajendra Gadkar of the Bombay High Court who admitted the habeas corpus application filed by him.

The Railway Clerks' Association annual conference at Southport passed a resolution stressing the necessity of granting the right of complete self-determination to the people of India at the earliest possible moment.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in an interview in Madras, said: "I wish to congratulate His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore and my friend Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, his Dewan, and the Government of Travancore on having recognized candidly their responsibility in the matter of compulsory primary education."

The Indian Immigration Bill was passed by the House of Representatives at Washington.

11th. Mr. N. M Joshi, General Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress, stated, at a Press Conference in London, that in his opinion there would not be agreement between Indians as to the form and composition of the Central Government and the Constituent Assembly.

12th In the enquiry into the Orissa Boundary dispute, Mr Lingraj Panigrahi, Advocate-General, Orissa, concluded his agreement on behalf of the Orissa Government.

At a Press conference in Calcutta, Mr. A. deO. Williams, Adviser to the Government of Bengal stated · "There is no genuine cause for alarm for Bengal's food situation."

Acharya J. B. Kripalani, commenting on Sir Maurice Halett's remarks that "The so-called Indian National Army will fully deserve whatever punishment may be inflicted on them by Court Martial and that they should certainly not be regarded as national heroes", said at Lucknow, "Whatever British officials in India may say, Indians cannot deny that such countrymen of theirs as joined the Indian National Army were motivated by patriotic sentiment."

The Indian Franchise Bill, providing for the inclusion in the electoral rolls in India of persons returned from war service and extending the military franchise provisions of the 1935 Act to all branches of the armed forces, was given a second reading in the House of Commons, without division. It had already passed through all its stages in the House of Lords.

13th. Japan surrendered Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

Mr. Sivanandi Servai addressing a public meeting at Tanjore, called upon all Hindus to stand by the Mahasabha and cast votes in favour of the Mahasabha candidates.

Gen. Sir Claude Auchinleck, C-in-C., in India in his address to the National Defence Committee, reviewed the problem of the future of the armed forces of India.

14th In connection with the reorganization of Secondary Education in the Province (Tranquebar) and the introduction of a bifurcated S-S L.C. courses, the Government announced their revised policy and called for proposals from the managements of secondary schools in the light of local and other conditions for formulating a complete scheme for the whole province.

15th. Mr. Vellodi, Textile Commissioner, on the eve of his relinquishing that office, discussed the success achieved by textile control measures.

The Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League met at Karachi and discussed in camera the requisition from 25 members expressing no-confidence in some of the members of the Sind Muslim League Parliamentary Board.

16th. Resolutions urging the Government of India to cancel all proceedings against members of the Indian National Army and release them all unconditionally were passed at a meeting held under the auspices of the Indian students (Madras) in connexion with the "Quit Asia" Day.

The Council of the Servants of India Society passed a resolution at Poona,

stating that the proposals of the Labour Government to India constituted no fresh approach to the solution of the Indian problem.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya appealed to the voters to support Congress candidates at the elections. He said: "A vital stage has arrived in the country's struggle for freedom. The coming election will have an almost decisive importance for the future."

The All-Parties Shia conference at Lucknow adopted a resolution demanding protection of the rights of Shias in the future constitution.

17th. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said in Calcutta, that the under-Secretary of State for India's statement showed that a change of Government in England had little or no effect on British policy towards India.

The Secretary of State for India, Lord Pethick Lawrence, speaking at a reception held by the Majlis, said: I do not know anything about the end of the India office, but I do know that it is my hope and it will be my endeavour to secure that the road along which you are travelling to full self-government shall be as easy as possible.

Sir C R. Reddi, Vice chancellor of the Andhra University, criticized the Government for its lack of an educational policy and outlined his plans for a constructive re-organization of necessary and higher education.

18th. Allama Mashriqi, the Khaksar leader arrived in Calcutta. He was given a reception at the Howrah station by Khaksar volunteers.

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, Supply Member, Government of India, was selected as India's representative to the Preparatory Commission of the United Nation's organization.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's secretary, Mr M Yunus, in a press statement at Peshawar, explained Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's refusal of the Frontier Provincial Congress Committee's request to select candidates and conduct the elections in the province.

19th. A Parliamentary Board in connexion with the election to the Central Assembly, with Sj Sarat Chandra Bose as Chairman, was appointed at a meeting of the Executive Council of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee in Calcutta.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore declared at Trivandrum, that the Travancore State Congress, on almost every point on which it had expressed its opinion, had never expressed real public opinion

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru had interview in the Red Fort, New Delhi, with the three army officers awaiting trial by Court-Martial. Mr Asaf Ali, Mr Raghu Nandan Saran and Mr Jugal Kishore Khanna of the I. N. A. Defence Committee were also present at the interview

20th. Resettlement and employment of demobilized military personnel engaged the attention of the Bihar Government and they appointed Mr. M M. Philip I C S., as director to work out schemes for rehabilitation of ex soldiers, sailors and war-workers.

A Press note from New Delhi stated that the Central Government had amended the colliery control order to regulate the amounts of Commission chargeable by middlemen in the coal trade while maintaining the ordinary trade channels of supply.

The Punjab Government made strong representations to the Government of India urging that lenient treatment be meted out to the I. N A. officers and men.

Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan of Jaipur, delivered the inaugural address at Jaipur at the P. E N. conference which commenced under the Presidentship of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

A questionnaire to help and guide various Congress Committees in the country to collect material in respect of the August disturbance and the aftermath, was issued by the All-India Congress Committee. The questionnaire asked the Committees to make the closest possible approximate to truth and sought information on many points.

21st. The Congress Parliamentary Board announced the names of 41 candidates for the Central Assembly.

It was learnt that H. E. the Governor of N. W. F. P would dissolve the Frontier Legislative Assembly by November 7.

22nd. A resolution was passed at Triplicane, strongly protesting against the Bill to amend the Madras Religious Amendment Act.

Some 3,000 workers of the National Iron and Steel Company at Howrah, went on strike. Eleven factories and workshops were also involved, thus bringing the total numbers of labourers on strike in Calcutta and Howrah to 10,285.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan, addressing the P. E. N Congress at Jaipur on the moral value of literature, said that human beings were at the stage of intellectual consciousness and human life on earth could not be regulated as the crown of evolution.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, inaugurating the Hazaribagh District Political Conference, declared. "The Congress is like a rubber ball which rebounds with double vigour towards the object with which it is struck"

Dr Pattavi Sitaramayya, in an interview at Poona, said "It is not true that non-violence has been accepted by the Congress, under Gandhiji's lead, not as an expedient but as a principle."

23rd A memorandum signed by a number of influential men in the city of Madras was sent to the Government urging the Governor to drop further consideration of the contemplated Bill to amend the Hindu Religious Endowment Act

The Mysore Representative Assembly, after a full-dress debate on the food situation, adjourned *sine die.* Pradhana Siromani N Madhava Rao, Dewan-President was in the chair.

24th The Congress decided to contest the two Sikh seats besides the three non-Muslim seats from the Punjab to the Central Assembly.

The Rt. Hon. V S Srinivasa Sastri, Mr P. A. Wadia, Mr K Natarajan and Mr Jehangir Petit, in a joint statement opposed "the demand for the division of India into a Hindu and Muslim India"

The Standing Committee of the All-India States People's Conference at Jaipur, under Pt Jawaharlal Nehru's presidentship, formulated the demands of the Indian State peoples in regard to the future status of the people of Indian States vis-a-vis British India.

25th. The Commission to survey European and Anglo-Indian and European education, commonly called the Fact Finding Committee, arrived in Calcutta

The Madras Government placed the problem of demobilized soldiers on the highest priority Vast road construction and public building projects were planned to provide employment for demobilized Madrasi soldiers

Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan of Jaipur, made an appeal to "every lover of the country" to fight for India's unity

The Government of India informed the I. N. A. Defence Committee that the Court Martial trials could not be abandoned or postponed

26th. A call to Muslims to forget other differences and stand united under the banner of the Muslim League was made at the conference of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam of Bengal in Calcutta.

Acharya Kripalani General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, in a circular letter addressed to all Provincial Congress Commitees stressed, that they should not confine their activities towards the election only, but they should also concentrate their efforts towards perfecting the Congress Organization enrolling more members and also on the constructive programme of the Congress.

27th An Ordinance issued from New Delhi, provided for the forfeiture of pay and allowance of military officers in certain cases

A new Ordinance was issued from New Delhi, to make provisions in connexion with bills of exchange payable outside British India lost on account of war.

Malik Khizr Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab and Leader of the Unionist Party, in a statement from Lahore, declared that he and all other Muslim members of his party were firm and uncompromising supporters of the Muslim League objective of Pakistan

The annual conference of the Madras Branch of the All India Women's Conference began its session in Madras. Sister R S. Subbalakshmi Ammal presided

28th. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in an interview at Lucknow, welcomed President Truman's declarations of U S. foreign policy especially with reference to freedom for all dependent countries

The declaration that Pakistan would not be acceptable to the Sikhs, was made in a resolution adopted by the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhaka Committee at its annual general committee meeting at Amritsar Jathedar Mohan Singh presided.

29th. The Executive Committee of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians at a meeting in Bombay, decided to "act as far as possible in accordance with the aims and policy of the Congress" on matters connected with the realization of *full self-government for India.*

30th. Mahatma Gandhi, in a letter to Mr. L N Gopalaswami, Secretary, Tamil Nad Harijan Sangha, said . "To accuse Rajaji of betrayal is not to know him."

The Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel Birthday Celebration Committee received a large number of messages from Congress leaders on the occasion of the 70th birthday of Sardar Patel

Sardar Patel, addressing a meeting at his residence in his own native village Karamsad, said: "I have striven to remain ever a fighter for my larger home which is the country."

Mr V. D. Savarkar made an appeal to all Hindus to vote only for the Hindu Sabha candidates who openly pledged to protect Hindu rights and served the Hindu cause in the elections.

31st. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, at a luncheon given by the members of the Indian Merchants' Chamber in Bombay declared: "We want the same independence and the same freedom as England enjoys to-day ; we shall not be satisfied with any thing less "

The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, welcomed the suggestion of U. Aung San, Leader of the Burmese Nationalists, for holding a "South Asiatic Countries" conference, in an interview in Calcutta. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said that India would seem to be a natural venue for such a conference.

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit conferred with President Truman at Washington.

November 1945

Lala Lajpat Rai's death anniversary was celebrated at Lahore.

In a clash between student demonstrators and the police in Calcutta, the police opened fire on the 21st. 22nd. and the 23rd., as a result of which several persons were killed and a large number of men were injured.

Dr V K. John, President of the Federation of Indian Christians, said in Bombay : "The Congress could infuse confidence in the Indian Christian community "

The Central Government proposed to accept liability for the construction and maintenance of a system of main trunk roads.

Sir Frederick Puckle declared in New York that complete self-government for India was the "firm wish" of the British Government.

The Indian National Army Court Martial began in the Red Fort, Delhi.

The Rt. Hon. Mr. R. G. Casey. Governor of Bengal tendered his resignation.

Mr Frederick John Burrows was appointed as the successor of Mr. Casey.

Pandit Jawaharlal was officially informed that facilities for travel to Indonesia could not be granted to him.

Pandit Nehru said in Bombay that there could be no understanding with the Muslim League

Prof Laski said in a speech in London, "When are we going to realise our responsibility to the Indian people ?"

Mr Arthur Henderson assured the House of Commons that there was no ground of apprehension regarding Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's rumoured arrest.

Lord Pethick Lawrence said in London that the pace of self-government in India should be quickened.

The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee issued a report giving an account of the alleged government repression in the Tamluk subdivision, Midnapore district (Begal)

Dr Shyama Prasad Mukherjee wanted that the public of Calcutta should immediately demand an independent inquiry into the ugly incidents which happened in Calcutta.

H E. the Governor-General settled the Orissa Boundary dispute.

1st Mr N. M Khan, Director of Agriculture, Bengal Government, speaking at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, gave details of the re-settlement of 9,550 families of demobilized soldiers of Bengal in 200 000 acres of the total of about 4,292,000 acres of waste lands as envisaged in one of the post-war agricultural schemes

Mr. M A. Jinnah predicted sweeping victory at the polls for the forces of Pakistan, and discussed his plans for a separate Muslim nation and steps to be taken to achieve it in the event of triumph in the forthcoming elections

Dr V. K. John, President of the Federation of Indian Christians, in a statement, said in Bombay "The Congress could infuse confidence in the Indian Christian community and could draw it close to it, if only the Congress leaders had a correct vision of the communal problem".

Dr Rajendra Prasad, addressing a meeting of the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee at Patna, declared that the Congress did not want to budge an inch from its stand on non-violence.

2nd The Central Government proposed to accept liability for the construction and maintenance of a system of main trunk roads to be known as national highways. This was disclosed in a statement on the discussions at the meetings of the Transport Advisory Council and the Transport Policy Committee.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, speaking at a meeting in New Delhi observed "The human floods and earth-quakes of 1942 have proved that the people in India, from one end to the other, can no longer tolerate British rule."

Sir S Radhakrishnan, in his address to the Convocation of the Travancore University, welcomed the scheme of education of the Government of Travancore.

3rd. The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, nominated Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr Raghunandan Saran and Mr. Khurshid Naoroji to organize an I N A Enquiry Committee to deal with questions other than legal defence affecting the I. N A men.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a meeting in New Delhi, declared that political subjection was the greatest calamity that could befall any country. The Congress, he maintained, was the only organization that struggled hard to make India free.

4th. Sir Frederick Puckle, Adviser on Indian Affairs in the British Embassy in Washington, declared in New York "Complete self-Government for India within or without the British Commonwealth 'as India chooses' is the 'firm wish and intention' of the British Government, Parliament and the people"

Sir Shahab ud-Din, Speaker of the Punjab Legislature, tendered his resignation.

5th. The Indian National Army Court Martial began in the Red Fort, New Delhi. The President and members of the Court were sworn in and the accused, Capt. Shah Nawaz, Capt. P. K. Sehgal, and Lt. Gurbaksh Singh Dhillon were brought in.

All the three accused were charged with waging war against the King Dhillon was further charged with murder, and Sehgal and Shah Nawaz Khan with abetment of murder. They pleaded not guilty to each of the charges against them.

Mr. Abdul Majid Khawaja, President of the All India Nationalist Muslim Board addressing a gathering of Nationalist Muslims at Allahabad, said "The root cause of mutual distrust and hostility between Hindus and Muslims is the presence of the British in the country and the crux of the communal discord in the country lay in the undeniable fact of our slavery"

Mr H J Christie, Officiating Director-General of Food Government of India, said at Karachi that the Government of India's policy with regard to food

controls was one of gradual relaxation, the pace depending upon the pace of return to normal economic conditions in the country

Gen Sir Claude Auchinleck, C-in-C, in India addressing the students of the Staff College at Quetta, dealt with the future of the Armed Forces and reiterated several of the points raised in his speech to the Defence Council.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, addressing the delegates of the Indian Historical Records Commission at Peshawar, observed "I joined the Congress for the independence of my country and I struck to it for this very reason as it is my belief that Congress is the only political body which is fighting for the freedom of India."

A deputation on behalf of the Anti Hindusthani Committee of the Bihar Provincial Hindu Mahasabha waited upon the Governor of Bihar and urged the abolition of the use of Hindusthani in school and college text books as its adoption was "highly detrimental to the Hindu culture and religion and was also impracticable even on linguistic basis."

6th. A Communique from New Delhi said : "The Rt Hon. Mr R. G. Casey, C B, D.S.O., M C, Governor of Bengal has tendered to His Majesty the King his resignation of that appointment which His Majesty has been pleased to accept"

"His Majesty the King has been pleased to appoint Mr Frederick John Burrows to be Governor of Bengal in succession to Mr Casey who will vacate the appointment on a date to be arranged in February next."

7th. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was officially informed that, in the existing circumstances, facilities for travel to Indonesia could not be granted to him.

Rajkumari Amrit Kuar, one of the members of the Indian delegation to the Conference of the United Nations Educational and Cultural Organization in London, said : "The precious heritage of freedom must be preserved for every race, however backward they may be held to be in the matter of educational or industrial development."

8th. Mr M. A. Jinnah gave a detailed description of what the politically independent sovereign Muslim State Pakistan would be, which he and the Muslim League sought to establish in India.

At a Press Conference in Calcutta, Mr. Tufnell Barret, Additional Commissioner, Civil Supplies, said "Supplies of rice from Burma would start coming into Bengal before the end of this year."

9th. Sir J P Srivastava, Food Member, expressed the hope, in New Delhi, that India would in 1946 receive from abroad substantially more rice than 160,000 tons already allotted to her and that the Combined Food Board's programme for sending to India 100,000 tons of wheat a month during the first half of 1946 would be fulfilled.

10th. H. H the Aga Khan, in an interview in Calcutta said that Asia's hopes would be realised if the Congress and the Muslim League came to terms.

The National Planning Committee concluded its session in Bombay Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Chairman, presided over the discussions of the Committee on various topics Several resolutions were added

The Committee's discussions related to sterling balances, dollar pool, foreign investments in India, disposal of surplus factories and equipment constructed for war purposes and the utilization of war-time camps, hospitals, buildings etc. for the purposes of rehabilitating village life.

11th The Council of the National Liberal Federation of India at its meeting in Bombay suggested that immediately after the elections a Central Government should be formed consisting of the representatives of the major political parties with provision for representation of minority interest and that no refusal of co operation by any party should hold up the formation of such a representative Government

H E. the Governor of Bengal, Mr. R. G Casey welcomed the statement of Sir J P Srivastava Food Member of the Government of India, from New Delhi, on the food situation.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing an election meeting in Bombay, said : "Whether we are successful in the election or not there can be no understanding with the Muslim League with its present leadership and policy. Let me make

it clear that there can be no understanding with the League even if the demand for Pakistan is granted".

Mr. Asaf Ali, Convener of the I. N A Defence Committee, replied to the criticism that the Congress desired to make capital out of the I. N. A. trial.

12th Sir J. P Srivastava, Food Member, Government of India, expressed his confidence in the ability of the Government of India and the Government of Bengal to deal with any food situation which was likely to arise in Bengal, at a Conference of certain prominent public men in Calcutta.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, Under-Secretary for India, in reply to a question by the Labour Member, Mr. Reginald Sorenson, in the House of Commons, declared that the refusal to afford facilities for Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to visit Indonesia was taken with the agreement of the Supreme Allied Commander "in view of the present disturbed conditions in Java which renders it undesirable for such a visit to be made."

Mr. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, former Minister of the U P, commenting on Mr. Jinnah's clarification of Pakistan, said at Lucknow. "Any scheme which is put forward for serious consideration must be reasonable and logical. The principles on which it is based, should be generally applicable. You cannot have one principle for Hindustan and another for Pakistan"

13th Dr. N. Das, I C.S, Regional Director of Resettlement and Employment Bengal and Assam Zone, Government of India, at a Press Conference in Calcutta, stated. "Bengal Government's immediate post-war schemes should be able to resettle in civil life some 100,000 men and the Central Government's immediate schemes for the Bengal region, including their various public works projects, should also absorb an equal if not a larger number"

Mr. B. R Sen, Director General of Food, said in New Delhi "There can be no question of one going back to the peace time economy of pre-war days to leave the supply of foodgrains in all its aspects to private enterprise"

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, addressing a gathering at Rustan (Louisiana) declared that India was now in the same position as America in 1775 and would advance as rapidly if given an opportunity

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a public meeting in Bombay, held under the auspices of the All India Students' Congress, urged the students to be realistic in their approach to many of the problems facing the country. He recalled how in his younger days, he was visualising India as a free country and how he was thinking of working for that ideal. He added. "Ideals are good, but what is wanted is real work to achieve that end'

14th Dr Shyama Prasad Mookherjee, addressing a meeting in Calcutta, explained the need for the existence of the Hindu Mahasabha as a political party

Prof Harold Lasky, Chairman of the Labour Party, in a speech in London, said "When are we going to realise our responsibility towards the Indian people." We make half-hearted offers of freedom and repeat half-true shibboleths in public meetings but there are always things unsaid"

Sir Maurice Hallet, Governor of U P. passed order commuting the sentence of death to transportation for life of Basaudha Singh who had been convicted and sentenced in the Jehangirganj Riot case which arose out of the 1942 August disturbances.

15th Sir J P. Srivastava, Food Member, Government of India, met representatives of the various Chambers of Commerce at a conference convened at the premises of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta and discussed with them the food position in Bengal and in India generally.—He also received a deputation of the Bengal and Calcutta Rice Mills Association

Mr. B. C. Patel, Deputy Textile Commissioner to the Government of India, in the course of a broadcast from Bombay, said "Controlled distribution of cloth in some form or another will have to continue for a very long time to come in view of the world shortage of textile and in view of the inadequate production in India."

Mr Arther Henderson, under-Secretary of State for India in answer to a question in the House of Commons stated "There is no foundation for any suggestion that the arrest of Pandit Nehru is contemplated."

16th. Sir Thomas Austin, Adviser to H E. the Governor of Madras, observed in

Madras · "In these days, the European and Anglo-Indian Communities in India, must realise that through their educational institutions, they must fit themselves for open competition with all other communities for employment in Government Service, professional career and business openings."

Sir J. P. Srivastava, at the conclusion of his visit to Bengal to study the food situation observed· "I am convinced that the prospects of the winter rice crop have been improved by the late rains and that the distress which was at one time apprehended, if weather conditions continued unfavourable, is not likely to occur".

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a statement in Bombay, re election, said "It is for the Muslims of India to prove to the world that the All-India Muslim League represents the Muslim nation in this country; every Muslim vote cast in favour of Muslim League candidates will be a vote for Muslim solidarity and will simplify the solution of the permanent constitutional problem of India".

Pandit Hridaynath Kunzu, in an interview in Calcutta, expressed the hope that the Govern ment of India, who had so far stood by the Kenya Indians would give them all the help they could at this juncture.

The Secretary of State for India Lord Pethick Lawrence, said in London · "His Majesty's Government intend that the march towards complete self-government in India must have its pace greatly quickened."

17th The Commission appointed by the Government of India to survey Anglo-Indian and European Education in connexion with the Post-war Reconstruction Scheme, with Rev G. D Barne, Bishop of Lahore, as chairman, commenced its sittings in Madras

Sj Sarat Chandra Bose, speaking at a public meeting at Darjeeling, declared that the British, French, Dutch and American Imperialists to-day stood before the bar of history, and that history would not hesitate to censure them on the ground that for years while they had been glibly speaking of freedom and democracy they were merely giving lip-service to them and when the time for test came they did their best to perpetuate slavery in the subject countries of the East.

The death anniversary of Lala Lajpat Roy was celebrated at Lahore.

18th. Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani, Secretary, Women's Department, All-India Congress Committee, asked in a circular letter to all provincial Congress Committees to organise women's work in their respective provinces without any further delay by appointing women's sub-committee's afresh or make necessary changes in the personnel of the old committees so as to make them more effective.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya re-enrolled himself as a four-anna member of the Indian National Congress.

Prof. Harold Laski writing in *Reynold News* criticised the use of Indian troops in Java and Indo-China

19th. The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee released a report on alleged Government repression and 'atrocities' that followed the 1942 August movement in the Tamluk subdivision, Midnapur District, the area concerned covered six police stations—Sutahata, Nandigram, Mahisadal, Tamluk, Panchkura and Mayna.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, in reply to a question in the House of Commons, stated. "Removal of the ban on political organisation in India has been carried as far as it is considered to be possible at present having due regard to the maintenance of law and order."

20th The Rt. Rev. G. D Barne, Bishop of Lahore, and President of the commission to survey Anglo-Indian and European Education in the country at a public meeting in Madras said · "We do feel that, whatever the difficulties may be, it is absolutely essential that the Anglo-Indian Community, which is a small minority in the country, should be absolutely united and speak with one voice so that its rightful place in the future may be safe"

Sir Jogendra Singh, Member in charge of the Department of Health, at the opening of the 34th conference of the Trained Nurses' Association of India, in New Delhi, said · "I have no doubt that, given suitable accommodation and satisfactory condition of service, educated Indian women will be forthcoming in sufficient numbers to staff our existing hospitals."

The National Planning Committee issued comprehensive instructions to its

various sub-committees to supplement its previous instructions. The new instructions took complete note of the changed conditions in the various spheres of National Planning resulting from the war and were based on the fundamental need for a National Government.

21st. In a clash between National Army Demonstrators and the police in Calcutta two persons were killed and 61 others were admitted to hospital. The clash occurred when the police objected to the procession, composed predominantly of students, taking a particular route and the demonstrators insisted on proceeding to the prohibited area (Dalhousie Square).

Congress secured a distinct majority in the district local board elections in Orissa.

22nd. The Students' demonstrations in Calcutta as a protest against the I. N. A. trial took a serious turn The police opened fire at several places killing 15 people and causing injuries to over 115. Some police officers were injured.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, speaking at an election meeting, said . "The door for any negotiation with the Muslim League is now closed The Congress is not going to make any more offer to it"

Dr. Shyama Prosad Mukherjee said in Calcutta 'The public of Calcutta must demand unitedly an immediate independent enquiry into the ugly incidents that have happened in Calcutta. The situation in the city continues to be very tense yet, and nothing should be done to aggravate it" Dr. Mookherjee added "The attack on the students was wanton and ruthless and from the nature of the wound received by them it would appear the attack was deliberate. Deepest sympathy would be felt for those who had died or received injuries. The students evinced remarkable discipline and determination. Even bullets did not put fright in them or make them run away"

23rd. The students of Bombay staged a demonstration in response to the appeal issued by the All-India Students' Congress. The demonstration was for the purpose of expressing sympathy and support to the students' action in Calcutta.—Such demonstrations were held in most of the big cities and towns of India.

Twenty-four persons were injured, ten of them seriously, when police opened fire at two places in South Calcutta. Eighteen of the injured were admitted to hospital.

(In the afternoon of the 22nd, Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose asked the Secretary to H E the Governor of Bengal to convey a message to His Excellency that in Sj Sarat Chandra Bose's opinion, if the police armed or otherwise were withdrawn immediately he was certain that the situation in Calcutta could be controlled within a few minutes)

Calcutta's civil life was paralysed. Filtered and unfiltered water supply stopped as a result of the 20,000 employees of all departments of the Corporation going on strike.

The police opened fire at several places in the city, five persons were killed and 27 injured (7 persons died in the hospital).

At a meeting in Madras, under the auspices of the Engineering Association, Mr T R Venkatarama Sastri, Member of the Hindu Law Committee spoke on the "Draft Hindu Code"

24th Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel speaking at an election meeting in Bombay, advised the students and youngmen of India not to fritter away their energies and 'fight" in trifling quarrels with the police but to conserve every ounce of energy and fight in them for the "coming struggle"

Mrs Vijayalakshmi Pandit stated at Springfield (Ohio). 'I have little faith in statesmen to bring about world security I believe common peoples are the ones who would make an entire world structure for peace if they get their thinking straight on major matters in all countries of the world"

Sir C P Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, in his convocation address at the Patna University gave a warning that unless the Universities and the wise men of the world re educate mankind into a new culture and a new science of life, the human race might be overwhelmed by abysses, such as World War II, at the sight of which humanity was shuddering

25th. Mr. Asaf Ali, member of the Congress Working Committee, in a statement

from New Delhi, appealed to students not to take out processions, and to conduct themselves with exemplary restraint and discipline even under the greatest provocations

26th His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, opening the 16th. meeting of the Central Board of Irrigation at the Viceroy's House (New Delhi), said : "I am convinced that irrigation is of such vital importance to India and of such lasting benefit that we must adopt a much bolder policy in the matter of finance than we have done in the past."

Mr Kiran Sankar Roy, the Congress leader, in the course of a statement on police firing and disturbances in Calcutta, said. "The students were non-violent and the entire responsibility for the blood-shed must be on the shoulders of those, who in the name of law and order, always break law and order at their sweet will with little or no provocation "

Mr N M Joshi, Indian Workers' delegate to the International Labour Conference in an interview in Bombay, gave a review of the work of the Indian delegation to the International Labour Conference at Paris, who raised the question of adequate representation of the Asiatic Countries on the Governing Body of the I L O

The House of Lords gave the 2nd. reading without discussion to the India (Proclamation of Emergency) Bill amending the Government of India Act 1935 regarding the effect of the Proclamation of emergency under Sec 102 of that Act

27th. Mr. Ram Prasad, member of the Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha resigned his membership of the Hindu Mahasabha and joined the Congress.

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar was unanimously elected chairman of Committee III of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations' organisation sitting in London

Dr B R Ambedkar, Labour Member, Government of India, defined the States' obligations to Labour, in his presidential address to the Seventh Indian Labour Conference which met in New Delhi

28th The strike of the employees of the Calcutta Corporation, involving 20,000 men ended and the men returned to work

At an emergent meeting of the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, under the presidentship of Dr Shyama Prasad Mookherjee, a resolution was passed condemning 'the shooting and lathi charges on students and citizens in different parts of Calcutta on Wednesday (21st), Thursday (22nd) & Friday (23rd) last," and demanding "immediate appointment of an impartial Committee for inquiring into the tragic incidents"

29th The Orissa Boundary dispute was settled by H E the Governor General

Sir M Visvesvaraya, in a memorandum on the development of heavy industries in the Provinces, made the suggestion that two new heavy industries should be started in every Province immediately, if the Government were really serious in the declarations that they wished "to promote rapid industrialisation of the country"

According to a Government of Bengal statement, the police opened fire on 14 occasions during the disturbances in Calcutta during the previous week The military were not called upon to open fire at any time The enquiries prescribed by the police regulation into the circumstances of each of the firings by the police were proceeding

30th Referring to the Press Note issued by the Government of Bengal, Sj Sarat Chandra Bose made a statement in which he said "If the Government of Bengal desire to hold an inquiry, it has to be made by an impartial tribunal consisting of High Court judges and leading members of the public in whom the latter have confidence"

December 1945

Mr. M. A. Jinnah celebrated his 70th. birthday and Dr. Rajendra Prasad his 61st. birthday.

Prof. Jyotish Chandra Ghosh was released from jail.

Mr. Jinnah was declared elected to the Central Assembly.

Lord Pethick Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, declared in the House of Lords: "H.M.G proposed.... to promote early realization of self-Government in India."

In a debate in the House of Commons Mr Arthur Henderson, Under-Secretary for India, assured the House that the policy of progressive release of detenus would be pursued as rapidly as conditions in India would permit.

The Congress Working Committee met in Calcutta Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided The Committee re-affirmed the need of non-violence. The resolution was drafted by Mahatma Gandhi

His Excellency Lord Wavell, addressing the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta, promised to help India to frame a constitution.

Prof Laski, chairman of the British Labour Party declared "It is time we left India"

Mrs Sarojini Naidu, addressing a meeting in Calcutta, said that after seeing Capt. Shah Nawaz, Capt. Sehgal and Lt Dhillon, she wished they were her sons

The House of Commons gave the second reading to the India (Proclamation of Emergency) Bill.

Mr Arthur Henderson, Under-Secretary for India, said in the House of Commons, re. food situation in India 'The food situation in India gives no ground for complacency."

All the six Muslim seats from Bengal in the Central Assembly were captured by the Muslim League

At the All-India Women's Conference at Hyderabad (Dn), a number of resolutions were passed relating to the political situation in India and the release of I. N A prisoners

1st Prof Jyotish Chandra Ghosh, formely acting President of the Bengal Provincial Forward Bloc was released form jail

Nawab Zain Yar Jung, Member for Public Works, H E H the Nizam's Executive Council, delivering the Convocation Address of the Aligarh Muslim University emphasised the need for self-discipline among students

H. E. the Viceroy and Lady Wavell visited the Punjab Headworks at Bhawalpur.

2nd On the occasion of Dr. Rajendra Prasad's 61st birthday, Mahatma Gandhi in a message said: "Rajendra Prasad is a true patriot Long live Rajendra Prasad"

Dr Shyama Prasad Mookherjee, President of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, who was a candidate for election to the Central Assembly from the Calcutta Suburbs constituency withdrew from the contest on account of his illness.

The reply of the communist members of the A. I. C C. to the charges made against them by the Congress Working Committee in regard to their conduct during the 1942 movement, was delivered at the A I C C Office through a special messenger.

3rd. In the Mysore Legislative Council, after a full dress debate, an adjournment motion tabled by Mr O Veerabasappa (Chitaldrug) criticising a Government order giving absolute power to the Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University to make appointment of non-gazetted officers to the University 'in contravention of Sec. 14 of the Mysore University Act III of 1933, and opposed to public interest" was carried.

Mahatma Gandhi had an interview with H. E Mr R. G. Casey, Governor of Bengal.

4th. Mr. M A Jinnah was declared elected to the Central Legislative Assembly from the Bombay Urban Muslim constituency

Lord Pethick Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, in a statement in the House of Lords, declared: "The statement made by the Viceroy after his return to India contemplates steps which H M G propose should be taken to promote early realization of full self-Government in India—"The full significance of these proposals does not seem to have been properly appreciated in India"—"Since it is the firm conviction of H M G that it is by and in consultation with, directly elected representatives of the Indian people that decisions as to the future governance of British India should be taken, it was a necessary preliminary that elections should be held to the Provincial Legislatures and the Central Assembly in India—"It was announced that, after the elections in India preparatory discussions would be held with the elected representatives of British India and with the Indian States to secure the widest measure of agreement as to the method of framing the constitution"

5th Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant stated in Calcutta that the announcement made by Lord Pethick Lawrence left him cold

Rt Hon Srinivasa Sastri in an interview in Madras, said "The situation here needs emphatic even revolutionary action and if the imagination of the people is to be caught it must be prompt"

Sj Sarat Chandra Bose in a statement said: "I can assure Lord Pethick Lawrence that Indians do not desire to bring the future constitution of India into being by force or threat"

H E Mr R G Casey, Governor of Bengal addressing the annual parade of the Calcutta Police, said 'I wish to make it perfectly clear that I and my administration stand for a fair and free election"

6th Mr P F S Warren was appointed Sheriff of Calcutta, in succession to Mr J K Mitter

Mr Frederick John Burrows Governor-designate of Bengal, told Empire newspapermen at the India Office (London) that, 'I shall be a very happy man indeed if, before my term of office expires in Bengal, I witness the realization of the aspirations of the Indian people"

A Press Note from New Delhi said. "His Excellency the Viceroy has agreed to see Mr Gandhi shortly in Calcutta"

7th The Government of Madras, in response to public demand, revised the interpretation of the rule regarding the requirement of 120 days residence for a person otherwise qualified to be brought on the electoral register

The House of Commons had a debate on the Indian elections—One of the main points was an announcement by the under-Secretary of State for India, Mr Arthur Henderson that the policy of progressive release of detenus would be continued as rapidly as conditions in India would permit

His Excellency Mr R G Casey, Governor of Bengal, had a discussion with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at Government House, Calcutta

The Congress Working Committee met for a five day session at Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's residence in Calcutta Mahatma Gandhi was present for about 2 hours

Mr P C Joshi, General Secretary of the Communist Party in India replying on behalf of six communist members of the All India Congress Committee to the charges made against them by the sub-committee appointed by the Congress Working Committee at its Poona session in September 1944, made the claim that "the Communists and the leader appointed by the A I. C C (Mahatma Gandhi) to be in sole charge of the August struggle not only understood the August 1942 events in the same way, but even expressed them in the same words"

8th H E Mr R G Casey, broadcasting from Calcutta, said "The land and water of Bengal. are physical matters essential to the welfare of the ordinary man If we do not develop our physical resources, I believe that we shall be faced with, if not tragedy at least with stagnation."

The Congress Working Committee met for its second day's session. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided.—The morning session was solely devoted to provincial election matters and meeting a deputation of South Indian Congressmen

Mr M Y. Nurie, former Minister, Bombay, in an interview, said: 'The Nationalist Muslims and their allied organizations are the friends of the Congress.

because the Congress fights against British Imperialism which is Enemy Number I of India and Muslims."

9th. Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Wavell arrived in Calcutta.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing the annual convocation of the National Council of Education, Bengal at Jadavpur said: "In future Indian engineers and technicians would have a great part to play in the reconstruction work of the country, the progress of which had been arrested for the last 200 years of British rule."

The Congress Working Committee took up for consideration the election manifesto to be issued in connection with the provincial elections

10th His Excellency Lord Wavell, addressing the annual session of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta declared "India has great opportunities for political freedom together with advantages, industrial advancement and agricultural development in the fight against poverty, illiteracy and ill health"

Lord Wavell promised to help India to frame a constitution and secure the support of the principal parties in the Central Government, so as to enable them to bear a full share of the responsibility for administering the country during the interval before the change of the constitution could be made— He concluded by saying "The objective of all is the same, the freedom and welfare of India"

Mahatma Gandhi had an interview with His Excellency the Viceroy in Calcutta

The Congress Working Committee decided to hold the next annual session of the Congress in the 1st week of April at Delhi—The Delhi session would be devoted to the future constitutional Status of India

Mr Jinnah said in Bombay "I remain convinced that Pakistan is the only hope for a fair and lasting settlement of the Indian problem"

11th The Congress Working Committee ended its five day session (in Calcutta) after passing "the most important resolution on the Congress creed of non-violence"—The resolution which was drafted by Mahatma Gandhi, reaffirmed the Congress creed of non-violence and emphasized the need for Congress strictly to adhere to the non-violent creed in their struggle for political freedom

Prof Laski, Chairman of the British Labour Party, declared "It is time that we left India"

Mr Arthur Henderson, under-Secretary for India stated in the House of Commons that the food situation in India would continue to require constant watching but the Secretary of State for India, who was in continuous touch with the Government of India on the subject, saw no cause for apprehension of a famine whether in Bengal or elsewhere in India

The Congress election manifesto issued by the Congress Working Committee said that in the general elections only one thing counted—'the freedom and independence of our motherland, from which all other freedoms will flow to our people Many a time the people of India have taken the pledge of independence That pledge has yet to be redeemed and the well-beloved cause for which it stands and which has summoned us so often still beckons us The time is coming when we shall redeem it in full'

12th Mrs Sarojini Naidu, addressing a women's meeting in Calcutta said that she had seen Capt Shah Nawaz, Captain Sehgal and Lt Dhillon of the Indian National Army If one could choose her sons, she for one, would choose them as her sons

13th. Mr Herbert Morrison, Lord President of the Council announced in the House of Commons that the Parliamentary delegation to India would include members of both Houses

The India League of America, at its eighth annual meeting in New York warned that unless a constitution for free India was framed soon after the elections "there may be violence and chaos exceeding the first armed revolution of 1857

A Congress Election Board was formed for the Bengal Provincial elections with Sj Sarat Chandra Bose as chairman

14th Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a public meeting at Gauhati, said 'We

want the establishment of a democratic Government, with complete power to the masses to solve poverty, misery, ill-health add promote the economic development of India "

15th Sj Sarat Chandra Bose (Congress) was elected to the Central Legislative Assembly from the Calcutta Constituency

The third Court Martial presided over by Brig C D O.'Callaghan began the trial of Subedar Shingara Singh and Jamedar Fateh Khan, of the 5/11 Punjab Regiment, at the Red Fort, Delhi.

16th. Dr Sir Cyril Fox, lately Director of Geological Survey of India, in an interview at Bhopal, made a strong plea for nationalisation of the vast mineral resources of India

17th. Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, in a statement on reports of disturbances in connection with the Central Assembly election in Bengal declared. "If any acts of violence have been committed by Muslim League, no one deplores it more than I do,"

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, replying to an address at Shillong said that in the coming changes in India the present structure of Government, which was of an autocratic nature and might be described as a police State dealing with defence, external, and internal and raising taxes would have to change into a thoroughly democratic one which would have to consider the political, economic and social welfare of the country as a whole

18th The House of Commons gave the second reading to the India (Proclamation of Emergency) Bill and approved without discussion a motion continuing to force certain proclamations issued by the Governor of Orissa

The House of Commons gave the second reading to the India (Proclamation of Emergency) Bill designed to remove or prevent doubts as to the legal basis for certain emergency powers which had been exercised by the Government of India during the war.

19th. His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore declared open at Trivandrum the 20th. session of the Indian Philosophical Conference. Prof. M. Sharif of the Department of Philosophy, Muslim University, Aligarh, who presided over the Conference, gave an interesting survey on the origin and achievements of Muslim thought

The Government of India extended their order under the Defence of India Rules requiring 14 days notice of strikes or lockouts to cover the period of transition from war to peace

Mr Arthur Henderson, under Secretary for India, in a statement on the food situation in the House of Commons, said "The food situation in India gives no grounds for complacency, and substantial assistance in the form of cereal imports from abroad is still necessary. With this assistance, however, the administrative measures, which have been taken in India, should prevent a recurrence of famine in Bengal or elsewhere in India."

20th. A sum of Rs 3,00 000 was allotted by the Bengal Government for expenditure on local projects in Midnapore and Bankura districts with a view to sustaining employment in the immediate future as part of official measures for the relief of distress in the two areas.

A Press Note stated from New Delhi "Special family, bereavement, maintenance or subsistence allowance now being paid to wives and widows in India of missing and deceased British officers and other ranks of the R I. N. and Indian Army are to be discontinued"

21st Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Member for Planning & Development, Government of India, met in Conference in Calcutta, Mr C W Gurner Adviser for Finance, Mr L. K. Fawcus, Member, Board of Revenue and Mr O M Martin, Development Commissioner, Bengal.

Sir Sultan Ahmad, addressing the annual Convocation of the Punjab University, suggested the establishment of a country-wide organization to combat communalism and remove ideological separatism.

22nd Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, speaking at a meeting in Calcutta, emphasized young men's need for discipline and training for service in the cause of the country.

23rd Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, giving his views on the Parliamentary Delegation to India, observed at Allahabad: "I wish it were realized by the people in England that the time for investigations and fact-findings has long since passed. What the occasion demands is that the Government should take action and define a definite policy as to what steps they should propose to take in the event of certain eventualities."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari observed at Vellore "Swaraj means that people live happily without foreign interference Government should be people's friend. At present there is no real Government in our country and so people are afraid of the Government."

24th Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Member for Planning and Development, Government of India, laid the foundation stone at Jadavpur, near Calcutta of the Central Glass and Ceramic Research Institute.

Mr. N. M. Joshi, Indian Labour leader in Bombay, made the suggestion to send out to India a British Parliamentary delegation to study conditions in India first hand by personal contacts and discussions

25th. Mr. M. A Jinnah celebrated his 70th birth day

The All Parties Shia Conference at Poona adopted a resolution stating that the Shias could not support the Muslim League demand for Pakistan. Mr. Hussainbhoy Laljee presided

A comprehensive ten year plan for health, costing approximately Rs 1000 crores by way of capital and recurring expenditure, was suggested by the All-India Health Survey and Development Committee in Bombay.

26th Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League said in New Delhi "No other democratic party in the history of the world has achieved such a success as the Muslim League has achieved in the recent elections"

Pandit Rajnath Kunzru, Member of the Defence Council Committee, said: "The condition of Indians in Burma and Malaya is pitiable.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing an election meeting at Fatehpur, said "Britain has promised India complete Independence after the election. Whether she wished it or not, Britain will have to keep her promise."

27th. The Sapru Committee report on Constitutional proposals were published The report was compiled by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Dr. M. R. Jayakar, Sir N Gopalaswami Ayyangar and Kunwar Sir Jagadish Prasad — The Committee said "We have endeavoured throughout to make and maintain a constructive approach to the many knotty problems that confronted us, to investigate them from every angle, to appraise as dispassionately as we could, every fact, circumstance or conceivable argument, and to reach conclusion which, in our estimation, were calculated to promote the lasting interests of our motherland and were likely to elicit the approbation of thinking Indians"

Mr. G M Syed, President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, said at Karachi. "The inevitable has come to pass My worst fears regarding the reactionary leadership of the Muslim League organization have materialized"

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant said at Cawnpore. "If India is broken into pieces in response to the demand of the sponsors of Pakistan, there will neither be Pakistan nor Hindustan but perpetual Gaulamistan" to the detriment of the people."

28th. At the 10th session of the All India Women's Conference at Hyderabad (Dn), Mrs Hansa Mehta, in her presidential address demanded the promulgation of a Women's charter, defining the position of women their rights and their responsibilities, to enable them to play their part in political, social and economic spheres of the post-war reconstruction programme.

The South India Industrial and Commercial Conference concluded its deliberation in Madras after adopting a number of resolutions in regard to problems connected with trade and commerce in Madras. Sir N. Visvesvaraya presided.

The General Session of the All India Educational Conference was held in Madras. Sir C P. Ramaswami Aiyar presided.

29th All the six Muslim seats from Bengal in the Central Legislative Assembly were captured by the Muslim League.

At the All-India Women's Conference at Hyderabad (Dn) a number of resolutions were passed relating to the political situation in India and the release of I. N. A. prisoners.—The resolution on W. A. C (1) and other resolutions were moved from the chair and passed without discussion.

30th. Dr Cousins, presiding over the meeting of the Inter-nationalism, Peace and Geopolitics section of the All-India Educational Conference in Madras, said that what was required to-day was not unanimity of opinion so much as unanimity of outlook. The world needed today a complete synthesis of the culture of the various people to find these in a deeper realization of the human spirit which would give them the true guidance for world peace

His Excellency the Viceroy and Lady Wavell completed a flying visit to Port Blair and one or two islands of the Andamans group.

Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Planning and Development Member, Government of India, who toured the C. P, Bengal and Orissa, said in an interview, that the Bengal five-year Post-war Development Plan had made considerable progress since his visit to Calcutta in the previous year

At the 28th session of the Indian Economic Conference held at Lahore, Principal Karve pleaded for deepening the foundations and broadening the scope of the science of Economics so that it should assume a more willing and a more constructive note in shaping social polity and for establishing a closer contact with other sister sciences, such as Sociology, Politics, Psychology, Ethics and Anthropology

Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar at the 8th session of the Indian Political Science Conference observed. "Without knowledge of the fundamentals of political science no person can perform the higher tasks of administration either intelligently or efficiently and political practice should be brought as near as possible to the norms of political theory."

31st. Major General Blaxland, President of the 1st I. N A Court Martial at the Red Fort, Delhi gave an indication that the three accused, Captains Shah Nawaz, Sehgal and Lt. Dhillon have been found guilty on one or more charges framed against them

Pt Jawaharlal Nehru presiding over the 8th session of the All India States People's Conference at Udaipur (Rajputana) said "Our approach to the Princes of Indian States must be a friendly one—an invitation to them to join hands in the great tasks ahead. They must realise that these tasks have to be undertaken, that great changes must come, that they cannot rely for long on the protection of an alien power."

India in Home Polity

The last six months of 1945 will live in India's history as the time which witnessed the miracle of a great awakening amongst her people, awaking to a new life of high audacity, of reckless disregard of the order of things established by the British rulers of the country. For about three years since the "August" days of 1942, her people had lain low under the iron boots of an alien army of occupation, dragooned into silence by methods of terrorism patterned after what have come to be known as the speciality of the "Nazi" in Europe. In the name of Defence of India Rules, a gagged silence had been imposed on the country, and the world was called upon to accept this peace of the desert as the sign and symbol of the great heart of the Indian people acquiescing in and heartily co-operating with the methods of Anglo-American warfare with one of its bases and arsenals established in India. The Bengal Famine of 1943-44 had high-lighted the supineness of a people allowing themselves to be killed by starvation, a scarcity of food grains rationed by the needs and necessities of a war that had no reference to any interest in India. The war had brought to India's shores lakhs of foreigners from the civilized regions of the United States, from the head hunters' countries in Africa. All of them sophisticated people from the West and innocent people from the 'dark continent', stood awe-struck in inexplicable bewilderment at this scene of devastation in the heart of a world society that had been promised "freedom from want" as one of the objectives to be secured by the United Nations Organization of which India was one of the original signatories. This silent death of millions of men, women and children was a phenomenon that could not be explained to the denizens of the West sojourning in our country as crusaders in a new war against all the abominations of human greed and human pride. Many of them, the vast majority of them, appeared to have accepted it as natural to India's social economy, as an outgrowth of a social arrangement even under the civilized British administration, an arrangement that even this administration has failed to modify or control. Whether this interpretation be a fact or a fiction, it is undeniable that the Western mind had found it difficult to understand the toleration of such a state of things both by the rulers and the ruled. The calm of the Bengal Famine, following that which was created in the political field by the "resolute government" of the Linlithgow and Wavell Administrations, was an interlude that deceived no body, it proved itself to be the calm that presaged the storm. In the history of every country, struggling to throw off foreign yoke, these revolts and retributions, these outbursts and calmnesses were like the warp and weft of a pattern, these were like the waves and the troughs of the sea, both necessary for the life that the sea represented in the economy of Nature. An Irish writer, Shaw Desmond, in his *Drama of Sinn Fein* has described the process the workings of which we witnessed in India during the times we have been discussing. Speaking

India wakes up again

of the age-long fight of the Irish people against British dominance, flashed by the 1916 Revolt, he said

"That blind unconsciousness that is Ireland's soul, is once more, as through the centuries, rising above the threshold of consciousness, true to type, rising to find its old hate of England and its old love of any Irishman, however mad, who would strike a blow at the English connection, an impotent hate, a will o' the wisp, without body or backbone or consciousness—but always there. Once more the tiny Conscious Minority, at first misunderstood and scorned, are to find that 'inert mass' of the great Majority, to which Thomas Mac-Donagh in his last speech referred with such contempt, 'reeling after them' like drunken men responding to the beckoning of dead hands... for the time, only for the time"

"For, always Ireland waits. Always that unconscious soul of her waits, under the pressure of events, of opportunity, to rise above the threshold of consciousness, to flare upwards to astonish the world and Ireland, and leave the misery of the Five Years to be resurrected, once more the appeal to physical force—and once more the failure utter of that force. "

The leadership of this element

The India of the last forty years, of the two world war years, of the years of the World War II, of the 20th century, has rolled on the waves of a slow but steady revolt against the system of administration that robbed her of every semblance of self respect as a separate unit in the modern world A land peopled by about 400 millions of persons was not felt to be necessary to be consulted in the decision that threw her into a war the end of which could not be reached without Indian lives being killed and Indian money and resources being sacrificed for a cause that made no appeal to her sentiments and had no reference to any of her material interests The majority of the leaders of the many political parties in India did not want to put difficulties in the way of Britain fighting for her survival as one of the great Powers of the world. Many of them were moved by generous impulses, refusing to treat her adversity as India's opportunity, more of them were by nature and tradition enlisted on the side of the ruling authorities as the defenders of their vested interests. But in the heart of the "inert mass" burned ever a fire of resentment against the alien Authority that had disrupted the norms and forms of their habitual life, material and spiritual And in the heart of the political movement represented by the Indian National Congress there was a core of irreconcilable opposition to all that Britain stood for, which made no bones about hitting her even during the direst crisis of her life Long before the leaderless people broke the chains of fear and the bounds of calculating reason during the months of August—October, 1942, a section of Congress leadership had been pressing on the attention of their colleagues the need for re-orienting the policy of the National Organization to the paths of a more aggressive policy that would treat Britain's adversity as India's opportunity. From what came out during the last six months of 1945 in course of the trial of the three officers of the Indian National Army, the Army of Liberation formed under the stress of east Asiatic developments both in its initial shape under the leadership of the Indian Independence League and its full flowering under the inspired leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose, the Indian people were startled into a realization of the fact that the political controversies of 1937, 1938 and 1939 had stood not for the clash of personalities and the competition for political leadership, but for something more elemental. These represented the

conflict of two conceptions of political warfare directed against the irresponsible State Authority that held India down Gandhiji and Subhas Chandra Bose represented these opposing forces, bigger than the issues that had diverted attention during the years referred to above

Conflict of ideologies and practices

The general public who had taken sides in the controversies appear now to have wholly misunderstood their inner and real meaning and significance In helping to oust from the leadership of the Congress the President of the Haripura and Tripuri sessions of the Congress, they did it under the magic influence of Gandhiji's name, unconscious of the strength of the "inert mass" that lay disorganized in their own country and sceptical of its powers. For about twenty years Gandhiji had been holding before their eyes the vision splendid of renovated life regained by their self restraint, by the organization of the various forces of their national life on the platform of *Ahimsa*, non violence, conscious refusal to apply brute force to wrest political power from Britain The system of thought that Subhas Chandra Bose represented differed both in theory and practice from the Gandhian ethics. Gandhiji has built brick upon brick his philosophy of life through experiment and trial, starting from an angle of life that had no relation to what has come to be known as Indian Nationalism. As an individual he had wrestled with the problems of life as these had erupted into his cognisance, these had challenged his habits of thought and conduct and demanded an answer to justify their place in the scheme of civilized society and as it had evolved during the last century under the dominance of Western thought Gandhiji had re-acted to this challenge by seeking its proper answer in the system of thought built up by the thought leaders of the Western world. His *Hind Swaraj* embodied the lessons of his search for truth as these ought to be applied to the solution of the Indian problem, the problem that is the product of the dominant thought and practice of the modern world symbolized by Britain, the product of the angry reaction of the Indian mind hurt in its self-esteem by the parvenu civilization of a small island in the north-east Atlantic Gandhiji's philosophy of life has a universal message, and has nothing distinctly Indian in it. In its pursuit the country of his birth did not count more than any other country that suffered from the injustice of an unbalanced social life That he has become today the most powerful single personal influence in India is because the mass mind in India has found in him their ideal of the traditional saviour of mankind who cleanses the world by his inner peace, by goodness incarnated in activities that refuse to profit by the labour of others, that bring simple men and women to the simplicities of human existence, un encumbered by the trappings of civilization. When Gandhiji started his life's journey he had accepted modern civilization and its claims as any ordinary man does. But soon the challenge from the depth of human existence turned him from the pursuit of these and he almost broke from his past and re-created a new pattern of thought that put him in line with the prophets of new life in every age and clime Living in the 19th century he found direct inspiration in the writings of Ruskin Tolstoy. And with a singleness of purpose for half a century he has dared experiment with the various phases of truth in thought and action

that outraged his sense of values, individual and social. As a contrast to this stood the life of Subhas Chandra Bose in many ways a child of the modern age and a rebel against it. He was born in an age when his people were making a new departure in the complacent life of their generation, dissatisfied with the system of thought and life introduced amongst them by the alien rulers of the country. It was the age of Vivekananda, of the age that Bankim Chandra Chatterjee had created by his constructive criticism of the current ideology and practice of the society, half Indian and half European in its habits. It was the age when Rabindra Nath Tagore was giving the sublimest expression to the deepest sentiments of his people. It was the age when Congress policy and practice were being subjected to a new re-valuation in the light of universal experience of the futility of "petition, prayer and protest" as an instrument of political renovation, for the assertion of popular rights in a country that is subject to the control of an alien State. Aurobinda Ghosh and Bipin Chandra Pal were the evangelists of this new criticism, the path-finders of a new "Grimness" to use a word used by the late Srinivasa Sastri in describing the emergence of the New Party in Indian politics. Subhas Chandra Bose imbibed the spirit of this new audacity from the earliest years of his life. Pen pictures drawn by his contemporaries showed him a thoughtful child, thoughtful beyond his age, dreaming dreams of a life of renunciation of the world and the flesh as Vivekananda had lived in the recent past. He is represented as afraid of being drawn into any wide social activity, as preferring the life of the thinker, the philosopher and the ascetic. The call of the Himalayas had once in his early youth taken him to its heart in search of the *Guru*, the preceptor, who could help him to understand and realize the Ultimate Reality at the back of his phenomenal world. His particular line of study for his graduation was Philosophy. Thus by nature and tradition the mould of his character was thrown in the life of contemplation in the avoidance of the pleasures of the world which the generality of us hanker after. What influences, personal and impersonal, transformed Subhas Chandra Bose into the man of action, into the Supreme Commander of an Army of Liberation and the head of an independent State and Government is one of those riddles of human character which we must leave to time to explain, to reveal in their grandeur and glory. The spirit of the times, the courage and intrepidity of the Bengalee revolutionaries of the Swadeshi and anti-Partition Agitation days may have been contributory factors in this transformation. But transcending all these was the personal factor, the special make-up of Subhas Chandra Bose, the special characteristics with which he came endowed from on high. How the world-disregarding element in his character came to be fused with his regard for humanity about him, poor in body and mind, suffering from social injustice and political degradation, is a problem in human psychology not easy to elucidate. In Bengal's recent history there have been men whom the sorrows and sufferings of their neighbours had called to their service with a forgetfulness of self and concentration of energies that are the marks and notes of ideal human character. Subhas Chandra Bose might have been built in that mould. But wherefrom did he receive the imprint of those qualities

that made a Bengalee young man, nursed in luxury and affluence, into a hero in battle fields, the Bengalee young man in whose society all martial traditions had been crushed by the policy of an alien Government? This phase in the development of Subash Chandra Bose will remain a part of the inner history of the Bengalee people which the historian of Indian renaissance and redemption can reveal when surer knowledge comes to him in the process of time. We leave the subject indicating the contrast between the life and times of Gandhiji and of "Netaji," the Supreme Commander of the Azad Hind Fauz, the Army of India's Liberation.

Subhas Chandra's predecessors

We have now to make an attempt to understand and explain wherein lay the elements of the conflict that appeared to separate these two nation-builders in India and that drove Subhas Chandra Bose to the daring exploit of playing a personal part in the armageddon that was to break up the balance in world affairs. Till January 1941, when Subhas Chandra Bose staked his all in the attempt to drive British Imperialism out of India with the help of its enemy Powers, none among the leaders of the Indian National Congress had dared think of risking India's ultimate freedom in the uncertainties of a war between competing world Powers. Middle 19th century Liberalism had moulded their thoughts and activities into what has come to be known as constitutional agitation for regaining the rights of free citizenship. The revolutionary patriotism of the Swadeshi and anti-Partition Agitation days had tried to shatter the unreality of all this concern for the peaceful transfer of power from the hands of an alien State. As pioneers of a new way of life, of a dangerous way of life, they blazed a trail that brings us to the days when Subhas Chandra Bose thought and worked as the flaming sword of a spirit of consistent revolt against foreign rule. The history of this movement of thought and activity is inter-linked with developments in areas as apart as Maharastra and Bengal, as apart as the Punjab and Bengal. The present generation of Indians growing under the spacious influence of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi appear to be forgetting it as a bad dream. But it needs retelling in order to explain the emergence of Subhas Chandra Bose as the Rebel President of the Indian National Congress, as the organiser of an Army and of a State in foreign lands, as the symbol of a free India upheld by the courage and strength of Indian fighting forces led by Indian commanders. The time is not yet when it is possible to indicate with precision the influence of the many personalities whose life and work, whose attempts and failures, created the conditions that in course of thirty years encouraged a Bengalee young man to launch forth an adventure for the formation of an Army of Liberation backed by the prestige of an independent State with himself as their head. He knew its terrible risks, of the heart-break experience of the failure of those of his predecessors who during World War I of 20th century had tried to take advantage of the British adversity as an opportunity for wresting political power from British hands. They failed because the minds of their people had not been prepared for such a desperate remedy for British exploitation and British misrule of India. The adventure of Subhas Chandra Bose fared the same fate, its reasons for failure can

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be traced to the same cause that led to the failure of Lala Har Dayal, of Bhai Paramananda and Raja Mohendra Pratap, of Maulana Mahmud Hassan of Deobond, of Sheik Obeidulla Sindi The years between the two World Wars have in India been marked by activities that eschewed the use of violence as an instrument of national freedom to be captured from an alien State Gandhiji's Non-coperation Movement, his Civil Disobedince Movement, had all been inspired by the philosophy that our faith in the ultimate goodness of human nature should make it shameful for the 400 millions of India to use force against 50 millions of Britain or the 70 millions of the British clan spread over Britain and her self-governing Dominions The technique of war that he wanted to evolve to fight wrongs and to secure justice in human relations was built on spiritual impulses within human nature, more powerful as instruments of war-fare than bayonets and guns, cannon and mortars, than the atom bombs. This trust in British human nature has influenced two generations of the Indian public men and publicists to dare experiment with this new instrument as against the organised might of the British Empire. Thought-leaders all the world over have welcomed it as the only out of the malaise that threatened the material and moral life of the world Even a section of Indian revolutionaries, predecessors and contemporaries of Subhas Chandra Bose, appear to have agreed to give it a trial without sharing Gandhiji's faith and his deathless hopes Even the "Rebel President" of the Congress that Subhas Chandra Bose proved himself to be, ever doubtful of its validity in thought and of its wisdom in practice, was forced to adopt it as an experiment. But by the thirties when international affairs appeared to be moving towards a crisis, leading to a world war in which the fate and fortunes of Britain would be involved, Subhas Chandra Bose grew anxious and began to press upon his colleagues in the leadership of the Congress to take advantage of this disturbance in the balance of forces in the international field, a disturbance that would reduce British influence in world affairs This was a development that might induce the British rulers to make their peace with India But before we go over this phase of the "Indian Struggle" we should like to retrace our steps and narrate the history of the earlier generation of Indian revolutionaries who had tried to take advantage of an identical situation during the first World-War. The story of the revolutionary movement in Bengal and certain other Provinces of India naturally comes into it It had an ideological background of about three quarters of a century of literary men, poets, dramatists, philosophers, social reformers, all mixed by a single impulse to rouse from their placid acceptance of current values of life, social and political, the millions of their countrymen sunk in stupefaction at the emergence of the alien State in India to rouse in them a consciousness of their dignity as Indians, to rouse them to a consciousness of the conflict between their material interests and those represented by the new rulers. But what we are concerned with in this study is the story of Indian revolutionary patriots of an earlier generation, of the generation of 1914-18, making attempts that failed almost at their initial stage, the attempts that Subhas Chandra Bose brought almost near to success and fulfilment.

It is the story of the attempt made by the Bengal and the

Punjab revolutionaries of the Ghadr Party to establish contact with Germany and Turkey when they were arrayed against Britain and her allies during World War I of the 20th century The Rowlatt Committee's Report gave a summary of the activities that marked this venture.

Organisers of the 1914-18 attempt

Lala Hardayal and Mr. Virendra Nath Chattapadhyaya, brother of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, took a prominent part in this link-up. The contribution of Barkatulla, of Sheik Obeidulla and of Maulana Mahmud Hasan Deobund towards enlisting the help of the Turkish Government represented by Enver Pasha formed part of the wider movement that had centres in California and Columbia in North America, in Germany, in Switzerland and Turkey in Europe, in Afghanistan, Burma, Siam and Japan in Asia. These centres, however, could not be treated as held together under central direction though all of them had been moved by the single purpose of freeing India from the shackles of British Imperialism Many levels of intelligence had co-operated in organizing these centres, the agriculturists and lumber traders and small-way merchants supplied by the Sikhs drawing inspiration from their heroic and martial traditions, with them were "sophisticated" University people represented, for instance, by Lala Hardayal and Bhai Paramananda. In Europe the leaders of the movement were all intellectuals, Shyamji Krishna Varma, Virendra Chatterji, Bhupen Dutt and Tarak Das may be accepted as representing the type. In Turkey and Afghanistan Muslim divines, upholders of the traditional values of Islamic life, and younger men fired by the example of the Young Turks, sophisticated in the ways of modern life, had co-operated in building up an anti-British Front. Raja Mohendra Pratap, a Taluqdar of the United Provinces founder of the Prem Mahavidyalaya of Brindaban, appears to have been made the central figure in the Turko-German negotiations with Indian revolutionaries In the scheme of Provisional Government of a free Republic of India, drawn up by Sheik Obeidulla Sindhi, Mahendra Pratap was suggested as President During those days Bengalee revolutionaries appeared to have played their most significant part in organizing the revolutionary forces within the borders of India From Chittagong to Lahore they appeared to have acted as the linch-pins of the movement Three names appeared prominent in these activities—Jatindra Nath Mukherjee, Rash Behari Bose, and Sachindra Nath Sanyal The first died fighting with Police forces (1915) at Katipada, 20 miles from Balasore. The second escaped to Japan where he married a Japanese lady, became a citizen of Japan but remained till his last days (1945) the centre of the anti-British activities all over East Asia When Japan over-ran the whole of this region driving before her victorious army the century-old might of British Imperialism, when more than 70,000 of the fighting forces of Britain were surrendered at Singapore, came the opportunity to Rash Behari Bose to give shape to his dreams of organising an Army of Liberation to carry the flag of independence to the land of his birth Thus was linked up two generations of Indian revolutionaries when he gave over charge to Subhas Chandra Bose of the honour and responsibility of leadership in India's fight for freedom, the older man naturally yielding place to the younger, symbolising the natural piety that bound 1914 with 1913

The short history of the abortive 1914-18 revolutionary

attempt to subvert British rule with the help and support of Britain's enemies will enable us to understand the play of the personal and impersonal forces that helped the formation of the Azad Hind Fauz, the Army of Free India and of the Azad Hind Government. Singapore was surrendered on the 15th of February, 1942, and on the 17th the Indian troops in the British Army were handed over by one Colonel Hunt, representing the British Government, to Major Fujiwara of the Imperial Japanese Command, representing the Government of Japan. The ceremony should be reported with a view to give our readers an idea of the conditions, mental and physical, prevalent then. On the night of the surrender, orders were issued asking all Indians, including the King's Commissioned Officers, to concentrate at the Farrer Park and all British Officers and other ranks at Changi Captain Shah Nawaz Khan from whose statement before the Court Martial this report is being summarized has described the reaction of this arrangement on the minds of all Indians in the British fighting forces, to being treated as cattle, ".. according to the laws of civilized warfare all captured officers ....are kept together ......", "........ we felt that our British brother officers were leaving us in the lurch" At the Farrer Park the Indian Army formations were handed over to the Commander of the Japanese Intelligence Department, Major Fujiwara Colonel Hunt and Major Fujiwara called all of them to attenion and said respectively·

Surrender of Singapore

"Today I, on behalf of the British Government, hand you over to the Japanese Government whose orders you will obey as you have done ours"

"On behalf of the Japanese Government I take you over under my charge. I, on behalf of the Japanese Government, hand you over to G. O. C. Captain Mohan Singh who shall have the power of life and death over you."

Major Fujiwara appeared to have made a speech on the occasion declaring that the Indians assembled there would not be treated as prisoners of war but as brother Asiatics united by a single resolve to make an end of Anglo-Saxon political and economic exploitation of Asiatic peoples, he also expressed the hope that they would join the Army that would be raised to fight for India's freedom under the leadership of Captain Mohan Singh. It was either at this meeting or a little later it was suggested that out of this army, thus surrendered, should be recruited a fighting force under Indian command that would co-operate with the Japanese in freeing India. A meeting was held on the 9th. and 10th March (1942) at which it was announced that in response to a suggestion from Mr. Rash Behari Bose it had been decided to hold a Conference at Tokyo to be held by the end of the month, a Delegation of officers and of representative Indian civilians was arranged to be sent. The Conference was held on and from the 28th. March to the 30th. From the statements made before the General Court Martial by the officers—Captain Shah Nawaz Khan, Captain P. K. Seghal, and Lieutenant Dhillon—the first belonging to the 1/14 Punjab Regiment, the second to the 2/10 Baluch Regiment and the third to the 1/14 Punjab Regiment—it is clear that the officers in the Indian Army had a prolonged mental struggle before they could persuade themselves to join the Indian National Army being formed under Captain Mohan Singh. The words

Nucleus of Indian National Army

of Captain Shah Nawaz can be accepted as reflecting the mind of all of them. "The very idea of joining our former enemies to fight against our own kith and kin was fantastic." Captain R M Irshard who appeared as witness in defence of these officers gave the most vivid description of the processes of their mental worry Up till that time they had not been "greatly interested in politics or the political welfare of India", they had been "educated that way", "politics were not encouraged in the Indian army". But the defeat of the British army in Malaya and Burma forced on them a situation that required a revision of their habitual thoughts and lines of activity What appears to have influenced them the most in arriving at a decision to join the Indian National Army of Captain Mohan Singh was the thought that "if the senior officers present in Singapore or Malaya did not join the Indian National Army it was quite possible that the Japanese would exploit the Indian prisoners of war, because then the latter would be split up into small groups Some people would join and some would not, and the Japanese would take advantage of that and enrol people among the prisoners of war who would be willing to do any service for them We felt that would be a disgrace to Indians We agreed that if the senior officers joined the I. N A and formed a strong party and organized the I. N. A. as a regular army, and fought the Japanese in every point regarding the army, we would have a far stronger position with the Japanese than otherwise We also felt that if we created an army of our own we may be able to establish a certain amount of standing with the Japanese and by doing so, we may be able to stop the Japanese from committing any atrocities on the Indians in Malaya" They appeared to have taken into consideration the possible reaction of the people in India if they decided to join the I. N A. They knew that the leadership of the Indian National Congress "had declared itself hostile to the Japanese" But they felt that if their people understood the circumstances and if the Indian National Army could show by their conduct that they were "not mere stooges of the Japanese", and that the Army was officered by Indians, and "specially recruited" for the liberation of India, they would understand. These various considerations appeared to have carried the day, and within three or four months, almost all the Indian senior officers of the British army, prisoners in Japanese hands, appear to have joined the I. N. A The statement of Captain Shah Nawaz Khan appears to express the general mind more crudely and more truly. "Since we had failed in our first object to prevent the formation of the I N. A, the next best thing was for senior officers to join it with the object of,

(a) Giving protection and help to prisoners of war;
(b) To stop its being exploited by the Japs, and
(c) To sabotage it and wreck it from within, the moment we felt that it would submit to Japanese exploitation."

Indian Independence League

The majority feeling of the Indian prisoners of war, officers and other ranks, described above, shows a lack of enthusiasm and conviction in the first Indian National Army formed with Captain Mohan Singh as General Officer Commanding. It was formed formally in September, 1942. It was dissolved in December, 1942, when G. O. C.

Mohan Singh was arrested under orders of Mr. Rash Behari Bose, President of the Council of Action, evidently at the direction and with the connivance of the Japanese High Command in the mainland of east Asia. It appears that almost from the very beginning there had been differences between G. O. C. Mohan Singh and the Indian officers who were at his back and the Japanese Intelligence Department in the area which at first acted as a Liaison Agency between the Indian prisoners of war and the Japanese occupying forces. The sensitiveness and suspicion of the senior officer cadre of the Indo-British army may have found it difficult to accommodate themselves to the pretensions and arrogance of the victors. But whatever be the reason, the first experiment for the formation of an Indian National Army failed, shattered on the rock of mutual antagonism more or less unexpressed. While this was happening developments were taking place amongst Indians spread over east Asia from Manchuria to Burma that made it necessary that there should be an organization that would stand on the political plane between Indians Stateless for the time being, and the Government of Japan. The Indian Independence League grew in response to this need with a new dignity, recognized by the Japanese Government for its own particular purposes. For, it has to be remembered in this connection that there had been in existence an Indian Independence League in Japan for years as an organ of agitation amongst Indians resident in east Asia, as an organ for spreading the ideas and ideals implict in our national movement. This organization had its birth and gained a new momentum since the days when Rash Behari Bose could act in public as a citizen of Japan. For years after his departure from India (1914) he lived the life of a political refugee, protected from the vendetta of the British Secret Service by the Black Dragon Society of which the late Mitsuru Toyama was the moving spirit. This Bengalee revolutionary had some years later for his fellow-worker Ananda Mohun Sahay of Bihar who became the Secretary-General of the Azad Hind Government and was given a place in its Cabinet. He became the real organiser of the Indian Independence League during the war years when in 1942 we find the organization trying to build up and bring together the whole strength of the two million Indians spread over east Asia. In organizing the first Indian National Army it supplied the backing of a recognized political organization, for the first time recognized by the Japanese Government as an organ of Indian opinion. It was the initiative of this organization that brought the civilian Indian population into vital touch with the Indian prisoners of war. It was this organization that put before the latter a purpose and an ideal that enabled them to pull out of the frustration and defeatism of those days. After the disbandment of the first Indian National Army, it was this organization that helped to hold together the dispersed units, civil and military, till April, 1943 when Subhas Chandra Bose came upon the scene from Germany and took control of the situation, was handed over control of the situation, by the Indian Independence League. We do not yet know the many personal factors that had disrupted the first Indian National Army. But there is no doubt that if the Indian Independence League had retired from the field, disgusted and disappointed, Subhas Chandra Bose would not

have found it so ready for him, kept so ready by the patience and perspicacity of Rash Behari Bose and other members of the League But the great service that it did to the cause of India's struggle for freedom in east Asia was that it had created the political background and supplied the political leadership for the Indian National Army movement in the area. It was under its auspices that were held the two Conferences at Tokyo and Bangkok that gave concrete shape to the activities and the ideal of the Army.

Tokyo & Bangkok Conferences

From the tangled reports of this period when the two million Indians became a State-less people with its attendant dangers and difficulties, we can piece out the fact that the Indian Independence League became the Centre of hope of these dispersed and disputed people, its leaders were looked up to for guidance Rash Behari Bose had had revolutionary traditions in India to recommend him, Ananda Mohan Sahay, much younger, had for twenty years been trying to knit them into a single-pointed force devoted to India's independence. Rash Behari Bose had become a citizen of Japan, had married a Japanese lady, this gave him an entree into Japanese society, he had been known to Japanese officialdom as an inveterate enemy of British regime in India During the years when Japan and Britain had been bound in alliances, the former, its official world, had just tolerated the Indian revolutionary because he enjoyed the protection of the powerful Black Dragon Society and of its venerable chief Mutsuru Toyama But when Japan decided to attack Britain, and did attack her territories in east Asia on December 7, 1941, the weary waiting and watching of Rash Behari Bose and his fellow-workers were at an end, and they became significant men who could play a significant part in re-making the life of east Asia by enlisting on the side of Japan all the revolutionary feelings of the Indians resident in it. And it was through this, it was hoped, that the whole of India's vast mass feelings and man power could play a great historical part--feelings and power disorganized and unconscious of the meaning of the developments precipitated by Japan's victories over the imperialist forces of Britain It thus became natural for Japan's ruling authorities to recognize the importance of Rash Behari Bose and his fellow-workers in their own scheme for the consolidation of their position in the estimation of Indians thrown by the fortunes of war within their power and influence. It was natural for them to use Rash Behari Bose and his fellow-workers to advance this We cannot know how they went about their business. But they were quick about it. Singapore was surrendered on the 15th. of February, 1942 two days later the Indian fighting forces, officers and other ranks, were handed over to the Japanese Government by a representative of the British Government At the rally held for this ceremony the Japanese militaryman, Major Fujiwara, was found announcing the suggestion or decision for the formation of an Indian National Army to be recruited from amongst the prisoners of war and a leader indicated for them in the person of Captain Mohur Singh as its General Officer Commanding This arrangement was set in motion within two days. We do not yet know the names of the persons who negotiated it, whether or not they were members

of the Indian Independence League. But this we know that at a conference of Indians, civilian and military, held for two days, March 9th and 10th, 1942, an invitation was received from Rash Behari Bose to hold a conference at Tokyo of representative Indians, civilian and military, to be held during the last week of the month. The invitation was accepted and the Conference was held at Tokyo on and from the 28th to the 30th March It was the Conference at Tokyo that declared the ideal of the new movement initiated by the Indian Independence League—"Independence, complete and free from foreign domination and control of whatever nature, shall be the object of the movement" But there was nothing startling or significant in the words Since 1905 Indian public men and publicists have been putting forth this ideal in words of equal weight The significant contrast of this particular Conference was the decision to go ahead with the more co-ordinated organization of the Indian National Army as an instrument of the policy, as the weapon for the realization of the ideal indicated above.

The use of the Indian National Army

The Tokyo conference, held on March 28th to 30th, thus deserves to be a land-mark in India's evolving thought and life dedicated to the service of India's independence The delegates attending it do appear to have debated the question whether or not a military organ of their collective will should be fashioned. They appear to have accepted the Singapore decision as irrevocable, the only decision that could be taken under the circumstances, the fateful decision that on behalf Indians an armed fight must be undertaken against Britain in co-operation with her enemies. From the language of the resolution framed in this behalf, it is apparent that the delegates assembled at this particular Conference had to put in a certain amount of hard thinking in deciding on the function that the Indian National Army would be called upon to carry on. It is evident that they were required to reconcile their suspicion about Japanese *bona fides* with the need for Japanese help without which they could not expect to make a success of their military adventure The question posed for them appears to have been—to what extent and in what manner the help of Japan could be invited and accepted without compromising their freedom of action, without being reduced to the position of "stooges" of Japan, forced to play the game of Japanese ambitions. We have referred above to the mood of the senior officers of the Indo-British Army who as prisoners of war had to re-align their thought and conduct in deciding to join the Indian National Army, sponsored under Captain Mohan Singh Their suspicion of Japanese policy had not been wholly removed when they decided to elect delegates to the Tokyo Conference. The delegates that went from amongst them must have carried this mood to the Conference, and their expressed and unexpressed views must have helped and influenced the Conference to frame the resolution on the use that the Indian National Army could be put in fighting side by side with Japanese forces against the combined Anglo-American forces stationed in India's eastern frontiers. The resolution ran thus —

"That the military action against India will be taken only by the Indian National Army, together with such military, naval and air co-operation and

assistance as may be requested from the Japanese authorities by the Council of Action of the Indian Independence League to be formed, and that the framing of the future constitution of India be left entirely to the representatives of the people of India."

The Bangkok Conference to "officially" inaugurate the Indian Independence Movement

The delegates to the Conference had to reconcile many of the contradictions in the situation precipitated by the reverses of British arms in east Asia, by the victory of Japan, making her the overlord over the area. Only Rash Behari Bose and his fellow-workers knew their own minds, knew what they wanted. The revolutionary traditions of their life had give a direction to their thoughts and activities, a surer guidance at this crisis in the life of east Asia with which the fate and fortunes of their land of birth got entangled But the other delegates, civilian and military, lacking these traditions, the latter specially, appeared to have brought into the proceedings of this Conference at Tokyo a divided loyalty, an uncertain mind This must have been the reason why it was felt necessary that a "more representative Conference" should be held at Bangkok, the capital city of Thailand (Siam) to "officially" inaugurate the Indian Independence Movement." This Conference was held for nine days—from the 15th to the 23rd. June, 1942—in the presence of one hundred and ten delegates representing Indians from Japan, Manchukuo, Hongkong, Shanghai, Indo-China, Phillipines, Sumatra, Celebes, Burma, Borneo, Java, Malaya and Thailand. The majority of the delegates appear to have represented the two million Indians who had been living in these countries engaged in various branches of trades and in many professions, such as law and medicine, the delegates representing the military, officers and other ranks, all prisoners of war, appear to have been a little more numerous. It was decided at this Conference

(1) To organise Indians in East Asia into an Indian Independence League to strive for India's independence

(2) To raise an Indian National Army from the Indian troops in East Asia as well as from Indian civilians.

(3) To control and direct the programme and plan of action of the Independence Movement, to bring them into line with the aims and intentions of the Indian National Congress,

(4) To demand from the Japanese Government a further clarification of their policy towards this Movement as well as towards India

Difficulties in the way of its success

The Conference appointed a Council of Action—Rash Behari Bose was its President, Captain Mohan Singh and Lt.-Colonel Gilani were representatives of the fighting forces, Mr. Raghavan and Mr Menon represented the civilian population The formal inauguration of the Indian Independence Movement, of the Indian National Army, and the formation of the Council of Action. do not appear to have smoothed the path of the activities symbolized by these organisations. Clause (4) of the Bangkok Conference decision helps us to understand that the Japanese authorities were not being helpful in the matter. The details of the negotiations are not yet available. But from the evidence tendered before the General Court Martial, trying the three officers of the Indian National Army, from the evidence led on behalf of the defence, an idea can be formed of the difficulties created by mutual suspicion, Lt.-Colonel Loganadhan, Azad Hind Government

Administrator of the Andamans, has described these in course of his evidence. It appears that from the very beginning Rash Behari Bose and G. O. C. Mohan Singh had been unable to reach an agreement with regard to the conditions and requirements of Indo-Japanese co-operative effort directed against Britain. Lt.-Colonel Loganadhan appeared to suggest that "Rash Behari Bose having lived so long with the Japanese was inclined to be guided and controlled by them." There was nothing unnatural in this interpretation, though its validity can be tested only when Rash Behari Bose's side of the story was made available to the Indian public. Unfortunately for India, this revolutionary patriot has left the field of his mundane activities, and his reputation has been left to be upheld by his fellow-workers who shared the perils of his hunted life and the activities of its closing years The difficulties of Mohan Singh has also to be appreciated. Lieutenant Dhillon, one of the three officers brought to trial at the first case against the I. N. A. personnel, has indicated these with a certain clearness, born out of his intimate knowledge of these and of his friendship with the first General Officer Commanding of the first Indian National Army The fact that Captain Mohan Singh had been chosen by the Japanese Command as G O C of the embryo Indian National Army proved itself to be a disqualification in the eyes of his fellow-officers, that he was preferred to more senior officers, such as Colonel Niranjan Singh Gill and Colonel Bhonsle with 15 to 20 years service compared to Captain Mohan Singh's 8 to 9 years, appeared to have been another. There might have been other personal factors that played to the prejudice of the leadership thrust upon Captain Mohan Singh. The other factors that made his task difficult were indicated in Lieutenant Dhillon's statement before the General Court Martial.

"He had never even imagined that one day he would have to handle 75,000 officers and men under circumstances unprecedented in the history of the world. Discipline had to be maintained amongst a demoralized, defeated and disappointed Army Freedom of political thought had to be given as the I N A was entirely based on a voluntary basis On top of all this, the lives of officers and men suspected by the Japanese had to be saved Our civilian nationals had to be protected against all sorts of dangers And all this had to be done consistently with India's national honour and the laws of humanity And in doing all this he had constantly to deal with a highly suspicious people like the Japanese"

The mind of Indian officers

Captain Mohan Singh's difficulties do not appear to have been eased by the attitude of the Command of the Japanese Southern Army This was resented by him and his friends and supporters. Their mind has been revealed by Lt -Colonel Loganadhan

". . Mohan Singh said he felt that the Japanese should be dealt with a firmer hand than what Rash Behari Bose would be able to do As Mohan Singh was not very happy with Rash Behari Bose, he took a lot of responsibility on his own shoulders in dealing with the Japanese At the time of the crisis Mohan Singh used to ask some of the officers to meet him in his Bungalow I was one of them Mohan Singh explained to us that the Bangkok Conference resolutions had not so far been ratified by the Japanese His demand that the I. N A should be recognized as an allied army had not been forthcoming There were a few A A Companies which the Japanese were using for defence purposes at which he protested strongly because he thought that they should not be under Japanese control but should be handed over to him They did not hand over these A. A. Batteries till Subhas Chandra Bose came. The Japanese had arranged for a ship

to transfer some I N A troops to Burma Members of the Council (of Action objected to the troops being sent without their knowledge because any action regarding the I N A must be with the consent of the League (Indian Independence). Mohan Singh told us that it was impossible to carry on in these circumstances, and that he was going to dissolve the Indian National Army . ."

G. O C Mohan Singh's version waited

This is the only report that we have that summarizes the various causes of the differences that appear to have marked the relations, between the leaders of the Indian National Army its military leaders, and the representatives of the Japanese Southern Army Command The other reports that we have seen published do not vary much from the main lines of the complaints from the Indian side that we have had in Lt-Colonel Loganadhan's statements. Captain Mohan Singh can throw further and fuller light on these matters But he has been consistently silent with regard to these since he was released from detention by the Indo-British authorities It has yet to be explained why he, the first commander of the Indian National Army, was not put upon trial for high treason by the Indo-British Administration. However that may be, it is up to him to give his version of the causes that led to the disbandment of the first Indian National Army, of the proximate cause of his arrest in December, 1942, under orders from Rash Behari Bose, the President of the Indian Independence League under whose guidance the Indian National Army was supposed to function It is also a moot question whether he was competent to disband the Army by an "order of the Day" issued by him without authorization by the parent body, supported though he appeared to be by almost all the senior officers of the Army These are not really legalistic issues, they have a place in understanding and explaining the history of the Indian National Army which changed but did not die with its disbandment by its first commandant, and remained to form the nucleas of the Azad Hind Fauz, the Army of Free India, formed and rebuilt under the inspired leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose. Captain Mohan Singh was an instrument in the hands of destiny that he should have been chosen to play so great a part in an epoch-making era in human history. It is true that he did not choose this path of danger and of glory, his earlier years did not prepare him for it But all the same, the credit goes to him that he responded to the challenge of the new situation with alacrity, however inadequately equipped he might have been for the high responsibility and the mighty task His name is assured a place in India's history, the history of a great movement that failed to reach fulfilment in the independence of India. Now that he is a free man, it is hoped that the hopes and aspirations of which he became a centre will find in him a more mature defender.

Indo-Japanese differences—reasons yet unexplained

The story related above has brought us to the end of 1942 when the Indian National Army stood dissolved, watching the developments and keeping some sort of a semblance of unity among the Indians in east Asia, standing guard over their interests and honour. We have had no report of how the Indian prisoners of war fared, whether or not the Japanese occupying forces were more cruel to them. now that their hopes of getting the help of those Indians, trained in the

arts of modern war, had been shattered. Except the dilatoriness of the bureaucracy, the military bureaucracy of Japan in this case, we cannot imagine any other valid reason why the High Command of the Japanese Southern Army could not exploit such an opportunity when twenty-five lakhs Indians were there to act as the advance guard of their invading army across the hills of northern Burma and eastern Assam to an India seething with discontent with British rule. The August-October (1942) disturbances demonstrated the intensity of this feeling. Why the Japanese forces halted in the victorious march over Burma and did not press forward in the wake of the retreating Anglo-American forces under General Alexander and Major-General Stilwell, we have yet to know The weakness of Britain's defence measures had been demonstrated in Malaya and Burma , in India also things were no better. The Intelligence Department of the Japanese Army could not be ignorant of these , they were fully aware that India constituted the Achilles heals of Britain's plan of defence because British policy had not prepared in India the industrial structure that was the real arsenal of modern warfare The mind of the Indian people had also been alienated from the British regime by about two centuries of racial arrogance and economic exploitation These factors should have been exploited by Japanese diplomacy and turned against Britain in her fight with her back to the wall. If the Japanese had made a reality of their attack on Britain's last bastion in Asia, they would have found a welcome in India if the Indian Independence League and the Indian National Army, sponsored by it, had been trusted to organize the attack against the occupying forces of Britain Instead, we find the Japanese High Command neglecting the possibilities of the situation, alienating their potential Indian allies in east Asia, and postponing their attack on India till more than twelve months later during which period Anglo-American forces have had time to get over the shock of their demoralization caused during the first six months of 1942. We find them trying to mount attacks on the Australian continent more than 2,000 miles off, leaving the inner ring of offence and defence on the mainland of Asia, constituted by Malava, Burma and India half organized This lack of strategic foresight must have had a cause which would be explained some day by Japanese students of affairs If the amount of thought devoted to the campaign in New Guinea in the central Pacific over thousand of miles ocean area had been directed to the strategy of the land warfare on India's north-eastern frontier, if the High Command of the Southern Army of Japan had heartily and honestly co-operated with the leaders of the Indian Independence League, the fortunes of the war in 1944 and the early months of 1945 in this area might have been more fortunate for Japan. Whatever be the reasons for this failure, for the eruption of differences between the Indian leaders in east Asia and the representatives of the Japanese, political and military, the last six months of 1942 and the 12 months of 1943 enabled the Anglo-American forces in India to retrieve their position, to rebuild their offensive reserves and direct these against their enemies in Burma with such vim and vigour that in less than eight months they marched into Burma and Malaya as victors and conquerors.

Our questionings constitute a study in the possibilities of a situation

all the factors of which are not within the knowledge of the public.

The mind of India watching for a disaster to Britain

Whatever be its value, the Indian student of affairs has to devote some attention to it with a view to understand and explain the developments that have become associated with the glow and fervour of the great adventure of the Azad Hind Fauz, of the Azad Hind Government under new leadership, the leadership of Subash Chandra Bose. India's sentiment has become so entwined with the saga of this great failure that it is difficult for an Indian publicist to be objectively detached in face of the elemental passions that burst forth in India with such abandon and such forgetfulness of the logic of defeat and frustration This outburst reflected more truly than anything else during the recent years the mind of India, nursing its dreams and seeing its visions of a free India made free by one desperate attempt of heroic sacrifice. This mind, this sub-conscious of the Indian mind, had a kinship with the Irish mind which has been described in the question made in the opening pages of the present study, the mind of every subject people watching and waiting for a disaster in the life of the alien Authority lording it over them The August—October (1942) upsurge of the country-side in Satara in the Bombay Presidency, of Balia in the United Provinces, of Midnapore in Bengal, for instance, demonstrated the tenuous nature of what has been advertized as India's loyalty to the British connection It is true that this outburst has had no rationalized leadership, no central direction to guide it and lead it. The guidance that Jai Prakash Narayan, Aruna Asaf Ali, Achyut Patwardhan and Ram Manohar Lohia, for instance, had attempted to organize proved ineffective because it itself was improvized in response to the desperate needs of the "August Revolt", neither the leaders nor the followers had visualized the emergence of such a situation in which the British regime in India would appear to be shaking in its foundation requiring an alternate authority to take control of the situation. This authority could be effective if thought and preparation had gone to its organization, thought and preparation continued for years and months, preparation of the minds of the people for wakeful co-operation with the new forces that would give the last push to the tottering regime, that would be accepted as the competent authority to take charge of the administration of the country The "August Revolt" indicated the direction in which the people's mind had got prepared to move, to react to a British discomfiture as an opportunity to throw out the old regime associated in their ideas with the disruption of the norms and forms of their life, of their economic arrangements of a self-sufficient village life, of the wide range of their industries spread all over the hamlets and not concentrated in a few areas in the midst of slums But the leadership to this mind had lagged behind, delayed its coming. This unpreparedness was not due to any mental laxity but was due to deliberate choice, the result of the set of ideas that under Gandhiji's leadership had been accepted as guide to conduct by the politically-minded people in India In order to understand it we will have to take our readers back to the controversies that divided Indian opinion in 1937, 1938 and 1939, specially during the last year.

We would specially call attention to the controversy that preceded and followed the election of the President of that year's session of the Indian National Congress to be held at the improvised tent City of Tripuri in the Congress Province of Mohakoshal included in the administrative Province of the Central Province and Berar. There was a contest in the election. Dr, Pattabhi Seetaramyya had been set up by a group in the Congress Working Committee with Gandhiji's blessings The leader of this group was said to be Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel The other candidate was Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, the sitting President, President of the Haripura session of the Congress (1938). This contest was at first treated by the Indian public as a new feature in Indian politics that need not cause any difficulty. Mr Subhas Chandra Bose in a sort of a manifesto gave his reasons for initiating the contest for choosing the head of our national organization He spoke of "the progressive sharpening of the anti-imperialist struggle in India", of the emergence of "new ideas and ideologies, and problems and programmes" Three days later, on the 24th January, 1939, six members of the Working Committee—Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Mr Jairamdas Daulatram, Mr. Sanker Rao Deo, Mr Bhulabhai Desai, and Prof Kripalani (General Secretary of the Congress), issued a statement that showed that more serious things were involved in the matter , "we hold strong views about the forthcoming election," said they , but they did not care to explain the reasons for this attitude of theirs except that they held it as "a sound policy to adhere to the rule of not re-electing the same president except under very exceptional circumstances." This organized manner of taking sides in an election contest between two members of the Congress Working Committee, the highest executive of the organization, was significant The most serious of the charges were made against this group by Subhas Chandra Bose appeared in his statement made on January 25

Tripuri Congress controversy re-called

"It is widely believed that there is a prospect of a compromise on the Federation Scheme between the Right Wing of the Congress and the British Government during the coming year"

This charge, its justification, became the subject of hot assertions and denials in the controversy that reached its climax at the open session of the Congress at Tripuri Subhas Chandra Bose's opponents challenged him to prove it , and he could not prove it with details of evidence that would satisfy a court of law, for instance Subhas Chandra Bose as President of the Congress had every opportunity through his intimate contact with Gandhiji to gather the impression that the latter was in a mood to compromise on the Federal Plan. This subjective impression was wholly justified, the angry speeches in support of the Pant resolution notwithstanding Gandhiji had treated the election of Subhas Chandra Bose as a vote of no confidence in his own leadership , he thought that by rejecting his "candidate", Dr. Pattabhi Seetaramaya, the Congress delegates had shown that they did not "approve of the principles and policy" for which he had stood. In a way this interpretation was right. But in another it was wrong. The delegates, we believe, threw out Dr. Pattabhi's

Gandhiji's mood of compromise

name more to mark their protest against the tactics the majority of the Working Committee members adopted to press forward the claims of their candidate, Dr Pattabhi, than with any real understanding of the issues of the election as these emerged out in Gandhiji's statement made after the defeat of his candidate. The delegates did not know that Gandhiji had been interested in the election, that he had any clear-cut, positive reason for being "decidedly" against the re-election of Subhas Chandra Bose as Congress President, at least he did not make public any of the many reasons that he might have had. Gandhiji characterized Subhas Chandra Bose's "references" to his colleagues as "unjustified and unworthy." But the real target of these references was not these colleagues of the Congress President but Gandhiji himself As Pundit Nehru had put it—"..... In effect these charges might be considered to be made against Gandhiji himself, as he has been the guide and mentor of the Working Committee... ," these charges about compromise Pundit Govinda Ballabh Pant and his supporters at the Tripuri Congress had talked much about this charge being unsubstantial and had challenged Subhas Chandra Bose and his supporters to substantiate it. The latter could only try to do so by their subjective reactions to Gandhiji's policy and practice of those days. But about a year later, Gandhiji's own words (January 20, 1940) gave substance to this charge.

> " ... whatever may be true of the members of the Working Committee, I wholly endorse Mr Subhas Chandra Bose's charge that I am eager to have a compromise with Britain if it can be had with honour. Indeed, Satyagraha demands it .I have not lost faith in Britain "

"Indian Struggle —1920-1934"

If these words had been uttered during the months preceding the session of the Congress at Tripuri, much of the bitterness that had characterized those months would have been absent But a conflict between the policy and principle represented by Gandhiji and those represented by Subhas Chandra Bose could not long be avoided , it might have been postponed only For, a gulf stood between these two. And because Subhas Chandra Bose had frankly indicated it in his book—*The Indian Struggle 1920—1934* that Gandhiji's immediate followers had made such a dead set against him on the occasion of the Tripuri session of the Congress This book had been published in Europe in 1935. The Government in India had put a ban on its entry into India , and it was only when Congress Ministries came to be installed in seven or eight Provinces in India that on the initiative of the United Provinces Ministry it was lifted Then could only be known the many differences that separated the two schools of thought housed in the wide quadrangle of the Indian National Congress. These differences were not of recent growth they could be traced to the very genesis of the Gandhian leadership of the Congress In this book were described the doubts and hesitations with which many sections of the politically-minded people in India had thrown themselves into the Non-co operation Movement sanctioned at the special session of the Congress held at Calcutta in September, 1920 and ratified at its annual session in December of the same year held at Nagpur.. Before two years were out the first "revolt"

against Gandhian leadership had burst out with C. R. Das, Matilal Nehru, Vithalbhai Patel, and Hakim Ajmal Khan as its leaders. Subhas Chandra Bose who had resigned from the Indian Civil Service as a token of his acceptance of the new thought and activity had also joined this Movement with that abandon that has been characteristic of his life He, however, found himself on the side of the rebels when the break came. The book under reference was one unrelieved criticism of the policies and practices of the new leadership personified in Gandhiji as a student of philosophy he could appreciate the higher thought informing Gandhiji's life, but as a man of affairs, as a man vowed to wresting freedom from British usurpation, he found himself divorced from the leadership that had dominated the Congress since 1920 To the supporters of the Gandhi school, the book could not have been pleasant reading. But the author happened to be President of the Indian National Congress in 938 when the book became available in India, if we remember aright And it was natural for them to think that any continuation of that regime should not be tolerated This was the real meaning of the election fight over the Congress Presidential election of 1939, this resolve was at the back of the attitude of the majority of the members of the Working Committee of the Congress (1938) who thought that the re-election of Subhas Chandra Bose was not only "unnecessary" but "harmful to the cause of the country," to use Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel's words. We have a certain feeling that this book had been particularly responsible for the stiff attitude that Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel and his colleagues showed before, during and after the Tripuri session of the Indian National Congress (1939).

Subhas Chandra Bose's philosophy of conduct

It is not easy today after about eight years to lay hands on all the statements and counter-statements, on the 'literature' that grew out of this controversy to be able to re-build with success its backgroud—the controversy to which may be traced today the genesis of the movement of thought that took shape in the Azad Hind Fauz and the Azad Hind Government. It has to be recalled today that during the months concerned with this controversy Subhas Chandra Bose had been talking of organizing a more aggressive programme against British imperialism in India, he had for years been trying to enlist the dissatisfaction of Indian labour on the side of political discontent, seeking a political solution of the problem created by British overlorship in India. He had in his book given expression to doubts whether the technique of non-violence could wrest political freedom from Britain, not because he disbelieved that "ideas are creative," that "ideals impel action," to quote from a letter of his written to his elder brother, Mr. Sarat 1 Chandra Bose, from a Burma jail in 1927. To the Governor of Bengal he wrote on November 26, 1940, intimating his determination to underoake a fast In course of this letter he spoke of "the technique of the s'ul," of the belief and the activity impelled by that belief that the 'Individual must die, so that the nation may live." In this belief, in this urge to sacrifice, in the innate strength to give shape to this belief and direction to this urge must be sought the secret of the high audacity that has made Subhas Chandra Bose what many in India have come to feel he is—India's Man of destiny. During the

time when he appeared as the lone figure in India crying out for an all-out programme of resistance to British Imperialism in India, he was moved by his feeling and belief not because he did not appreciate the Gandhian philosophy but because he thought that Gandhiji has had no appreciation of the objective conditions of international affairs which would be pushing Britain into another great war from which she could emerge as only a weak Power unequal to her status as the mistress of an empire over which, it was boastfully said, the sun never set. He must have been pressing on Gandhiji's attention that here was the opportunity that must be fully utilized to make Britain yield her power over India to the representatives of Indian Nationalism. Both in public and in private he persisted in pressing this aggressive programme on the attention of his people and on their political leadership. Being free from any ideological tie-up with the rival schools of political thought in the western world represented as Democracy and Totalitarianism, as Fascism or Nazism and Communism, being an Indian Nationalist first, an Indian Nationalist last, and an Indian Nationalist always, he was not troubled by the thought that any choice between any of these "isms" would be derogatory to the integrity of his conduct and harmful to the interests of his people, to the immediate interest of their political freedom. This non-attachment of his was an element of strength in his character that enabled him to come out of the controversy, discussed above with more "dignity" than his opponents, as we wrote in Vol I of 1939 of the *Indian Annual Register*. It is this pull that freed his mind from any ideological tie-up with the various thought-forms that had been created in our country by British methods of administration and enlightenment, though he was one of the most brilliant products of the latter process. Gandhiji showed how his mind would be re-acting to the prospect of destruction by German bombs of Britain's churches and other symbols of her storied life. He could not therefore, contemplate the idea of seeking our independence out Britain's ruin. The other leaders had other tie-ups—democracy, Britain being the link with the rich life of the West. But Subhas Chandra Bose was more objective. He appeared to have accepted the interpretation that the democracy of West Europe, of the United States, had served its purpose, had exhausted the possibilities of good expected of it and been worked out of it. In his book—*The Indian Struggle*—he gave pointed expression to what he felt to be the next phase in the evolution of thought that would influence the conduct of world affairs. He did not accept Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru's idea that "the choice before the world today was between some form of Communism and some form of Fascism." He was inclined to hold that

"The next phase in world history will produce synthesis between Communism and Fascism. And, will it be a surprise if that synthesis is produced in India? ... especially when we have seen with our own eyes that another experiment (that of Mahatma Gandhi), made in India has roused profound interest all over the world."

This quotation showed that Subhas Chandra Bose had a freer

mind that could visualize that what has come to be known as Gandhism may have its part to play in building up a new synthesis for world thought and conduct as distinguished from Communism, Fascism and other varieties and variants of these that have grown out of the objective conditions of the life of Europe and the Americas This appreciation did not, however, stand in his way to differ from Gandhiji's practice and programme trying to wrest political power from Britain. He did not have that faith in British human nature that Gandhiji possessed, and, therefore, did he press for the adoption and pursuit of the policy that would treat Britain's adversity as an opportunity for the assertion of India's national will over the State in India now under British control. The controversy about the timeliness of an aggressive programme directed against the British regime, about giving a notice to the British bureaucracy putting a time-limit to the acceptance of India's national demand, revolved really round this question whether or not we should try to take advantage of Britain's difficulties for the advancement of our own interests. We have seen how Gandhiji's mind had been moving during the months immediately preceding the declaration of the war in Europe and immediately after it. The spirit and "way of non-violence" would not allow him to seek India's independence out of "Britain's ruin." This scruple, this spiritual scruple in the case of Gandhiji, was really at the root of the angry contentions that divided political opinion and feeling in India during 1939 and 1940 The tension between "Rightists" and "Leftists" can be traced now to the differences of approach to the ideal method for regaining the political freedom of India Except Gandhiji, we have our doubts whether any of his immediate followers, men like Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel, Mr. Rajagopalachari and Pundit Govinda Ballav Pant, for instance, have had any appreciation of the issues involved in the matter or whether they had been assailed by the scruples that were holding back Gandhiji's hand Subhas Chandra Bose had this thing to his credit that he could appeal to the experience of the peoples of other countries who, for instance, the 13 colonies in North America in fighting the pretensions of King George III of Britain and Italy in her fight against the Austrian Emperor, are classic examples, had taken the help of France in releasing themselves from their political masters His political opponents had none of Gandhiji's scruples, they opposed him and his policy because they feared that their people could not be thrust into the dangerous maelstorm which the pursuit of Subhas Chandra Bose's policy would create Gandhiji's non-violence they could not carry to its logical end of refusing to organize and use force for the defence of the internal and external security of the country as the Poona resolution of the All-India Congress Committee (1940) acknowledged, re-iterating the Wardha statement (June, 1940) that the Congress felt itself unable to "extend" non-violence to "the region of national defence" As Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in opening this session of the All-India Congress Committee (July, 1940) said that even in face of the prospect of losing Gandhiji's leadership,

Gandhiji's scruples & Britain's difficulties

"We had not the courage to declare that we shall organize a State in this country without an armed force If we did, it would be wrong on our part Mahatma

Gandhi has to give the message of non-violence to the world, and, therefore, it is his duty to propagate it, but we have to consider our position as the representatives of the Indian nation meeting in the Indian National Congress The Indian National Congress is a political organization pledged to win the political independence of the country It is not an institution for organizing world peace"

We have recalled this history in order to bring out the fact that the differences that separated the 'Rightists", represented by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Mr. Rajagopalachari, from the "Leftists," represented by Subhas Chandra Bose, had a background of conflicting ideas about tactics to be used against British imperialism fighting with its back to the walls The former were for dealing softly with it, the latter were for giving it no quarter, the former were diffident about their people's power to resist and endure, the latter were prepared to risk, expecting their people to be hammered into the required strength by passing through the furnace of fight and suffering. Gandhiji had developed a particular technique of fight that has roused the masses of India from the pathetic contentment of ages, under the inspiration of this awakening they had stood up to British guns and bayonets Subhas Chandra Bose wanted to build on this courage and intrepidity, and to put in their hands guns and bayonets to have the chance of an equal fight with the upholders of British Imperialism in India. The former were not averse to a fight, but they appeared to be counselling patience, counselling their people to wait for the time which Gandhiji would feel to be propitious for the fulfilment of their national hopes and aspirations, they appeared to be impatient that the "Leftists" should be prodding them for the purpose, as could be understood from Sardar Patel's words uttered on the 8th April, 1940.

Differences due to ideas of tactics

"A fight is inevitable The question is when to start the fight Mahatmaji will not be hustled or bullied into a fight, though a cause for fight was being given every day"

Long before the outbreak of the war in Europe, Subhas Chandra Bose had begun to draw the attention of the leadership of the Congress to the fact that the growing tension between the dominant Powers of the world would entangle Britain in difficulties His knowledge of international affairs, was acquired during the middle thirties while he had been passing his days in Vienna under orders from the British bureaucracy, he had opportunity to come into intimate contact with the representatives of German and Italian Governments This enabled him to speak with a certain amount of authority on the re-alignments in the power politics in the world. But as we have already seen, Gandhiji was wholly against taking advantage of Britain's difficulties. Thus was left no other choice to Subhas Chandra Bose and his supporters than going ahead with their own plans and schemes for utilising the opportunity to the best advantage of India The fall of France in June, 1940, left Britain alone to fight against Nazi Germany. Very few in the world hoped or believed in those days that alone Britain will be able to stand up long to the mighty war machine fashioned by Hitler. And Subhas Chandra Bose felt that he could not allow his time and energy to be cooped up in

Subhas Chandra Bose's tactics

India, either in or outside its prison walls, he must escape out of India and take the risk involved in enlisting German help in wringing out of Britain's hands the sceptre of rule over India. As he had no ideological tie-ups with the democracy represented by Britain, and as he was free from the scruples entertained by Gandhiji to which we have referred, he felt that he would be in the company of George Washington and Masaryk who had taken French help during America's War of Independence and the help of the enemies of Austro-Hungary during the first world war of the 20th century (1914-'18). The examples of the foundation members of the United States and of the Czechoslovak State pointed out to him the path of duty. Many a time after his secret departure from India (January, 1941), about eleven months before Japan attacked British and American possessions in east Asia, he tried to justify his activities by referring to these classic examples, asserting that there was hardly an instance in human history which could show that without the help of the enemy of an alien conqueror a subject people had been able to throw off that yoke and win political freedom. This lesson of universal human experience became the central thought behind all his activities since September, 1939, and much earlier perhaps. To this conviction of his, he gave pointed expression on the 9th of July, 1943, five days after he had formally received from Rash Behari Bose the office of President of the Indian Independence League.

"In the light of this experience, I came to the conclusion that all the efforts that we could put forward inside India, would not suffice to expel the British from our country. To put it briefly, therefore, my object in leaving India was to supplement from outside the struggle going on at home."

We do not yet know the details of the success that he did attain in his attempt to enlist the help of the German Government in his fight against British Imperialism. That his activities had the moral support of his own people was demonstrated in their rising *en mass* in defence of the three officers of the Azad Hind Fauz who were being tried at the Red Fort, New Delhi.

The reason why he came to Burma

In face of this mass upheaval, even the die-hard British bureaucrat, civil and military, had to bend. When Japan became an enemy of the Anglo-Saxon Powers, when her victorious forces carried everything before them and swept all the vestiges of their rule from east Asia, when Japan established herself in Burma, India's eastern neighbour, Subhas Chandra Bose must have felt that his place of activities would be better in Burma and Malaya than in Europe, that from Burma he would be better able to influence the conduct of his own people in east Asia and in India than from distant Berlin or Dresden. The motive for the transfer of his activities from Europe to Burma he elaborated in course of the same speech to enable his people to rightly understand and appreciate it. He knew that men in the leadership of the Congress had condemned his alignment with the Axis Powers. The general public in India, untroubled by prudential or moral considerations, were wholly on his side, without appreciating its value or understanding the responsibility thrown on their shoulders by their sympathy with his plan of work. To all of them, to his opponents as well to those whose instinctive feelings were enlisted on his side, he explained the motive and the hope that lay behind his bold enterprise.

"The time has come when I can openly tell the whole world including our enemies, as to how it was proposed to bring about national liberation Indians outside India, specially Indians in East Asia, are going to organize a force which will be powerful enough to attack the British Army in India When we do so, a revolution will break not only among the civil population at home but also among the Indian Army which is now standing under the British flag . .

Subhas Chandra Bose's expectations did not take shape when his Azad Hind Fauz attacked India's eastern frontier in the Manipur and Kohima areas. The "revolution" among the "civil population" ante-dated his attack by about twenty-four months, it broke out during August—December, 1942 when he was in Germany, and the leaders of the Indian Independence League under Rash Behari Bose and of the Indian National Army under G. O. C Mohan Singh were engaged in the preliminary stages of their organization The Japanese Government and its military command appear to have lacked the political imagination to exploit this favourable situation, to press on with their attack on India's eastern Provinces, pushing the Indian National Army as the spear-head of this attack. Perhaps, they were bewildered by their victories perhaps, the exertions put forth in winning these victories had stretched their strength to the breaking point They could not visualize that their attack coinciding in time with an outburst in India would deliver a blow on the British Administration under which it would reel as the Burma Administration had done They could not visualize that an attack on India in 1942 would, even if partially successful, have prevented Britain and the United States from converting India into an arsenal of their strength and a base of their operations directed against her newly acquired territories in Burma and Malaya By allowing about twenty four months from May, 1942 to the Anglo-American Combined Chiefs of Staff to consolidate their position in India, to assemble in India the equipments and instruments of modern warfare, they lost the strategic benefit which their possessions of Burma, Malaya and the Andaman Island in the heart of the Bay of Bengal had enabled them to gain Thus were not fulfilled conditions of success laid by Subhas Chandra Bose that foreign help would supplement the Indian effort When India was in a ferment in August-October 1942, the help from outside did not come. And when the outside help came knocking at India's eastern door, her people failed to respond So far as this failure had reference to India in her opposition to the British regime, its cause can be traced to the fact that the leadership of this opposition had consistently refused to think in terms of such factors and to train the mind of Indian people on this line of activity It was this unpreparedness that did not enable the almost leaderless mass movement of 1942 to succeed. It was the same cause and the weariness due to the failure of 1942 that closed the mind of the people to the significance of Subhas Chandra Bose's appearance at the eastern frontier of India.

1942 'August Revolt" had no foreign help

It was also true that the Government had repressed with a heavy hand all the discontented elements in India it had picked out all the possible people who could re-organize the dispersed forces of revolt and give a new lead to these in welcoming the Army of Liberation marching towards India under the leadership of Subhas

Economic disruption turned all thoughts from politics

Chandra Bose. Another factor has to be considered in judging this affair By the time when the Azad Hind Government was organized at Singapore, forces of economic disruption had been released over this country. The needs of war and the policy of the Government directed towards meeting those had a part in bringing this debacle about Specially in the Province of Bengal which would be the gateway of the attack on India, man and Nature conspired to disrupt the economic arrangements of normal life The tidal bore of October 16, 1942, carried death and destruction to wide stretches in the district of Midnapore, one of the most prolific of the rice-growing areas in Bengal The attempt of the Government to "deny" food and boats to the prospective Japanese invaders helped to upset Bengal's economic life Added to this was the profiteering and black-marketing that took inhuman advantage of the needs and necessities of the State and of the people They appeared to flourish under official patronage The State was engaged in a war of survival. It knew that the heart of the people was not in it Its own war needs and this deep seated opposition to it of the people combined to give a direction to its policies and practices that were less careful of their life and its necessities. Profiteering and black marketing forced it to establish control over the food and cloth of the people, over their distribution Thus came the regime which made the people dependent for their basic needs on the State And the State in India, alien to its soil and alien to its essential interests, thus came to hold a power over them that was beyond the dreams of the most arrogant and irresponsible among its official cadre The exercise of such power over the life of a disaffected people, of "anti-British" Bengal, could not be expected to be considerate There was incompetence also There was communalism in the Nazimuddin Ministry that exercised certain of the powers of the State in Bengal and the functions of the State that touched the every day concerns of the people's life Thus did State policy, a communalist Ministry, profiteering and black-marketing, co-operate with one another to drive people in Bengal to famine and starvation, thereby turning their attention from thoughts of political rights, from the fight for their assertion The politically-conscious classes in Bengal could have helped the most Subhas Chandra Bose's army. But the majority of their leaders, both among Hindus and Muslims, had been put behind prison bars during 1942, the members of the Ministerial Party were engaged otherwise And when his call came, carried through the air, the mind of the general public was found intellectually unready to understand its significance and undertake the dangerous responsibilities demanded by it The economic disruption added to their confusion and paralysed all efforts that could be made to extend support to Subhas Chandra Bose's Army of Liberation Gandhiji's "open conspiracy" of non-co-operation, of civil disobedience had not been keyed to those habits which could play a part either in what has come to be known as guerrilla warfare or of the warfare organised under Subhas Chandra Bose's dynamic drive These were the many factors that had contributed to the creation of what looked like callousness to the call sounded by the Azad Hind Government and the Supreme Commander of the Azad Hind Fauz.

The last six months of 1945 and the fir t three months of 1946 demonstrated, however, that the mind of India had been awake. The way in which it threw off the memories of administrative terrorism of 1942 and disregarded the terrors of the so-called Defence of India Rules when the leaders of the Congress were released from the Ahmednagar Fort was a pointer to its real workings Gandhiji had been released about thirteen months earlier in May, 1944 He had almost immediately started negotiations with Lord Wavell that ended in failure. His approach to Mohammad Ali Jinnah did not bear any better fruit These activities on high level did not bring solace and hope to India's millions who had not forgotten their part in India's struggle for political emancipation and had suffered for this audacity. From Gandhiji they heard words of sorrow, of condemnation of what had been done during August—October, 1942, falling as they had done from the principles and practices to the service of which he had dedicated his life. This admonition helped to create a tortured mind in the country, tortured by doubts about the wisdom and morality of the "August Movement' of 1942, by inability to accept the condemnation, by refusal to believe that freedom's battle could be waged on the high plane that Gandhiji espoused. For, neither were the British Government prepared to accept this "gentlemen's agreement" nor was the mass mind yet prepared for acting ethically under the inspiration of the philosophy and conduct indicated by Gandhiji. But with the emergence of the members of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress from the Ahmednagar Fort this brooding ineffectiveness was dispersed as if with the movement of a magician's wand. They began to tell the people that there was nothing to be ashamed of for what had been done during those angry days of 1942 by the leaderless people Regret was expressed for certain manifestations of this anger, but admiration for the heroic refusal to accept British dragooning as final was the burden of the speeches which were made by members of the Working Committee of the Congress Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru did his best to rescue from frustration the mind of the people, next to him came Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel who threw his powerful influence in dispelling the clouds of defeatism and guilt that appeared to have settled over the mind of the people Other Congress leaders were left no other choice but to chime in with this process of healthy reaction to Gandhiji's disapproval of the methods of the 1942 fight

The end of these torturing doubts

Added to their efforts was the romanticism of the life and exploits of Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali, of Jai Prakash Narain, of Achyut Patwardhan, of Nana Patil of Satara (Bombay Presidency), of the known and unknown heroes, heroines and the organizers of the secret Resistance Movement that was a better barometer to read the people's mind than any formal declaration of principles and policy made by leaders of the National Movement in India When the history of these times come to be written factually and in the perspective of the other Resistance Movements against German, Italian and Japanese aggression in Europe, Africa and Asia, it will be found that for an un-armed people, kept unarmed for more than half a century and more, whose

The history of Resistance Movements in India

traditions of military life had been frowned upon by an alien administration through direct discouragement and indirectly through the system of education that had encouraged a clerical mentality in the country, for a country circumstanced as India was, the Resistance Movement in India in 1942 indicated a considerable change in the power of reaction to the "methods of barbarism" that is the last weapon in the hands of imperialists and reactionaries, white, yellow, brown or black. In 1945 these histories were not available Since then, with the emergence of Mrs Aruna Asaf Ali, of Achyut Patwardhan, of Nana Patel, of the organizers of Jatiya Sarkars"—National Governments in Midnapore in Bengal, of Balia in the United Provinces, of the "Patri Sarkar' in Satara, a few sketches of their activities have appeared. These, the majority of these, have been written by journalists sympathetic to the cause very few have been written from living experience by men and women who have had a hand in organising these Resistance Movements in different parts of the country The outstanding leaders of these Movements have preferred to keep their own counsels, perhaps from the feeling that they could not expose their centres of strength and points of weakness as long as the "external authority" held sway over the country These sketches give but the narration of the symptoms of the deep stirrings of the countryside as these attempted to coalesce into organized movements, none of these gave a comprehensive review of the whole movement Perhaps, this scrappy narration was inevitable. For, it would not do to deny that the 1942 Movement had not been organized and directed on an all-India scale What central direction could be given by Jai Prakash Narain and his fellow workers was wholly inadequate to the needs of the situation The Movement really was a leaderless outburst. It was popular in the sense that in the areas where the authority of the alien administration was overthrown, the general masses of the people accepted the authority of their "Jatiya Sarkars"—National Governments Another handicap was that very few areas could rise to the height of the occasion, and the Linlithgow Government had not to deal with a wide and country wide "revolt". In Bihar, in the United Provinces, in Bombay and Bengal, in parts of the Andhra Desa, in parts of Assam only, were there any manifestations of organized challenge to the Government. In Bengal, for instance, the description given by Mr Fazlul Huq, the then Chief Minister of the Province, of developments in the district of Midnapur, in two Sub Divisions of it really, would indicate the truth of the situation as it obtained in other parts of the country referred to above Before we quote him, it would be better to put in the version that was published in a Bengal Government communique, dated December 6, 1942

Their intention in which for sometime they had at least succeeded was to isolate Contai and Tamluk Sub Divisions and to eliminate completely all signs of ordered government and the administration established by law. To that end they had set up and they are still unfortunately maintaining in areas where authority had not been completely restored a regime of intimidation, persecution and extortion directed against the representatives of Government , and those amongst the inhabitants who are, or are suspected to be, in favour of the maintenance of law and order officers administering departments of Government within the locality had been detained or evicted or in some cases cruelly beaten Subversive elements contrived to establish as the machinery of their ascendancy centres of administra-

tion with a parody of the paraphernalia of ordered Government—parallel district organizations, so-called courts and jails, centres for the training of 'volunteers,' and a number of so-called 'thanas' (Police Stations) "

This may serve as a foil to the statement made by Mr. Fazlul Huq in the Bengal Legislative Assembly sometime in February, 1943. It gave finishing touches to the official story, filled up the gaps in it that official prestige would not allow to be done.

Mr. Fazlul Huq's narrative

"Government have in their possession abundant evidence to show that for sometime previous to adoption by the All-India Congress Committee of the Allahabad resolution on the 8th of August, there was something like a net-work of parallel administration set up in the district of Midnapur there were the Commissioner, the District Magistrate, the Sub-Divisional officers, there were the Criminal Investigation Department, the Intelligence Branch, and the Police, and so on and so forth of the Congress that after the 8th August when lawlessness broke out in Midnapur, these Police officers of the Congress arrested persons and the Jails of the Congress which were called Gandhi Jails were filled with persons arrested by Congress volunteers And there was evidence to show that many of these persons who called themselves volunteers and the Police of the Congress actually committed acts of violence on villagers who resisted their attempts to prevent law and order from functioning "

The two statements of Government version gave an idea of what the "Quit India" Movement of 1942 had aspired to do The official version went nearer the truth when it said that the Congress workers of Midnapur wanted to "isolate Contai and Tamluk." This was the **pattern** of activities in other parts of India, in **Balia (United** Provinces), in Satara, for instance. This technique of offense indicated the strength and weakness of the conductors of the campaign and the organisers of the Movement Their success in isolating their particular areas for a time showed their individual strength but betokened that the Movement lacked the hearty support of their neighbouring areas, that the Movement could not be generalized and spread over the rest of the country. This showed a lack of co ordination, showing that in the absence through detention of the top-leaders of the Congress, individual areas did the best that was possible under the circumstances, and fought a desperate battle with their back to the wall. This proved again and conclusively that Gandhiji and his colleagues in the Working Committee of the **Indian** National Congress, the supreme Executive of the Congress, did **not** have a comprehensive plan of campaign that would bend the **British bureaucracy** to their will This proved also that they were **not well-advised** in broadcasting the idea without the necessary preparation, a call for which had for more than three years been sounded by Subhas Chandra Basu If there was to be a fight, there was no reason to neglect the preliminary organization for it This was the minimum that Subhas Chandra Basu had demanded The reason why Congress leadership had refused to undertake the trouble **and** thought of this stupendous job could be traced to Gandhiji's faith **in the** sincerity of Britain and to his unwillingness to hit her hard when she appeared to having the worst of the fight with Germany and Japan His cult of *Ahimsa* or non-injury to sentient beings was basic to any consideration of our National Movement during **the** last quarter of a century. His chivalry as a fighter for the causes next to his heart

Strength & weakness of the campaign

was buttressed on the belief that means were as important as the end, that in no case could the former be unclean without tarnishing the latter. His incurable faith in the innate and ultimate goodness of human nature stood him in good stead amid all the disappointments of his life Something more was there He believed that freedom's battle won through violence and unclean means has not benefited the broad masses of the world who in more cases than one have only been forced from one exploitation to another. History lends support to this belief Before we judge the success or failure of Gandhiji in his many fights for the down-trodden, we have to take into account these inhibitions of his, self-imposed by the faith in his ideas and ideals. It was for this reason that he condemned the methods of violence resorted to by a leaderless people to express their pent-up resentment against the British bureaucracy for its acts of omission and commission in India during the war years.

A century and half of enslavement

We have tried to present a bird's eye view of developments in India during the last six months of 1945, the period covered in this study of the *Indian Annual Register* We have shown how the trial of officers of the Azad Hind Fauz, the Indian National Army organized under Subhas Chandra Basu, gave a new measure of heightened feeling and strength to our people. For about a century and half when during the 18th century our ancestors had failed to defend and protect the self-respect of their people, when after the battle of Plassey one area after another became dyed red, the colour on our maps of the expansion of alien rule, since then all military traditions had been all but staked out by the new rulers The so-called "martial races" of India could satisfy their military instincts only by agreeing to stand guard over Britain's special interests of administration and exploitation both in their own country and in the far spaces of the globe. This century and half of enslavement had habituated us to a new morality of acquiescence in alien standards of thought and conduct in all departments of our life, individual and social, of seeing and judging the world through British specs. The products of our Universities specially, cut off from the fountain of their living traditions and brought up on the thought-forms of the West, were during the earlier generations of their discipleship easy victims to this myopia. It was only at the end of the 19th century that our people could wake up to the shame of this surrender, and dare challenge the validity of the values taught them in schools and colleges. The Swadeshi and anti-Partition Movement started by Bengal was the first sign and symbol of this returning sense, of a renewal of confidence in ourselves and faith in our destiny as an equal amongst equals in the comity of modern nations, capable of contributing their share to the sum-total of the world's inheritance of noble thoughts and ennobling aspirations, of strenuous striving and approach to fulfilment of these in concrete social institutions The present generation of leaders, old and young, are all the products of this renaissance. The high audacity and the reckless courage that characterized the revolutionary patriots of that generation are being repeated in other ways in the life of the new builders of our destiny.

There is a natural piety that binds these two generations of our workers and their leaders in every field of activity, initiated and inherited by them for the uplift of their country from her present dependent existence The suberb seriousness of a Vivekananda is reflected in the conduct of Subhas Chandra Basu, for an instance. And it is from the back ground of this history that can be best understood the mighty change that has come over our country, that sent our people reeling with passion and enthusiasm as the story of the Azad Hind Fauz was being unravelled during the State Trial at the Red Fort in the imperial city of Delhi. And it is the memory of those days, of the failure of the Manipur and Aracan campaigns, re-lived in imagination, and the admiration for "Netaji" Subhas Chandra Basu, that enabled our people to get over the frustration in the merely political field that had characterized the Simla Conference of June-July (1945)

'Divide and Rule" the sheet anchor of alien rule

The failure of this Conference was writ large on the first day when the announcement was made that such a Conference would be convened by the Governor-General of India with "parity" between "Caste Hindus" and Muslims, parity between more than 50 per cent of the population and the Muslims, less than 25 per cent. No argument was advanced to explain and justify the adoption of a method that outraged every canon of representative, democratic government Not even the Bhulabhai Desai-Liaqat Ali Pact was referred to once as a justification for the step that tried to "stereo-type religious divisions" in India The Labour Government in Britain inherited all the traditions of British rule in India, and it appeared that their mind was kept moving in that direction They could not rise above these, and it was natural for them to accept as guide to their conduct their predecessors' handiwork The record of their party leadership also was not clean in this respect. We have only to refer to Ramsay Mac Donald's "Communal Decision" on which was framed the Government of India Act of 1935 The evil of this technique of rule has followed the fortunes of our country since then It may be true that there is nothing peculiar in this, that alien rule cannot be sustained without resorting to it. The British simply followed venerable examples to justify themselves. The Labour Government had to fall into line so that their regime may not be disturbed in their home country by British vested interests that had been built up on the exploitation of India and their desire to thrive on it still. Their programme had been made and kept ready, and it would be unnatural to expect that they would buy unpopularity and endanger the prospect of Socialism in their own country for the sake of self-Government in India. And how the mind of the ruling classes of their country had been moving at the time found prominent expression in the following extract from an article in the September (1945) number of the *Round Table*, the London quarterly organ of the British Common wealth movement that seeks to reconcile non-Anglo Saxon and non white races and peoples of the British empire to an acceptance of British tutelage as a stepping-stone to ultimate self-government. It will be noticed that the writer of the article speaks of a new

"tactical situation" instead of justice and harmony as the last method for the solution of the deadlock in India.

"It seems, therefore, that the only way to escape from the immediate deadlock on principle is to hold provincial elections with the objective, not merely of proving or disproving the Muslim League case, but (equally important) of clearing the way for revived provincial self-Government Whether, if this were done, either Mr Jinnah or his opponents on this issue, would accept the result in the sense of bowing to the Viceroy's re-considered decision as to which groups, in the light of the election returns, should be represented among the members of his new Council, is open to doubt. But there seems to be no other way of creating a new tactical situation that will enable the Viceroy to try again, putting forward, perhaps, fresh devices for 'saving face' and easing compromise For, the nature of the actual problem is tactical, the main issues of the policy have been settled - maximum immediate self-government under the existing constitution, guaranteed representation of minorities in the Executive, equality for Muslims with Caste Hindus .. "

Lord Wavell's September announcement

Lord Wavell went to London again at the end of August (1945) to take counsel with the Labour Government with regard to any "face-saving" device that can be discovered for the relief of their "anxious helplessness" in face of the intractable problem they have themselves created by pandering to the separatist conceits and ambitions of the minorities in India, by raising inflated hopes in the reactionary elements in the country that the old order of things can be maintained and restored if and when Britain will take off her hands from the reins of Indian administration The outcome of the London discussion was the announcement by Lord Wavell in course of a broad-cast on September 19 (1945) of elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures, the convening of a "constitution-making body", and immediately after the elections, of discussion with "representatives of Legislative Assemblies in the Provinces" to "ascertain whether the proposals contained in the 1942 Declaration (the Cripps proposals) are acceptable or whether some alternative or modified scheme is preferable", discussions will be started with the "representatives of the Indian States with a view to ascertaining in what way they can best take their part in the constitution-making body". He also announced that the British Government are "proceeding to the consideration of the content of the treaty which will require to be concluded between Great Britain and India" Lord Wavell tried to plead with the people for patience and accept the anxiety of the new British Government as genuinely inspired when it was remembered that despite all their "pre-occupations" with British and world affairs, they have taken time, 'almost in their first days of office, to give attention to the Indian problem, as one of the first and most important." This is or ought to be regarded as "a measure of the earnest resolve" of the Labour Government to help India to "achieve early self-Government" After the failure of the Simla Conference, this appeal was a large draft on the confidence of the Indian people, they were prepared to believe in the genuineness of the Labour Government's sincerity, but they were convinced against their better nature that all the past of British policy in India would stand in the way of this Government's ability to solve the Indian problem This conviction has been driven home to them that nothing that the British Government could do in or for India will help, every step of theirs will but complicate the problem

and render it worse. This tragedy could be traced to the way in which the British bureaucracy in India or in Britain, had developed the habit of making contradictory promises to various elements of the population in their far-flung empire In India they made these to the Muslims and the "Scheduled Castes", to the Princely Order and the trading interests of British capital In Palestine to Jews and Arabs, in Burma to Burmans, to Karens, to the hill tribes and the Shan States These are illustrative only and not exhaustive of the betrayal of the hopes and aspirations of the peoples and races concerned. The bad old traditions of their imperialism cannot be shaken off in a day, in the first flush of a Socialist victory in Britain, the "divide and rule" policy will take time to work out of their system of rule.

Futility of British anxiety

Till then Britain must suffer, India and other parts of her "dependent" empire must suffer many a frustration The experiences of the post-Simla Conference days have not contradicted this judgment Rather these have strengthened that belief. All through the year 1946, the same futility has pursued their joint efforts to solve the Indian problem, all through the negotiations of the Cabinet Delegation, all through weary search for devices to placate the Muslim League and yet keep on the right side of Indian Nationalism as it has developed during the last hundred years under British methods of administration, exploitation and enlightenment, all through these genuine efforts, the past has risen its head and twisted the natural development of the declared policy of Britain and baulked the hopes of Indians. The comments of the British Press on the Simla Conference failure, the recognition of "the tragic fact that it seems beyond ingenuity to devise a method of persuading the two factions (the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League) to co-operate in self-government', to quote the words of the diplomatic correspondent of the London *Daily Herald*, represented an attempt to simplify the problem in which British policy was absolved from all share of guilt. It was not recognized that the "veto" power granted to the minority elements in India, credal social, and the growth of vested interests, Indian and foreign, was a British manufacture, that though the *Manchester Guardian* might stumble on the truth that "with every sympathy for the anxieties of the Muslim League, one cannot fail to see that we shall sooner or later have to tackle that veto", no sincere attempt in this behalf on the part of the British people or their Government was manifest during the whole period under discussion or during the whole of 1946. The condition of things, the tension in India, was worse in 1946 than in 1945 Cause and effect was there for all the world to watch and to deplore. (—*Specially contributed by Sri Suresh Chandra Deb*)

India Abroad

Treaty of Commerce with U. S. A.

Sir Chunial B. Mehta, Leader of the Indian delegtion to the International Business Conference at Ray, New York who returned to Bombay on the 3rd. January 1945, told pressmen that he took up the subject of treaty of commerce and navigation between India and the United States at the Conference as well as outside it.

The main purpose of the Conference, he said, was to explore ways and means for the expansion of world trade and his submission to the Coference was that, for the achievement of its object Indians should have equal rights to come and stay and establish business in the United States as American nationals had that privilege in India. To have such a privilege for Indians in the United states, it was very necessary that there should be a treaty of commerce and navigation between the two countries which would place Indian businessmen at par in America with other nationals. He also stressed the point of private group meetings as well as at a dinner arranged by the Indian Chamber of Commerce of America.

Sir Chunlal said that he was imformed in the United States by important people that a draft treaty had already been sent to the Government of India in 1939 and that after a period of about seven months a reply had been received from the Government of India to the effect that the subject could not be proceeded with for the duration of the war. He, however, could not vouchsafe the correctness of the information and urged that the Government of India should take the public into confidence and inform them as to the stage where the treaty negotiations stood and what were the difficulties in concluding such a treaty even while the war was on. He thought that the Executive Council should take up the subject as early as possible, as post-war reconstruction plans would require large purchases from America and ground should be prepared in advance for Indian businessmen to go to the United States and establish business relations.

Referring to the Bill before the American Legislature qualifying to become American citizens Sir Chunilal said that the Bill was being postponed from time to time and he was afraid ultimatly it might be killed He therefore thought it necessary that representative bodies in India should convey to the American authorities that the passage of the Bill into law would create a good impression in the mind of Indians, foster better relations between the two countries.

Anti-Indian Activity in America

Mrs. Roosevelt, wife of the American President, expressed her inability to receive Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit at the White House.—This was disclosed by *Mr. G L Mehta*, Deputy Leader of the Indian Delegation to the International Business Conference in the U. S A. in an interview at Calcutta on the 5th January 1945.

Mr Mehta added Meetings with the President or his wife or reception at the White house can be arranged only through the Embassy or the official representative of the country concerned and it is not difficult to guess what influences were at work to prevent Mrs. Pandit from being received at the White House. It may be added that Madame Chiang Kai-shek was received at the White House by Mrs. Roosevelt."

Referring to the prospects of Mr. William Phillips, Personal Representative of President Roosevelt in India, returning to this country, Mr. Mehta doubted if Mr. Phillips would be permitted to do so

Mr Mehta dwelt at length on the "tendentious propaganda" that was being carried on in America against the Indian national movement, particularly against the Congress. He said "American public opinion is sympathetic to Indian aspirations but is ill-informed about the Indian situation. The mass of people in America, although interested about India, are unfortunately very badly informed. Information about India is really lacking. Even the circle which is really working for India and the Indian cause, consisting of persons like Mrs Pearl Buck, Mr. Walsh (Pearl Buck's husband), Mr. Louis Fisher, Mr. Lin Yutang, Mr. Norman Thomas (who stood as a socialist candidate for presidentship), all these people stated that they were having very meagre information about India."

"Unfortunately, however," Mr. Mehta said, "the India Angent-General functions

as an appendage of the British Embassy which carries on a continuous and tendentious propaganda against the Congress. Lakhs of rupees from the Indian Treasury are spent for this purpose, apart from millions of pounds spent by the British propaganda machine, which seems to confuse and mislead American public opinion about the conditions and aspirations of India As is well-known, people have been sent from India as well as from England for this purpose and it was reported recently that Mr Beverley Nichols is also visiting U S. A. or is already there and is touring the country.

"Scores of lectures are employed, pamphlets and literature distributed all over the country to show that Indian disunity stands in the way of her freedom and that the Congress and Gandhiji have been pro-Axis.

"It is of interest to mention in this connection that debates over the Radio have taken place between, for example, Mr Louis Fisher and Sir Frederick Puckle, I. C S., who is in the British Embassy and also between Mr Norman Thomas and Senator Cellor on the one hand and Sir Frederick Puckle on the other about India. If censorship is exercised in India only for reasons of military security, typescripts of these debates should be allowed to be published in India in full to let the Indian public know what type of propaganda is done in U.S. A.

"The India Agent-General is more interested in watching the movements and activities of Indian visitors and students rather that helping them in establishing contacts between Indians and Americans

"As against this, the machinery for publicity and education on behalf of of Indian national bodies is poor in equipment and resources, although rich in personnel. Men like Syed Hussain, Mr. J J. Singh, Dr Anup Singh, Mr Krishnalal Shridharani and others are endeavouring their utmost to place the Indian viewpoint and disseminate information about the national movement There is an Indian Chamber of Commerce in New York, but it is not also adequately equipped It is essential that arrangements are made to strengthen such bodies as are functioning in U S A to provide them with adequate information '

"Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit's visit and the presence of Indian non-official delegates at the Pacific Relations Conference," Mr Mehta said, "are likely to help the Indian cause and strengthen the hands of our friends there There is, however, a kind of tacit understanding about the publication of Indian news in America although, I must add in fairness, that the activities of the Indian Business Delegation received quite good publicity even in the American Press During my stay of nearly six to seven weeks there was hardly any news about India in the American newspapers except for certain tendentious reports put out from Washington For instance, while every attempt is being made to throw cold water and discredit the Sargent Scheme of Education by high authorities in this country, reports were published as though the Government had already put the scheme into operation or they are going to implement it shortly.

'Mrs Pandit's activities', Mr Mehta remarked, "are not also receiving enough publicity presumably because of certain influences at work."

Mrs. Pandit's Criticism of British Policy

Mrs Pandit told a press conference at Hot springs (U. S. A) on the 8th January 1945 that if the British would set a date for India's freedom, as the Americans had done in the case of the Philippines, the Indian unrest could be eliminated quickly. She asserted that there could never be unity in India so long as the British remained to stir up Hindu-Muslim difficulties

"India welcomes participation in any international security organisation, and would be happy to share responsibility on equal terms but we realise that if there is to be a new world order, all countries must be on the same footing" declared Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit at a press conference to-day.

Mrs. Pandit, who is a delegate to the International Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, indicated that such conferences 'do little good because some countries are improperly represented" She pointed to the case of the Burmese, East Indies and Indo Chinese, representatives to this conference, who arrived as members of the British, Dutch and French Delegations respectively

"Colonies are out of place in the present world order" Mrs. Pandit declared, "because, according to the Atlantic Charter, there should be equality for people of all races and all colours In India, we feel the inequality strongly, recently even more strongly because, Japanese propaganda has been clever enough to exploit the feeling of humiliation of the Oriental nations by claiming that Japan fights for the

liberation of Asia from the Western nations. It is therefore necessary that the Western nations must come out with their peace aims, that assure equality for all races after the war."

Mrs. Pandit, however, strongly emphasised India's vehement anti Japanese and anti Fascist feelings. "We were the first nation to boycott Japanese goods in 1937 when the United States was sending to the Japanese goods that made this war possible. By making this mistake the United States made it possible for Indian boys to be killed by the Japanese instead of helping them to rebuild their country".

Discussing internal affairs, Mrs Pandit declared 'If the British Government had been genuine in its promises to the Indian people, they would have given an opportunity to the Congress and the Muslims to get together" She said that the Viceroy should have liberated the Congress Executive during the Gandhi-Jinnah talks As he did not, Mrs Pandit contended, Mr. Jinnah did not recognise Mr. Gandhi's offers as representative of the Congress and refused to come to terms. "Mr Jinnah showed great weakness as a national leader in not reaching a compromise with Mr. Gandhi", she added

Mrs. V. L Pandit on Indian Struggle

Mrs. *Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit*, speaking at the India Independence Day dinner given in her honour by the Indian League of America on the 26th. January 1945 declared, India's struggle is an experiment in history, for nowhere in the world have people sought to achieve freedom by non-violent means. No other nation either, as far as I can recollect, has fitted in its own aspirations into the framework of the international picture We have always realised that freedom is indivisible and it can have no meaning, if it is denied to one-fifth of the human race We have understood the urgent necessity for goodwill and co operation between the peoples of the world as free and equal partners, so that better standards of living, economic opportunity and security shall be possible for each individual and stated, In our freedom, we must have the means of contributing toward a new world structure based on peace and justice, and the abolition of the system which has created the conditions wherein war has become inevitable.

America and India have many points of similarity. You have your freedom from the British— we are striving for ours. You have established the four freedom for your people—we work for their establishment in our country. You hope to reshape the post-war world in such a way as to make peace and progress possible. It is our earnest desire to help creating this new order. The world is passing through a most critical time and the decisions which are taken now will affect the destinies of millions of people in all parts of the globe. It is a sad fact so few of us realise the vast imortance of right decisions and are content to let events shape themselves. There is so little appreciation of the fact that the world has shrunk in size and therefore all the nations are inter-dependent and what affects one most also react on the other.

The energies of the United Nations are being turned towards the planning of a new world. Is it to be really new or will old ideas merely be dressed in new names ? What we want above all things is vision and courage. The responsibility lies on each one of us who claim to understand the importance of issues that are at stake. In the new world, a free India can be a tremendous force for good and through her freedom can be found the solution for the whole problem of Pacific discontented Asia."

The American authoress, Pearl S. Buck, one of the Honorary Presidents of the India League of America, declared. "It is likely India is the country destined to see greater changes and development in the next twenty years than any other country in the world. Out of this war, I believe will come a new India More than any other people to-day, the Indians are speaking the language of freedom and democracy They have nothing to lose since they have nothing at all."

Mr J J Singh, the India League President, said that Indian independence was inextricably connected with world problems. We cannot afford to neglect countries and their problems because they are so far away and so distant. What happens in Argentina has a direct relationship to the totalitarian rule in India. What happens in Greece has a direct relationship to what has been going on and is still going on in India. We must fight and destroy Imperialism in any form or garb and in any part of the world, be it British Imperialism, Dutch Imperialism, Italian or French or, God forbid, American Imperialism."

The International Conference of Pacific Relations

"Britain recently missed two opportunities to show the genuineness of her promise to give India her independence and thus proved that she at present has no intention to do so."—*Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit*, head of the Indian delegation to the International Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, told *Reuter* on the 12th. January, 1945.

Mrs. Pandit, who opened the discussion on the Indian problem with sharp exchange with the British delegate at Hotsprings (Virginia) on the 11th January 1945, said there were two occasions when the British could have proved their *bona fide* intentions—"The first was when Mahatma Gandhi, after his release, demanded an interview with the Viceroy in order to discuss the problem of achieving freedom for Indians Lord Wavell refused to accede to the Mahatma's request. The second was during the Gandhi-Jinnah talks When agreement was nearly reached between the two leaders the British refused to liberate the members of the All-India Congress Council. This gave Mr. Jinnah opportunity to argue that Mahatma Gandhi's position represented his own view-point and might not be backed by the members of the Council, who, at present, are unable to express their opinion due to their incarceration."

Mrs. Pandit demanded the immediate release of her brother and all other political prisoners "who are now held without trial in order that India may continue her preparations for complete independence"

The International Conference on Pacific Relations on the 12th January concluded its talks on what proved to be a highly controversial subject of European dependencies in the Far East amid charges, from certain Indian and other Asiatic delegates, that agenda of the conference had been so arranged as to cut short a discussion on it Both Indian and British viewpoints were, however presented to-day. Representing India *Dr H N. Kunzru* demanded the following concessions from the British as the first concrete step towards promised independence of India

Firstly, "Complete Indianisation of the Viceroy's Council—including the two key positions of Home Membership," Dr Kunzru told *Reuter*. "For the latter the Viceroy has even imported Sir Archibald Rowland from Britain"

"Secondly, complete Indianisation of the Indian army in order that the country may be prepared to defend itself when it is given its independence Indian officers now in the army have already proved their abilities of leadership and diversity of races in the army is unimportant. Look at Russia with its many separate minorities and see how successful the Red Army has been in stopping the Germans"

Finally, Dr. Kunzru asked all Congress leaders to be released immediately He argued: "This will not prejudice Indian security because leaders have been forbidden by Mr. Gandhi to indulge in Anti-British activity that might help the enemy. And in over 29 years these men have obeyed Mr Gandhi even if it was against their own convictions"

The British delegate, Sir Frederick Whyte replied in detail to Dr. Kunzru's demands but the outcome of the discussion was only a general agreement that the international organisation—preferably within the framework of the proposed Dumbarton Oaks charter—should supervise and investigate the state of public health within European colonies in the Far East and that dependent people should have a right to submit complaints about matters of administrations to such an organisation. In the words of one Asiatic delegate "it was a highly unsatisfactory discussion of an important problem."

Mrs. V. L. Pandit's visit at Washington already produced the first direct comment from the State Department on Indian affairs in many months. As a result of her Press Conference on the 27th January 1945 in which she regretted the lack of stronger or more precise show of interest by the United States Government regarding Indian demand for independence, reporters asked the Acting Secretary of State Mr. J. Grew for comment.

Reporters attending his Press Conference, who included several who on Saturday discussed the Indian issue with Mrs. Pandit, told Mr Grew of the "surprise and disappointment expressed by some Indian national leaders" now in Washington over the United States' silence and asked if he would comment.

Mr Grew replied by reading from a piece of paper on which he had drafted his comment, obviously in preparation for such a question

His answer was not permitted to be published in direct quotations.

(Mr. Grew's statement said that the United States would be glad to assist in achieving a satisfactory settlement of the Indian question)

A reporter asked if Mr. Grew's statement implied the offer of U. S. good offices to settle the issue between Britain and India.

Mr Grew declined to give an explicit reply, but correspondents learned authoratitively that his remark about readiness to be helpful carried no implication beyond the general idea expressed. Thus correspondents got the clear impression that it did not constitute an offer of good offices.

Regarding the U. S. policy towards dependencies, specifically India, Mr. Grew referred to Mr Hull's statement in last June in which he said that the United States championed liberty for everybody, "encouraging them at all times and in all places."

Mrs. Pandit, when informed by the United Press of Mr. Grew's remarks commented: "Of course, the statement does not go very far, but I believe it is helpful in the sense that it shows appreciation of the problem."

Dr. Krishnalal Sridharani, Vice-President of the National Committee for India's Freedom commenting on Mr. Joseph Grew's statement on American attitude to the Indian question said: 'This is the most helpful responsible statement that has come out on India since the famous statement of Secretary of State Mr. Hull, that American troops will not be used against Indians

"This could directly be attributed to the dynamic presence of Mrs. V. L. Pandit in the national Capital under the auspices of the National Committee for India's Freedom.

"The next step now is for the United States Government to offer its good offices."

Dr. Anup Singh, Washington representative of the National Committee of India's Freedom said. "I feel the statement is very encouraging and indicates not only interest but willingness to contribute to a solution of Indian problems at the appropriate moment I hope the State Department will watch developments in India with deeper understanding. It will encourage people in India and may make all the difference in their morale.

United States Urged to Intervene

One thousand persons were packed in the Washington Press Club auditorium last night for an 'India Independence Day" meeting under the auspices of the National Committee for India's Freedom. The crowd enthusiastically responded to addresses by representatives Mr. John M Coffee from Washington, Mr Emanuel Celler from New York, Author Louis Bromfield, Dr Krishnalal Shridharani, Doctor Anup Singh and the guest of honour, Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit.

Afterwards the meeting passed a resolution stating that "this public meeting of the citizens of Washington calls upon the United States Government who are our Allies the desirability of immediate release of tens of thousands of political prisoners who have been imprisoned in India without any trial and further to follow up this necessary preliminary to help achieve India's constitutional freedom now in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter We believe such action to be necessary both for a speedy victory in the Far East and for achieving lasting peace"

The keynote of all the addresses was a plea to the American Republic to express itself on the Indian problem and press the Government for a statement of its position.

Mr. Coffee said· "We are fanning the flame of discontent and revolt when we refuse to lend the Indian people a symathetic ear."

Representative Coffee warned that world peace will be endangered if the United States "washed its hands of India in the hour of struggle". He said that to leave India restless was to leave a people, comprising half of the world's population, "in a state of sullen frustration. You and I may be able to finish your days in a lull before the storm but rest assured it will break over the head of our children and children's children."

Mr. Cellar declared· "The real sabotage in the war effort in India is the encirclement of India by the British.'

Dr. Singh said: "British, I am afraid, is fast driving India to exasperation and to revolt."

Mr. Bromfield stated· "I think the United States and Russia will pay a great part in the liberation of India when the time comes."

Mrs. Pandit said: "India is one large concentration camp. India has no religious differences; her one religion is religion of freedom."

English Civilian's Plea

A strong plea for Indian independence is made by Mr. *Pendrel Moon* in "The Future of India", published in London in the "Target for To-morrow" series of books, the editorial board of which consists of Sir William Beveridge, Prof. Julian Huxley, and Sir John Boyd Orr.

Mr. Moon was until recently a member of the Indian Civil Service and is author of "Strangers in India" published last year.

Though the basic problem is poverty, it can only be effectively tackled, argues Mr. Moon, if the political objective of liberation is first secured. "In India enthusiastic co-operation between Government and the governed is lacking. A sort of crusading spirit is needed if the inert mass of peasants are to be persuaded to change their traditional habits of outlook and customs in the interest of economic progress.

"But the Government, ultimately controlled by foreigners, cannot easily awaken to this crusading spirit except against itself. Hence all the energy and enthusiasm of ardent elements in India which should have been devoted to social and economic reform are spent on themselves in political conflict with the Government.

"What Bernard Shaw has called the 'Cancer of national subjection' is fatal to all planning for raising the standard of living. Until it has been successfully cured it will effect attention from every other aim.

"The first essential is therefore to solve the political problem. Continuation of British control though it might preserve order is incompatible with progress. British rule, which is now essentially sterile, contains no possibilities of development for it cannot evoke and utilise the creative impulses of the people.

India's Distrust of Britain

To those who glibly reiterate that the "Cripps Offer" still stands, Mr. Moon retorts. "One cardinal element of the present situation is Indians' distrust of British good faith. This distrust must continue so long as our determination to hand over the power remains in doubt. At present our determination is qualified and not absolute. It is still hedged around with some if's and but's and even seems likely to disappear altogether if Indians cannot themselves settle their own differences.

"The grim spectre of anarchy, the heavy burden of our supposed responsibilities to the Indian masses India's strategic importance, both for world security and the security of the British Commonwealth, preclude us from firmly resolving without mental reservations to sweep away the last vestiges of British domination. But so long as that resolve is not firm there will be distrust and our dealings with India will not be successful. The Cripps Offer holds but our resolve must hold even if the Cripps Offer fails. By hook or crook British rule must be brought to an end."

Then quoting Gandhiji's remark that every Englishman must dismount from his horse and identify himself with the humblest of Indians, Mr. Moon declares: "This may or may not be liquidation of the Empire but it is a way in which the British are most likely to contribute to the well-being and happiness of India."

Prospects of Communal Agreement

On the question of Pakistan, representing 'the most dangerous of India's divisions", Mr. Moon considers the chances of agreement higher than most Englishmen imagine. "But it will not begin to appear so long as we seem likely to remain as the dominating third party. Those who argue from the apparent intransigence of the present Indian leaders betray their inexperience of the Indian character. They also underestimate the effect which would be produced by the certain knowledge of our intended abdication. The inducement to compromise would be very strong."

Mr. Moon then goes on to indicate the possible lines of compromise. He says: "It is not inconceivable that if the stable door is left wide open the Moslems will feel insufficient temptation to walk out and will be content to exact concessions. These concessions may include minimum functions by Federal Government, adequate guarantee, perhaps more than adequate, of Moslem share in the Federal and Provincial Governments and representation in civil and armed services and special assistance for industrial development in the predominately Moslem areas"

"Another possibility is the creation of a Moslem State only in North-west India. With Sikh co-operation Pakistan would not be chimerical and impracticable." **Sikh co-operation could not be won by concessions, including firstly the establishment of a separate Sikh Province within Pakistan, secondly the grant to Sikhs of**

rights and privileges in the government of Pakistan out of proportion to their numbers.

The need for further partition of India might be obviated on the basis of similar compromise. If the Moslems are assured of "some measure of political predominance" in Bengal, Assam and also of proportionate rights and privileges in the general management of affairs in Hindustan, they might prefer this to the formation, of a separate State in North-east India. "If not, a second Moslem State, though awkward and likely to be torn with faction, would come into being."

FEDERATION OF STATES AND PROVINCES

While many small and medium-sized States may not have any future, author Moon considers that the larger States will continue to play an important part and preserve their own traditions and institutions. There may be some loose federation between States and other parts of India but according to Mr. Moon, "Whatever may be the outward forms, an essentially authoritarian regime is likely to prevail in India and among the sources of authority we may be sure to find at least some of the existing ruling dynasties.

"The tradition of personal rule is strong in India and there is deeply rooted respect for hereditary right which is closely interwoven with the whole texture of Indian society. Instincts springing from every ancient caste and social organisation will not be shed by illiterate people in a night.

"If the provinces and states become assimilated it will be in the pattern of States rather than of provinces which will prove dominant. A quasi-hereditary bureaucracy will be tempered by consultative assemblies, perhaps political in form, which will become a standard. In any case, once the States and provinces cease to be held artificially apart by the presence of a foreign power the division between them will quickly lose significance and even disappear."

WHAT BRITAIN MUST DO

Discussing what Britain must do, Mr Moon argues if the Cripps plan proved impracticable owing to the failure of Indians to agree among themselves, then some other method must be found. Indian disagreement must not be regarded morally as excusing or morally as compelling our continuance as masters. As masters we must withdraw."

To those who point out the risk of anarchy Mr. Moon's answer is "A great or small risk sooner or later, has to be run. Mere procrastination will neither avert nor lessen it. It is quite idle to suppose that if we remain control in some form for a while longer, events will somehow take a favourable turn, that something or other will turn up to promote agreement and enhance the prospects of peace and order in independent India.

"Unfortunately, the opposite of this is true. Our continued presence as a third party with the controlling Power always on the point of abdicating but always postponing it, will encourage intransigence. Meanwhile, our relations with India will become more bitter and envenomed and all that may be contributed to world unity by an Indo-British Association will be lost. By delay and hesitation therefore we incur a certain and heavy loss for no corresponding gain."

TRANSFER OF POWER

In default of Indian agreement Mr. Moon suggests Britain should herself decide to whom to transfer power. 'It is not at present possible and it would not be politic to indicate in detail what sort of power should be entrusted to which persons. But one thing is fairly clear. The Central Government's political power could not be handed over intact to any single group of Indians. In the absence of consent and in the absence of physical force (now supplied by the armed might of Britain) it would be impossible to find or create any single group of Indians capable of exercising the same degree of control over different Provinces and States as exercised at present by the Viceroy and the Government of India.

So "in the absence of the Hindu-Muslim agreement we should be able to start with the Provinces and States and transfer to them or to such aggregations of them as might voluntarily coalesce, those powers which are at present concentrated in the Central Government. It might turn out that the different parts of India would enjoy rather different fortunes. In some there might be peace and ordered progress, in others chaos and confusion. Peace and order might gradually spread from one part to another or chaos might extend their sway. Some part might preserve close connection with Britain while others may break away. In some Englishmen might be able to exercise liberal healthy influence, while in others their advice may be scorned.

"In any event it is imperative to consider alternative methods to end British rule if the Cripps Plan fails."

CHANGING OUTLOOK OF THE PEASANT

Regarding the "transformation of the Indian character", Mr. Moon admits that the mediaeval outlook of the Indian peasant will change and that it is changing. But the pressing need is "for making the literate leaders." Saying that this is a "painful subject" and it is useless and impertinent for a foreigner to give advice Mr. Moon declares that the forces of evil are enormously strong in India and only the rarest of virtue can rise above them.

"Most young men of the Indian middle classes do not have a chance of developing the requisite strength and character. Both at home and school they are inadequately disciplined and they are brought up in a word in which greed, falsehood, suspicion and communal hatred prevail. It is impossible in a few sentences to assign causes or apportion blame . . . . But it is necessary to recognise facts. India's educated classes will themselves lead the masses to disaster unless the rising generation can establish higher standards of sincerity, integrity and thus promote in a society at large greater mutual tolerence and trust.'

Commonwealth Relations Conference

SIR M ZAFRULLAH SPEAKS OUT

Sir M. Zafrullah Khan, Leader of the Indian Delegation to the Commonwealth Relations Conference, which opened in London on the 17th February 1945, made a spirited speech in which he pleaded for full Dominion Status for India and told Commonwealth statesmen that they could no longer stop India from achieving her desires

"Statesmen of the Commonwealth", he said, "does it not strike you as an irony of the first magnitude that India should have two and half million men in the field fighting and struggling to preserve the liberty of the Commonwealth and yet should be a suppliant for her own freedom ?

"How long do you think she will be prepared to wait ? India is on the march. You may help her or you may hinder her but none shall stop her. India shall be free, within the Commonwealth if you will let her and accord her the position which is her due, but without the Commonwealth if you leave her no alternative."

Dealing with the changes in India since the 1938 Conference, Sir Mohd. Zafrullah said, "The war has brought to India a forcible and vivid realisation of her own strategic importance and, indeed, of its potential strategic domination in all the vast areas of oceans and land that lie between Australia and the West coast of Africa. Early during the war, long before Pearl Harbour, India had become the principal base of supplies in that area Through rapid mobilisation of its manufacturing capacity and industrial resources, it has become the principal arsenal of the United Nations in that part of the globe. The contribution that India has made towards preserving the liberties of the nations of the Commonwealth and safeguarding future peace of the world has not been achieved without creating serious ferment in many directions.

"The repercussions are not confined to the economic sphere. They are making themselves felt very strongly in other directions India is growing impatient of its political dependence on Great Britain The sense of disappointment and frustration in the political field is being aggravated by the fear that it may be relegated to a position of inglorious obscurity in the post-war arrangements some of which will form the subject matter of discussion in this Conference. China is to-day freely recognised as one of the four big nations India does not compare unfavourably with China in population and area. In every other respect, China can stand no comparison with India. I am sure it will be freely recognised that in respect of natural resources and their development, of manufacturing capacity, industrial potentials, technical and mechanical skill, capital investments, literacy and higher education, in arts and sciences, communications, public health and veterinary services, maintenance of law and order and administration of justice and a host of similar matters, India stands far ahead of China whatever may be its position *vis-a vis* the United Kingdom, the United States and the USSR It may be objected that India suffers from divisions and conflicts but the divisions and conflicts in India do not prove more, intractable than differences that divide Communists and Kuomintang in China Though often a victim of aggression, India has throughout her long history never been guilty of aggression herself "

Sir Zafrullah Khan, referring to India's great war effort, said that during the last five years, India from being a debtor country had converted itself into a cre-

ditor nation with large sterling balances. "In respect of man-power also India's effort has been no less remarkable. Without the aid of any measure of compulsion whatsoever she has succeeded in putting into the field two and half million men who have given a splendid account of themselves in the many theatres of war. If the need arose this number could easily be doubled, or perhaps even quadrupled, and this without touching more than 2½ percent of the population of India. The contribution that India has made towards preserving the liberties of the nations of the Commonwealth and safeguarding the future peace of the world has not been achieved without creating serious ferment in many directions. The supply effort and the manpower drive have created a much larger number of technical and skilled personnel than India has ever possessed before, though the number still falls grossly short of its potential requirements."

Lord Hailey of the United Kingdom delegation said that he regarded what had happened in India as rather an evolution than a change. "I regret that India's delegate, Sir Zafrulla Khan, should feel that he has left India still with a sense of frustration. For our part let us say that we regard ourselves as now only awaiting the day when India herself will provide a consummation of the policy of full self-government and the policy laid down in the declaration of 1942".

DEFENCE OF BURMA—A BRITISH RESPONSIBILITY

Sir Htoon Aung Gyaw, the Burma observer, said that the defence of Burma with the constitution she had now was not a Burman responsibility but a responsibility of the British. "I do not want to rub this in", he added, "I am only trying to state the facts". The whole national life and economy of Burma had broken down. Burma was dependent on her production of rice, timber and oil, and in all the three there was at present nearly chaos. 'Our neighbours in India and Ceylon and other parts are suffering from a shortage of rice and looking forward to Burma to meet supply, but I am afraid that the exception will not be fulfilled within the next three or four years. The whole economic life of Burma is at present dead and it will be necessary to resuscitate it. Any help we can get either in the form of advice or materials from our associates will be very welcome."

Mrs. Pandit's Call to Britain

Mrs Vijayalakshmi Pandit conducted a private campaign in the United States to inform Americans on the Indian problem

In a series of lectures and interviews in March 1945 she attempted to clear up what she considered to be some American misconceptions about the question of Independence for India The main point she made was her personal view that her countrymen would accept any reasonable plan consistent with the goal of independence

She insisted that Britain should create "an atmosphere of faith" among Indians, if questions of India's future and its relations with the British Empire were to be worked out on a peaceful and permanent basis

One of the 'misconceptions" she tried to eliminate in the United States, she said, was a widely-held belief that India can never be a united nation because of antagonisms between Hindus and Muslims

"That is a dead issue," she pointed out in an interview. "The Hindu-Muslim problem is not acute It is only necessary to point out that the present President of the All-India Congress (which includes all sects- Hindus, Muslims and Christians) is a Muslim All that is really involved is a division of power at the top- a purely political problem and one that is far from insoluble"

Mrs Pandit said it was interesting to note that the Muslim League has come out in favour of complete Independence "There is no difference in the Muslim and Hindu political objective" she added

She was asked frequently to account for the failure of the Mission of Sir Stafford Cripps to India in 1942 to reach a settlement with advocates of Indian Independence

"The basic difficulty is that negotiations have never been conducted in an atmosphere that is conducive to a settlement," she says. "As a first requirement, the British must create an atmosphere of faith in their promises and intentions. There must be a complete release of political prisoners, and the All-India Congress Committee must be given a chance to consider the British proposals in an atmosphere of freedom."

The Empire Conference—Noon's Assertion

The Defence Member of the Governor-General's Council. Sir Firoz Khan Noon, speaking at the Empire Conference on the 5th. April 1945, said: "We are here to represent India and not His Majesty's Government, and we are going to San Francisco also to represent India and not His Majesty's Government"

The speaker added· "Although on paper India may not be a Dominion, I feel it sometimes necessary to point out that even His Majesty's Government gave us no instructions for any of these meetings. We have instruction from our own Government—a Government which to-day consists of eleven Indians and four Englishmen, and I am glad to say that these four Englishmen, when considering questions concerning India and Great Britain, are as Indian as the Indian members of that Government"

"May I also point out that the Secretary of State for India interferes as little with the affairs of India as you yourself (Chairman of the Conference), Lord Cranborne, interferes with the affairs of the Dominions

"Therefore although on paper India may not be a Dominion, in practice India is a Dominion and we feel that we are here as equal partners with representatives of other Dominions as we have been in almost all international gatherings before

"India was one of the original members of the League of Nations and we are looking forward to being one of the original members of the new League of Nations or whatever name may be given to it India has played a very honourable part in this war. We are very proud of the part we have played along with troops of sister Dominions, New Zealand, South Africa and Australia in chasing the Germans and Italians out of the whole of Africa We have done the same thing in chasing the Germans out of Italy and now we are helping to drive the Japanese out of Burma Whether you consider it from the point of view of civilian war effort and sympathy or gains of the Allies or actual sacrifices made in this war, India stands proudly shoulder to shoulder with all other representatives of the British Commonwealth of Nations

"So we are going forward to San Francisco practically as a sovereign nation with full freedom to do what we consider best in the interests of our country and our Government"

The speaker stated that he had a "definite promise" from the Canadian Prime Minister, Mr Mackenzie King, that the Canadian High Commissioner would soon arrive in India.

Sir Firoz Khan Noon added "I am glad to say that negotiations with regard to exchange of High Commissioners are proceeding and I hope they will fructify as in the case of Australia I have no doubt that one day Mr Fraser's country will also come into closer contact with India by exchanging representatives of his Government with our own All these things bring us closer together for which we feel happy, because the more we come together, the stronger we are

"We must realise, however, that we are not going to undertake a very easy task I liken the San Francisco Conference to a man who is trying to put a large number of frogs into one basket and all frogs keep trying to jump out one after the other and he is constantly putting them back into the basket That is what, I foresee, is going to be the case in San Francisco

"However, let us not be dismayed by difficulties which confront us because varying and conflicting interests are many I am sure that given wisdom and vision leaders of the United Nations will bring all peace-loving nations together, in which task we give you our hearty co-operation and our blessing

"As I see it, some concessions will have to be made by the smaller powers The Covenant of the League proceeded on the basis of equality for all, big and small In status that is so, in status we are all sovereign powers but in function, we are not all equal.

"On the Big Five will rest a terrible responsibility for peace If they cannot keep together, the position of the smaller nations who cannot defend themselves will be hopeless, because this war has shown that the smaller states are helpless children, absolutely helpless before the new weapons and new forms of war power. Defence for the smaller nations is hopeless, and so the main responsibility is placed on the Great Powers If they will keep together and do their duty, we may have some hope of security and world peace in future Concessions will have to be made We the smaller nations, will have to make them.

"I know there was something like consternation after Dumbarton Oaks when it became known that there was to be this special position and that special functions were planned for the Great Powers, but it was right—it is quite right.

"If San Francisco fails, then I see nothing but stark disaster before mankind. This war has warned us what the new forms of war mean It is not any more what we learned at school or from history books World war to-day means quite a different thing. This world war has proved this much, and it will be worse in future

"So far as this Commonwealth, this group of ours, is concerned, I think it is perhaps the most responsible group in the world though not the most powerful There are more powerful groups in the world, but it is the most responsible group, a group which comprises larger varieties and interests of mankind, which comprises all cultures all stages of civilisation, a group which has matured, which is no longer indulging in childish fancies and ambitions but has grown to man's estate, a group which has matured in human wisdom and practical experience, developed the technique of human government such as no other group possesses It has a very special responsibility for the success of this vast attempt for world peace which is now being made, and I hope we shall do our best I think the British Commonwealth and Empire is capable of making quite a great contribution to the success of San Francisco

Proceedings of

The All India Congress Committee

The Working Committee

OF THE

Indian National Congress

AND

Other Provincial Conferences

The Simla Conference And After

JULY—DECEMBER 1946

The Indian National Congress

All-India Congress Committee Proceedings

Bombay—21st. to 23rd. September 1945

President's Opening Address

The All-India Congress Committee met at 3 p m on the 21st September 1945 in a special pandal at the Gowalia Tank Maidan, Bombay where three years ago, it passed the "Quit India" resolution *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad* who presided over the meeting then, occupied the presidential gadi to day also.

All the members of the Congress Working Committee as also other leading Congressmen were seated on the dais Two hundred and twenty-five members were present while the visitors' enclosures were full with nearly 30,000 peoples.

The Congress President and members of the Working Committee came in a procession.

After "Vande Mataram" was sung, Maulana Azad made a brief speech reviewing the political events in the country since the Committee met in August 1942. Maulana Azad, speaking in Urdu, said "At this moment, every one of you must be thinking of an incident which took place more than three years ago Events pass by but they leave an imprint which even the passage of time cannot wipe off The last meeting of the A I C C. took place in this city and on this very spot The story of these three years has two aspects, one of trials and tribulations and the other of the forces which have been created by these conditions The power of nations springs from such hardships. An Arabic proverb says: 'Hardships have the same effect on life as fire has on gold."

Reception to Mr Sarat Bose

The arrival Mr *Sarat Chandra Bose*, the Bengal leader, was marked by vociferous greetings and cheers from the audience *Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel*, with tears dripping from his cheeks, warmly embraced Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose who was moved by this touching reception given to him by the Sardar

Acharya Kripalani, General Secretary apologised to the House for not submitting the Secretary's report this time After the last A I. C C. meeting along with the members of the Working Committee, he was arrested. The A. I. C. C Office at Allahabad had been taken possession of by the Government and it had been returned only a few days ago These developments rendered it impossible for him to write his report

Tribute to Departed Leaders

The President called upon the Secretary, Acharya J B Kripalani to move the resolution condoling the death of prominent Congressmen, including C Vijayaraghavachariar, former President, Kasturba Gandhi, Begum Azad, S Satyamurthi, Mahadeo Desai, R. S. Pandit, Dr. P C Ray, Sri Ramdas Puntulu, K S. Gupta and many others

There was a tense moment during the initial stage of the proceedings of the A. I. C. C Acharya J. B. Kripalani, General Secretary of the Congress was reading the names of prominent Indians who had died since the last meeting of the A. I. C. C. and in whose memory a condolence resolution was proposed

A delegate asked Why does not the name of Subhas Chandra Bose appear in this list?

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the President said The name of Subhas Chandra Bose has not been included deliberately The circumstances in which the death of Bose has reached us and the sources responsible for its announcement do not make it certain that Bose, in fact, is dead. Therefore, his name does not appear in the list. (Cheers).

The resolution was passed all standing.

Revision of Congress Constitution

Acharya Kripalani, General Secretary next moved a resolution on temporary changes in the Constitution The resolution was passed The resolution reads:

"(1) (a) In view of the fact that the Congress has not been able to hold its annual session after the Ramgarh Session held in March, 1940, and in view of the fact that events have happened during the past five years which require that the constitution of the Congress be considered in its entirety, it was resolved that a committee consisting of the following persons with power to co-opt two more be

formed to consider the whole question and to make proposal for such amendments and additions to the Congress constitution as may appear necessary. In particular, the Committee is authorised to consider the question as to how the Congress Committees should be related to other independent organisations and to groups within the Congress Committees themselves. The Committee is also authorised to consult Provincial Congress Committees and such other persons or bodies as it may consider necessary. The Committee shall submit its report to the Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee by the 31st December to be considered by the Working Committee and submitted to the open session of the Congress.

"The names of the members of the Committee are (1) Mr. Rajendra Prasad; (2) Acharya Narendra Deo, (3) Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramyya, (4) Mr. G R Divakar; and Acharya J B Kripalani."

Inasmuch, however, as it is not possible at present to recognise Congress Committees in strict compliance with the provisions of the constitution, the Resolution adds that temporary and transitory amendments are made to enable the delegates to the next session of the Congress to be elected and a new All-India Congress Committee and new Provincial Congress Committees to be formed by members to be enrolled now. Among those temporary provisions are these that the year of membership of persons enrolled in the year 1945 shall continue upto 31st December 1946, (This refers to enrolment by Congress Committees and not to enrolments by other organisations formed by the Congress since 1943) that there should be no renewal of membership this year, but everyone who wants to become a member shall apply for the purpose in the form prescribed in the constitution and pay four annas as his membership fee, that the last date for enrolment of members shall be 20th November 1945 and for the publication rolls 15th December 1945, time for inspection of rolls shall be upto 20th December 1945; last date for objection to entries in rolls 25th December 1945, last date for decision on objections 4th January 1946, final publication for rolls 10th January 1946; and rolls to be submitted to the A. I C C. 15th January, 1946; that the dates proposed may be varied and dates for election of delegates and election of the A I. C. C members and President of the next session of the Congress may be fixed by the Working Committee; that vacancies in Committees may be filled by co-option by the existing members of such Committees provided that only such persons may be co-opted as have actively furthered the A I. C C. resolution of August 1942; provided further that the person co-opted need not necessarily have been a member of the Congress in 1942. Other provisions amending certain articles of the constitution are also contained in the resolution.

The Committee adjourned for half an-hour at 5-15 p m. for tea.

When the A. I. C. C. reassembled after the tea interval, *Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru* stood up to move the resolution on "the struggle of 1942 and after" adopted by the Working Committee at the recent Poona session.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was, however, unable to proceed with his speech as the *loud speaker arrangements were found to be faulty.*

After a brief discussion between himself Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, it was decided to adjourn the session to 2 p m. the next day as it would have been impossible without the loud speakers functioning for the vast audience to follow the proceedings

Second Day—Bombay—22nd September 1945

One feature of to-day's session was continual heavy rains Despite the rains the pandal was packed to capacity by 4 p m. and the audience listened to the speeches in pin drop silence.

Inside in the admirably leak-proof amphitheatre, 25,000 people sat with their chappals and shoes soaked in wet mud. But there was no cold feet about the torrent of words that emanated from the dais and spread all over the hall through the loud-speakers which worked satisfactorily to-day despite the rain.

As the rain pattered outside, the people heard *Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru* declare that the spirit of the nation was never higher and their determination to follow the Congress lead never stronger than now They have heard Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel call for a 'Quit Asia" policy as an improvement on "Quit India" and after Acharya Kripalani had moved the resolution on Congress policy, speaker after speaker urged a policy of "no negotiations" They asked that the Congress be strengthened further, so that they might develop the sanctions strong enough to compel the transfer of power to the people.

The debate throughout was maintained at a high level and the Maulana was

the firm but considerate President he always is. Every speaker had his allotted time, ten minutes at first, and then five later on, but not a minute more.

The audience, despite its size and the inclemency of the weather, listened to the speeches in perfect discipline frequently acclaiming the speakers.

A note of humour was maintained throughout the debate.

A Bengalee speaker, just as the President was preparing to call him to order, declared: "I don't want to waste your time, but please don't waste your time over negotiations". He was opposing the policy of negotiation

Acharya Kripalani, the General Secretary, silenced the opponents on the policy of negotiations by a devastating sally "You will have to have negotiations in any case", he declared adding, "even after complete victory has been achieved through non-co-operation, negotiations would be necessary on the question of how many ships would be required for the Britishers to go home."

The conclusion of to-day's meeting was marked by heavy downpour, which held up the leaders and other members of the audience for a considerable time.

There were repeated cheers as Pandit Nehru listed the districts which he said the people had temporarily freed from British rule during 1942. These included Tipperah in Bengal, parts of Bihar and the Satara district in Bombay Province, where even until recent days there had been a strong underground movement which the Government classified as "a parallel Government."

One thing abundantly clear, as the second day's session rolled on, was that the Congress was preparing for the election campaign Speeches were bitter and cheers at citing anti-Government statements were loud and frequent.

1942 August Movement

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru moved the following resolution

"The A.I C C. at its first meeting after more than three years of wanton suppression by the British Government, desire to convey its greetings and congratulations to the nation on the courage and endurance with which it withstood the fierce and violent onslaught of the British power, and its deep sympathy to all those who suffered during these three years of military, police and ordinance rule.

'The Committee regrets that in some places the people forgot and fell away from the Congress method of peaceful and nonviolent action, but realises that the provocative action of the Government in effecting sudden and widespread arrests of all well-known leaders, and brutal and ruthless repression of peaceful demonstrations goaded them to rise spontaneously to resist the armed might of an alien imperialist power which was trying to crush the spirit of freedom and the passionate desire of the Indian people to gain Independence The earnest appeal made by the A.I.C C. at its last meeting held on August 8, 1942, for creating conditions necessary for full co-operation with the United Nations in the cause of world freedom was ignored and the suggested attempts to solve the Indian problem by negotiations were answered by the Government by an all-out attack on the Indian people and by subjecting an unarmed India to many of the horrors of war which accompany in an invasion.

"Three years of frightfulness have left their long trial behind them of death and agony and suffering and avoidable man-made famine, which took its toll of millions of lives, and an administrative system which is full of corruption and incompetence totally incapable of handling or solving India's problems. Yet these years have also demonstrated the courage of the Indian people to meet Government repression and have steeled and hardened them in their resolve to gain freedom and deliverance from foreign rule.

"The world war is happily over, but its long shadow still darkens the world and prospects of future wars are being considered. The appearance of the atom bomb as a weapon of war, with its frightful and horrible powers of destruction has brought to a crisis the immoral and self-destructive elements of the present-day political, economic and spiritual structure of the world. Civilization is likely to destroy itself unless it gives up its imperialist and acquisitive tendencies and bases itself on the peaceful co-operation of free nations and on the maintenance of the dignity of man. The end of the war has brought no freedom to the colonial and dependent countries, and the imperialist Powers are again engaged in the old contest for dominion over others.

"The A.I.C C. reiterates its national and international objectives, laid down in its resolution of August 8, 1942, and its conviction that the Independence of India is essential for world peace and must be the basis for the freedom of Asiatic and other dependent nations. The Independence of India must be unequivocally

recognised and her status among the United Nations must be that of an independent nation, co-operating with others on an equal basis for the establishment of a world order of peace and freedom.

August Incidents

In moving the resolution, Pandit Nehru recalled that it was over three years since the A.I.C.C met at the same spot. Since then many events had happened, events which would contribute a glorious chapter to the history of the fight for India's Independence. He reminded the members how when the leaders were still hoping to find a way out of the deadlock they were faced with in August 1942, the Government arrested the leaders wholesale. This sent a wave of resentment throughout the country and he was proud of the manner in which the people reacted to the situation. The authorities came down with a heavy hand. Suppressive measures came one over the other and the entire might of the Government was turned on the people but, said Pandit Nehru, the spirit of the people remained unbroken. "Leaderless and without guidance from the quarters to which they were used to look for help, the people took the initiative into their own hands. How could you and me, sitting here now, pass judgment on their action? It is easy to criticise now, pick holes here and there—in what they did", Pandit Nehru said.

The people organised themselves, found their own leaders and own methods. "The events in Satara, in Bihar, in Midnapore, elsewhere in Bengal and in the United Provinces have added a glorious chapter to the history of the people's fight for independence", Pandit Nehru declared. The Government, with the might of British military strength behind it, came down on the people with unprecedented measures of suppression. In the name of the war and war efforts various actions were taken, all directed towards putting down the people who had risen up against the Government's action. The speaker mentioned in this connection the imposition of collective fines on certain villages in the United Provinces and elsewhere, and incidents where the people were fired upon. The masses withstood all these.

Loud cheers greeted Pandit Nehru when he declared that he had no doubt that never before in India's recent history had the people shown such unconquerable spirit.

Congress Influence Among the People

Pandit Nehru said that since his release he had done quite a lot of touring round the country. He had been deeply impressed with the determination of the people to follow the Congress. Never before had he come across such vast and enthusiastic gatherings at meetings addressed by Congress leaders. He was proud of this. The Government's strong arm might have cowed down the people outwardly but here was their determination coming out again with fresh vigour and a new lease of life.

Pandit Nehru said that the spokesmen of the Government often claimed that the Congress influence among the people was waning. "Are these uncontrollable crowds which come to greet the leaders a sign of waning influence?" Mr Nehru asked sarcastically amidst thunderous applause.

Pausing for a while Mr. Nehru said. "Some people have called this war (the second World War)—a people's war. Where was the people's war and for what? As far as we were concerned there was only one war and that was the struggle which the people were waging against the repressive measures of the Government."

At this stage there was some interruption from a part of the vast amphitheatre, the people shouting they were unable to hear the speaker. Pandit Nehru appealed to them to be patient and incidentally remarked that he had himself seen yesterday that the loud speaker wires had been cut at four places.

Resuming his speech, Pandit Nehru referred to those who talked of internationalism before nationalism. "We must be nationalists before we are internationalists" he declared. 'How could you talk of internationalism until your own country finds a place in the free map of the world'" he asked.

Pandit Nehru referred again to the enthusiasm among the people for the *Congress cause and declared it was the duty of the leaders to direct this into the* proper channel. Elections, etc. were not the things that ultimately mattered. It was the strength and determination of the people to win freedom that mattered and it was the duty of the leaders of the people to direct the enthusiasm and spirit of the people in the right direction.

Seconding the resolution, *Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel* recalled the resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. in the same pandal in 1942, and described how that

resolution contemplated negotiations between Mahatma Gandhi and the Viceroy, because the Congress was anxious to come to a compromise with the British Government But this was made impossible by the Government's total war against the Congress on the morning of August 9 when all the leaders and members of the A I C C together with thousands of Congressmen were arrested The British Government in India then turned its might on the Congress and the people with a view to throttling them What followed this brutal action of the Government was a matter of history and he did not wish to go into details When the history of the Congress movement of 1942 would be written by the Congress, the full facts of what happened in 1942 would be known

Sardar Patel referred to Sir Richard Tottenham's pamphlet on "Congress rebellion" and said amidst cheers that he agreed with the title of the pamphlet There was a rebellion in India in 1857 and there was another in 1942 showing the will of the people to be free Both the Congress and the Government were able to assess the strength behind the August 1942 movement His contention was that the so-called rebellion of August 1942 was not an organised one, because if it was so, there would have been no need for a further struggle As a matter of fact, in August 1942 the Congress did not start the offensive because all the leaders were put in prison by a lightning stroke The offensive of the Government was so scathing in intensity that the country in general rose in self-defence "I cannot see anything wrong in this We are after all human beings"

TRAGEDY OF BENGAL FAMINE

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel referred to the Bengal famine and asked, "Is there a single country in the world except India where millions of people die of starvation and the Government escape without being held responsible for such a calamity?" Lord Linlithgow, the then Viceroy, did not even think it necessary to visit the famine-stricken Province of Bengal Such a Government, I assert, has no right to exist"

Continuing, the Sardar said the war had now ended The atom bomb had finished it This had created a new situation and the Congress had to consider it in all its aspects The discovery of the atom bomb had demonstrated that all the might that a country might possess would be of no use, in the face of the atomic bomb Mahatma Gandhi had taught the Congress the principle of non-violence He had always maintained that meeting violence with violence could only produce anarchy The culmination of these efforts at creating greater and even greater instruments of violence and destruction ending with the production of the atomic bomb was positive proof of this contention Unless the world turned to non-violence there was no hope

"QUIT ASIA" DEMAND

Sardar Patel then warmed up and said that the "Quit India" resolution passed by the Congress in 1942 stood and the Congress was not prepared to alter even a comma of the resolution Not only that, the Congress would soon have to say 'Quit Asia' instead of 'Quit India" (Cheers) So long as India was in bondage, there could be no real freedom for the people of Asia The Congress was, therefore determined to win the freedom of India They had worked for the last 60 years for winning the freedom of the country So far, they had not reaped the fruits of their efforts The Congress was now determined to secure India's freedom. The people of India had demonstrated their strength during the last three years This resolution was a fitting tribute to that demonstration What the Congress had now to do was to canalise that strength and enthusiasm of the people and translate it into the achievement of India's cherished goal of freedom

Sardar Patel made a passing reference to the talk two years ago that those responsible for the "Quit India" resolution would be tried He asked, "Where are the people who are going to try us? We wanted a trial, but those who were responsible for putting us in prison shunned an open trial In fact, those are the very people who are on trial now (Laughter) They have proved absolutely incompetent and utterly incapable of shouldering the responsibility for Government"

During the war, said Sardar Patel, many people who had urged co-operation in the war effort had said that it was a people's war The war was now over but India was not free If it was really a "people's war", would not India have attained her freedom as a result of the victory? But the talk of a "people's war' was only propaganda. Even a prominent leader of the Punjab, like Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, had said that India would get her freedom at the end of the war. He had even gone to the extent of

saying that if India was not free at the end of the war, he would join the Congress in its fight against the Government The war was now over and India had not gained her freedom but, unfortunately, Sir Sikandar was no more The purpose of his referring to Sir Sikandar's declaration was to demonstrate the futility of the contention made by those who asked the people of India to co-operate in the war effort The country knew its real interests and faithfully followed the Congress Thus it demonstrated the strength behind the demand of the Congress for India's freedom The Congress was to-day determined to achieve that object. "No one can stop us now from securing our freedom We are determined to have it and we shall have it" (Cheers)

Acharya Narendra Dev, supporting the resolution, said that 1942 would remain a very glorious chapter in India's history. The August movement was an uprising for breaking the shackles of bondage. The people stood the test sucessfully and demonstrated that they could hold the reins of administration efficiently In this movement, the illiterate and ignorant masses showed that they had more ability to wrest power than the educated Had there been no resistance movement at the time the country would have been in the slough for another 30 years or more. The movement focussed the eyes of the world on India and wherever the American globe-trotting Wendell Willkie toured in the East, he was asked about the freedom of India India became the key-note of the arch of the freedom of the world Referring to those who stood out of the August Movement, Acharya Narendra Dev said that they stood self-condemned to-day.

Doubting that the Labour Government in Britain had different intentions from those of the Conservatives, Acharya Narendra Dev said "I accept nothing less than complete Independence. I won't wait for a day So long as capitalism and imperialism are not done away with, there can be no peace in the world"

"If the world should have peace, every nation should be free," he concluded

Pandit Balkrishna Sarma, member from U. P supporting the resolution, said that he had opposed the "Quit India" resolution in 1942 Now he had come to admit his mistake The last three years had convinced him of his error. The country had shown unflinching courage and sacrifice and had provided ample proof that the Congress represented the will of nation for freedom Enormous forces had been released in the country and this accession of strength should not be frittered away in electioneering campaign only The country looked up to such leaders as Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel and others for guidance He urged the changing of the Congress Constitution so as to permit all revolutionary forces to be within the organisation.

AMENDMENTS MOVED

Mr *Raghunath Rai* moved an amendment to the resolution seeking to delete the expression of regret regarding lapses on the part of the people from non-violence

Mr S C. Chatterjee from Bengal urged the substitution of the term 'admits' in place of the word 'regrets He said there was no reason for expression of regret in view of the inhuman repression

Mr *Dubash* of Meerut Kakori fame said that the Committee should express pride. Although the movement as such had nothing to do with the Congress, but was a spontaneous uprising, yet this revolution was bound to be recognised as a landmark in the history of the country The Congress would be unjust if those who participated in the movement were in any way condemned.

Mr *Ranga* suggested that Africa should also be included in the last part of the resolution, which said that the Independence of India is essential for world peace and must be the basis of the freedom of Asiatic and other dependent nations. He congratulated the Congress Working Committee on the revolutionary attitude they adopted in the resolution.

Pandit Nehru in a short reply to the amendments, said that by passing that resolution, the A I C. C was not seeking to condemn those who had participated in the movement. But it had to be admitted that under the circumstances forced on the people, some mistakes had been committed Mistakes must be admitted. The resolution cast no aspersions Pandit Nehru said that he could not say how he would himself have acted if he were free in those days.

All the amendments were either withdrawn or rejected and the original resolution was carried with no dissenting vote. The Committee then adjourned for tea.

Congress Policy

On resumption after tea, *Acharya Kripalani* moved the resolution on "Congress policy", which after reviewing the history of the Congress must remain; Negotiation and settlement when possible and non-co-operation and direct action when necessary. The following is the text of the resolution

"The Congress from its earliest beginning sixty years ago has tried to win Swaraj for all the people of India But the content and implications of the word 'Swaraj' have progressively varied with the march of time, as also the people towards their goal So have the means Thus Swaraj at one time means Self-Government of India. The means were strictly legal and constitutional. As efforts so circumscribed proved insufficient, violence were resorted to from time to time, but this was sporadic, unorganised and secret At each stage, the Government of India responded reluctantly and in a niggardly manner with some sort of reform accompanied by repression, leaving behind on every occasion of increasing discontent

"In 1920 the Congress became a mass organisation, basing its methods of action on peaceful and legitimate means, and adopted a revolutionary programme of progressive non-co-operation including civil disobedience, which was confined in certain circumstances to individuals or groups or areas and to the redress of certain grievances At each stage, more and more people began to join the struggle for freedom. In 1929-30 the Congress finally defined Swaraj as complete Independence for India, and ever since 1930, January 26 has been observed as Independence Day when the pledge for Independence is reaffirmed.

"In August 1942, the urgency of the situation and the perils that confronted India led to a programme of immediate severance of the British connection being conceived, and this was to be adopted, if the method of negotiated settlement failed. The resolution to this effect had hardly been adopted by the A I C C late at night when in the early hours of the following morning, the members of the Working Committee, the A. I C C and other Congressmen and Congress women were arrested in Bombay and all over India and other repressive measures were adopted by the Government The people stunned, leaderless and incensed, gave vent to their just anger in a manner they thought best, both violently and non-violently, but the Governmental violence in every case put the popular acts of violence into the shade As a result, military rule on a scale never before known in India became an established fact and sought to choke the voice and liberty of the people.

"In June 1945, the British Government in India released the members of the Working Committee and convened a small and, what was intended to be, a fairly representative Conference for the purpose of forming an interim Government It was understood that any decision arrived at by the Conference would be acted upon by the Government. Suddenly, however, the Chairman of the meeting, in the person of the Viceroy, brought the proceedings to an end, not because there is no general agreement among the members, but because one of the participant groups would not co-operate in the formation of an interim Government No charge, veiled or open, has been or can be brought against the Congress for the break-up

"The noteworthy fact is that throughout all these events the yearning of the people for Swaraj has increased; they have become more and more awakened to the need for freeing themselves from the foreign yoke and the distrust of the foreign Government, in spite of its professions to contrary, has increased. It was hoped, as would now appear, against hope, that although the Conference broke up, as it did, the Government would carry out the promise read into the Viceregal declarations that an Indian National Government, giving effect to the voice of the people, would soon take the anarchical one nominated by the Government If that hope had been well founded, the Government would have, without any mental or other reservations, released all political prisoners, whether detained without trial or convicted under farcical procedure Some releases have undoubtedly taken place, but not in answer to the popular demand and expectation Many still remain behind the prison bars Bans on some organisations and restrictions and disabilities on individuals have not yet been removed and civil liberties are restricted The continuance of Section 93 rule in the Provinces and the recent dissolution of the Legislatures in a number of Provinces are significant and outstanding instances of the policy of the Government, which is determined to hold on to its authoritarian power and to exercise it arbitrarily and autocratically. It is not possible to derive any hope for the future in the shape of frank co-operation on the part of the Government with the people in bringing them their long overdue freedom and Independence.

"The method of negotiation and conciliation, which is the keynote of peaceful policy can never be abandoned by the Congress, no matter how grave may be the provocation, any more than can that of non-co-operation, complete or modified. Hence the guiding maxim of the Congress must remain negotiation and settlement when posible and non-co-operation and direct action when necessary."

Acharya Kripalani explained the resolution in Hindustani and charged the Government with having rejected the hand of friendship offered by the Congress in August 1942 in the fight against Nazism and Fascism. He declared that if the leaders had been out and had not been jailed precipitately, there would have been no case of violence, which the authorities now alleged. In any case, asked Acharya Kripalani, what right have a people who plunged the world into a blood bath in the form of the war to complain about violence in India? The speaker himself was convinced that the policy of non-violence was the shortest and best route to achieve Indian Independence.

Proceeding, Acharya Kripalani referred to the Simla Conference, out of which, he said, it was given out that some interim arrangement for the Government of India satisfactory to the people would emerge. The Congress went the whole length in co-operating with this Conference. The President of the Congress was asked to submit a list of names which he did. But then finally the Viceroy informed them that as Mr. Jinnah was non-co-operating, the Conference could not go on. He did not understand how, because someone did not get satisfaction for his unreasonable demands, the whole Conference should have been dropped.

Acharya Kripalani said that the Viceroy did not tell them the real reason behind the dropping of the Conference. There was some wire-pulling from Whitehall, he said. If the Government wanted a settlement, they could have gone on without the Muslim League. It was not as if the Government was afraid of the League. It suited them to plead that the League was not coming and that, therefore, everything should stop.

Reverting to the Congress policy of non-violence the speaker said if the Congress had not stuck to this policy then fate would have been the same as that of the Germans and Japanese now under military occupation.

Before concluding, Acharya Kripalani made a passing reference to the recent British Government's proposals announced by the Viceroy. If anyone, he declared, held out hopes of satisfaction of India's demands out of that announcement then he was deceiving himself and others. The Congress should go forward, organise itself in every department. They should get into the Legislatures, not for office, but for furthering the cause of Indian Independence through that channel also.

"We have no need to use atom bombs for achieving our Independence. We will surely achieve this through Mahatma Gandhi's leadership", he concluded.

Babu Rajendra Prasad, seconding the resolution said that the goal of Independence was still far off. The Government had not shown willingness to transfer power to the people of this country. Thousands were still rotting behind prison bars. Many hundreds were detained without trial. Some were in jail condemned to terms aggregating to sixty years. The movement for Independence was still on. "Against this background how can the country accept the principle of 'Forget and Forgive' urged by the Viceroy?" he asked.

The Government had ordered, he said, fresh elections. But the electoral rolls were faulty. The new rules for revision were cumbersome. Disqualifications of candidates because of imprisonment had not been removed. In his own home Province of Bihar, freedom of Assembly had not been restored. The atmosphere for free elections was certainly lacking. All the same elections have been forced upon us and we have to contest the elections, he said. Dr. Rajendra Prasad asserted that non-violence was still the creed of the Congress. It was unforsakable and should be grasped, in spite of the many handicaps that face us. Whenever opportunity comes we shall not shirk, but grasp it. This resolution is a guide to you." Dr. Prasad concluded.

Maulana Nuruddin Behari, supporting the resolution, traced the history of the Congress and said that the Congress policy changed radically in 1940 when direct action was resorted to. The Khilafat Movement saw Hindus and Muslims fighting shoulder to shoulder. Thousands went into jails, when the Muslim League elected to keep quiet and did not raise its little finger in support of a cause so dear to the Muslims. The unity welded in those days was sought to be torn asunder by the mischievous policy of the Government. In 1932 Government threatened to kill the Congress, but this national organisation came out stronger. The Congress

had one object—the freedom of the country. It did not matter to whom power was handed over. The freedom won by the Congress would be for all communities Maulana Nuruddin declared that once the country attained freedom, there would be noCongress Maulana Nuruddin characterised the August 1942 Movement as a marvellouspage in India's history. The Congress never intended to revolt at that time, but Government started the offensive so swift and sudden that the people retaliated When the Congress starts a revolt in good time, no power in the world will be able to resist it," he said The three years of repression had crushed everything but the spirit of resistance in the people. These bitter days only helped to embitter feelings between India and Britain.

Mr *Mahesh Dutt* from the Central Provinces, supporting the resolution, said that the British people understood only one lesson and that was the lesson of an economic boycott If the people of India decided to boycott all British goods, that would be unnderstood by the British people The speaker, therefore, urged the inclusion of economic boycott in the Congress programme

Mr. *Mahabir Thyagi* opposed the resolution He said that the resolution was self-contradictory, because at one place it stated that in the opinion of the Committee "it was not possible to derive any hope for the future in the shape of frank co-operation on the part of the Government" and immediately thereafter it was maintained that "the method of negotiation and conciliation which is the keynote of the peaceful policy, can never be abandoned by the Congress, no matter how grave may be the provocation" Mr Thyagi said that the resolution looked like the statement of an accused person or of a guilty man It was almost like saying, "You kick us, why are you kicking us ?" He said that this policy of negotiation had carried the Congress to Simla, where the Congress President offered to go into the Executive Council. There was nothing more humiliating than that "It was the duty of every Congressmen to oppose the spirit of the last paragraph of the resolution" he concluded

Mr. *T S Avanashilingam Chettiar*, M L A. (Central) moved an amendment to the last paragraph of the resolution, urging that the Congress should organise the kisans and the students. He said that he entirely agreed with the sentiment that negotiation and, failing that, non-coperation must remain the policy of the Congress but it was futile to talk of negotiations without strength developed through organisation

Mr. *T Prakasam* said that he wanted the deletion of the words "stunned and leaderless" from the resolution He said that the people were neither stunned nor leaderless during 1942 Mahatma Gandhi, continued Mr. Prakasam, had developed non-violent power in India When the leaders who controlled that non-violent power were put to jail, the people wielded violent power and thus came to the rescue of non-violent power. "We should be glad", said Mr. Prakasam, "that these two powers have been demonstrated and nobody on earth can think hereafter of invading this and after seeing the violence that burst out on the country for six months." Mr. Prakasam said that he was not one of those who believed that the Congress had been defeated At the end of the war the Congress had won and the coming elections would be the beginning of the establishment of Swaraj

Mr. *Suresh Chatterji* moved an amendment seeking the deletion of the reference to the method of negotiations and settlement in the last paragraph of the resolution and wanted direct action to be adopted as the Congress policy In a speech, which was delivered with considerable vehemence, Mr Chatterji said that for fifty years now the method of negotiation had been tried and found completely fruitless. How could they, who passed the "Quit India" resolution, bring themselves now to the policy of negotiation and co operation ? he asked The British Government was only adopting delaying tactics Have they known any subject country achieving its Independence by a policy of negotiation ? On the other side, have they known any imperialistic country parting with power of its own accord Mr. Chatterji appealed to the President 'not to humiliate' himself by going again to Simla. "But I do want to warn you that negotiations would be waste of time and energy". he declared amidst laughter.

Babu Sampurnanand, a former Congress Minister of the United Provinces, wanted the deletion of the last para of the resolution and its substitution by the following Amendment to the resolution number two on Congress policy. Omit the last para and substitute the following "Although the guiding maxim of the Congress is negotiation and settlement when possible and non-co-operation and direct action when necessary, in view of the facts noted above the A. I. C. C. is of the opinion that the policy of negotiation and conciliation is not likely to lead the

achievement of our objective." Babu Sampurnanand declared that they should not lose sight of the background when chalking out a new line of policy. The events of the past few years, particularly of the recent few months, had shown that the Government was not at all anxious to have the co-operation of the Congress. Then with whom were they to negotiate? Restrictive measures still continued, though the war was over. Up to now the policy of negotiations had always failed. The Government always closed the door to negotiations.

Acharya Kripalani, replying to the debate, characterised the various amendments as either redundant or misconceived. He felt that those who moved the amendment had not read the resolution carefully and understood its true implications. The resolution merely described the policy followed by the Congress from its inception to-date, but did not indicate any specific policy to be followed in the future. A number of other resolutions on specific questions had been prepared and they would come up before the Committee. Everyone of those resolutions contained a definite programme and policy.

Mr. Kripalani maintained that the reference to negotiations and settlement in the last paragraph of the resolution was quite consistent with the Congress policy and programme. The Congress Secretary asserted "It is absurd to say as some of the speakers had attempted to do, that the Congress was going to abandon the method of non co-operation. If all negotiations fail and if the people with whom we negotiate betray us, we have our weapon of non co-operation."

The speaker repelled the suggestion that there should be no question of any negotiations at all. Even fully armed nations resorted to negotiations when such negotiations were necessary. He reminded the House that negotiation would be necessary even when complete victory had been achieved through non co-operation, as for example, on the question of how many ships would be required for the Britishers to go home (Laughter)

Thereafter all the amendments were put to vote and were either withdrawn before actual voting took place or were rejected. The original resolution was then put to vote and carried amidst applause. The House then adjourned.

Third Day—Bombay—23rd September 1945

The weather was again unkind to the thousands of men and women, who, taking advantage of the holiday, flocked to the A. I. C. C. pandal to day.

Mahatma Gandhi was again not able to be present when precisely at 2 p. m. *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad* commenced the proceedings with an appeal to members to be extremely brief and not to exceed the time limit for individual speeches. He pointed out the need for concluding the session to day as the suburban residents among the visitors would naturally like to return home early. So he would like the whole agenda to be gone through before 6-30 p.m.

The President then called upon the General Secretary to move from the chair three non-controversial resolutions, all of which were passed.

Sterling Balances

The first resolution on "Sterling Balances" after noting that "enormous credit balances due to India accumulated in London in Sterling are not available for utilisation for India's own immediate needs, expressed the view that the British demand for a scaling down of the amount is wholly unwarranted and India cannot submit to any settlement of this problem which involves a sacrifice for her just claims and great injury to her future development." The resolution wanted an early settlement of this problem so that these balances may be utilised for the planned economic development of the country.

Indian Interests in Burma and Malaya

The second resolution which was dealt with Indian interest in Burma and Malaya said that "where Indian labour has been employed and Indian capital invested, the Committee considers that their just interest should be properly safeguarded with due regard to the primary claims and interests of the people of the country concerned." The resolution further urged that no concession should be given or new vested interests created by British authorities in favour of foreign capital in Burma and Malaya which curtail the rights of the peoples of those countries or which injure existing Indian interest there.

Anjuman-E-Watan and Congress

The third resolution agreed to the affiliation to the Congress of the Anjuman-e-Watan of Baluchistan and authorised the Working Committee to consider the terms and conditions of affiliation.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad explained that the Anjuman had applied only for affiliation and not for a merger with the Congress The aims and objects of the organisation were identical to those of the Congress.

Indian National Army

After these three resolutions were adopted without debate, the *Maulana* called on *Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru* to move the resolution on the Indian National Army. The following is the text of this resolution :—

The A. I. C. C. has learnt with concern that large numbers of officers and men and women of the Indian National Army formed in Malaya and Burma in 1942, as well as some Indian soldiers from the western fronts are at present in various Indian and foreign prisons awaiting trial or other decision of the authorities. In view of all the circumstances prevailing in India, Malaya, Burma and elsewhere at the time of the formation of this army and subsequently, and further in view of the declared objects of this army, these officers and men and women should have been treated as combatants and prisoners of war and discharged at the conclusion of hostilities. The A. I C. C. is, however, strongly of opinion that for other additional reasons of far-reaching consequences and in view of the termination of the war, it would be a tragedy if these officers, men and women were punished for the offence of having laboured, however mistakenly, for the freedom of India They can be of the greatest service in the heavy work of building up a new and free India. They have already suffered heavily and any additional punishment will not only be unjustified but will cause sorrow in innumerable homes and to the Indian people as a whole, and will widen the gulf between India and England. The A. I. C C. therefore, earnestly trusts that these officers, and men and women of this army will be released

"The A. I. C. C also trusts that the Indian civilian population of Malaya, Burma and elsewhere who joined the India Independence League will in no way be harassed or subjected to any penalty.

"The A. I C. C. further trusts that any sentence of death already passed on any Indian soldier or civilian in connection with any activities connected with the war will not be carried out."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, moving the resolution, pointed out that when the British evacuated Singapore, Malaya and Burma, they instructed those troops of the Indian Army left behind to act in a manner they thought would serve their best interests. When the Japanese came over, some of these Indian troops joined the Indian National Army sponsored by the Japanese. Now that the British were back in Singapore, Malaya, and Burma, those Indians were being treated like criminals. "We demand that they shall not be prosecuted on charge of treason and punished vindictively" declared Mr Nehru, and announced that Congress was forming a Defence Committee consisting of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Dr. K N Katju, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Raghunandan Saran and Mr. Asaf Ali (Convener), which shall see that these patriotic men were properly defended when tried

Explaining the procedure for their defence, Mr. Nehru said that the Defence Committee would invite applications from the accused or their relatives requesting for arrangements for their defence.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru contended that there was no difference between the role of the Burma National Army and the Indian National Army Yet the treatment meted out to the Indian National Army differed from that given to the Burma National Army. Mr Nehru said there were parallel incidents in history. After the last war the Czechs who fought against the Germans were recognised as belligerents. How were Indians who had joined the I N. A. different from them?

Pandit Nehru warned the British Government that vindictive punishment meted out to those young Indians whose only crime was their passion for freedom of their country, however misguided, would create tremendous discontent among the people of India. These men had their kith and kin in the British Indian Army, and, therefore, there would be repercussions in the British Indian Army too.

Dr. *Prafulla Ghosh*, seconding the resolution, said that the war had ended a couple of months ago, and yet the Government had not changed its mentality. The same treatment accorded to Congress prisoners was being meted out to prisoners of the I. N. A. Apart from those convicted, even all security prisoners had not yet been released. The Government's policy, he said, was to prosecute their own ends at the expense of others. Recalling that Czechs and Poles who had fought against the Germans in the last war had been treated with honour, Dr. Ghosh declared that

no self-respecting Indian would tolerate the prosecution of the patriotic heroes of the I. N. A on charge of treason

AMENDMENTS

Lala Deshbandhu Gupta (Delhi), moved an amendment suggesting the addition of a paragraph at the end of the resolution It included the cases of those who had been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment by court martial because of their refusal to leave the shores of India. Mr Gupta said that many Indian soldiers had been convicted and sentenced to fourteen years imprisonment because they refused to go to fight on the western front unless and until India's demand for freedom was granted These men objected to go to the western front on the ground that they were mercenaries. They refused to embark from Bombay and therefore they were arrested and tried by court martial and sentenced to long terms. Deshbandhu Gupta, continuing, said: "I expected Communist friends to move an amendment on these lines. But they are silent, though before Russia entered the war they were calling it an imperialist war and actually influenced three soldiers not to embark at Bombay" (laughter).

Mr *Ganshan Jethanand* (Sind) moved an amendment suggesting that a sentence should be included in the resolution of demanding the immediate release of the soldiers who had been sentenced to long sentences because of their refusal to go to the western front

Mr *Shris Chandra Chatterjee* wanted the deletion of the words "however mistaken" in the resolution He maintained that the Indian National Army under the leadership of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose was the first organised army which fought for the first time imperialist forces that dominated India It was not desirable therefore that the All India Congress Committee should call their methods as mistaken, especially at a time when cases against members of that army were pending

Sardar Pratap Singh, in an amendment, urged that those convicted should be released. Indian soldiers who went for the defence of Burma and Malaya were forsaken by the British generals Thrown into the arms of the Japanese, these sons of India could do nothing other than join Subhas Bose and fight for the liberty of their own motherland. Who would not be proud of them? The country would not tolerate their being court-martialled.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru accepted the amendments of Lala Deshbandhu Gupta and Mr Jethanand. Sardar Pratap Singh withdrew his amendment and Mr. Shris Chandra Chatterjee's amendment was rejected The resolution as amended, was passed.

Resolution on British Proposals

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the Congress Parliamentary Chief, moved the resolution expressing dissatisfaction with British Government's proposals for the solution of the Indian political problem announcing the decision of the Congress to contest the forthcoming elections to the Central and Provincial Legislative Assemblies in spite of the unsatisfactory character of the proposals

The following is the text of the resolution

"The A. I. C. C. has carefully considered Lord Wavell's and the British Prime Minister's broadcasts on the steps proposed to be taken by the British authority in India. These proposals repeat with unimportant variations, the offer made in March 1942 by Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of the British Government, an offer which was not accepted by the Congress. Neither the end of the war nor the change of Government in Great Britain appears to have resulted in any real change in British policy towards India, which seems to be based on delaying every advance and in attempting to create new problems and fresh complications. It is significant that there is no mention in these broadcasts of the Independence of India. Nothing short of Independence can be acceptable to the Congress and the country.

"The proposals now made are, in the opinion of the A. I. C. C., vague, inadequate and unsatisfactory

"The announcement that general elections will be held for the Central and Provincial Assemblies has been made in a manner and in circumstances which arouse suspicion The sudden dissolution of the Legislatures in some Provinces has emphasised the hostility of the present Governmental authorities to even the possibility of popular Government in the meantime, and is totally indefensible. The Central Assembly is still governed by the Act of 1919. To continue such an impotent and undemocratic Central Legislature, constituted on a franchise of less than one per cent of the population, can have no justification in the context of Indian freedom.

"If elections for the Central Legislature are to be held they must at least be on a properly revised register, even though this might involve some little delay. In spite of assurances the electoral rolls for the Central and Provincial Assemblies are not being properly revised.

"Further, free and fair elections are hardly possible when several organisations, like the Congress Socialist Party, the Forward Bloc and Kisan organisations are still under ban, when thousands are still held in detention without trial, or are undergoing sentences of imprisonment in connection with political activities, when in places public meetings cannot be held without previous permission of the authorities, and when many persons are labouring under disqualifications arising out of their convictions for political offences.

"It has become notorious that the present Government in India is responsible for the widespread corruption that prevails in the country, for the gross mismanagement of the food and cloth problems and for the supreme tragedy of the Bengal famine. Yet it is declared that, pending the elections, and for many months at least, this incompetent and corrupt administration shall continue its misrule The proposals of the British Government, become in this context, still more significant indications of their desire to hold on to power in India as long as they possibly can with the means and methods at their disposal

"Inspite of the handicaps that the Congress will labour under as related above and in order to demonstrate the will of the people, especially on the issue of the immediate transfer of power the A I C. C. *resolves that the forthcoming elections* be contested, and directs the Working Committee to take all necessary steps in this behalf

"The Committee is confident not only that the people will respond to the call of the Congress on this vital and and urgent issue, but will also, with the added strength and assurance that the past years have given them, carry the struggle for Independence of India to a successful issue in the near future.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, in the course of his speech, moving the resolution referred to the announcement by the Viceroy with regard to elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures The Sardar characterised this as a move to gain time. The reason given was that the Central Legislature was ten years old "It has been old, very old, dead, in fact and over which a *post mortem* examination has been held It has almost been fossilised', he declared amidst laughter and asked, "Why then this hurry just now to have the elections ? and, were the Central Assembly elections going to make any change in the composition of the body ? the Sardar asked There were four parties in the Assembly—the Congress the Muslim League, the Independent and the Nominated Members--the latter were a constant factor and with the franchise being what it was,—about one per cent of the population--there was not likely to be any great change in the alignments of other parties in the Assembly. There had also been no commitment whatsoever. The majority party in the Assembly would be asked to form a Government according to the usual democratic procedure. So the elections to the Central Assembly had little significance "

Regarding the Provinces, there the electoral rolls were those framed as early as 1941 (A member interrupted to point out that in the United Provinces the electoral rolls were compiled long before 1941) Then again, the authorities had very hastily discussed Provincial Legislatures and thus prevented the formation of popular Governments in these Provinces until the elections were held. The Bombay Governor, Sir John Colville, had said he was anxious for the resumption of possible Ministry in the Province, but the powers that be had willed otherwise. The Sardar's only explanation for this was that the authorities did not want the Congress in power in the Provinces during the vital period

How could the I C S with the "Quit India" resolution before them, welcome the Congress into Ministries ? The Sardar characterised the present phase of the political struggle as perhaps the darkest part of the night before the dawn. There was not the slightest change of heart on the part of the British authorities The precipitate dissolution of the legislatures, the refusal to revise the electoral rolls, the continuation of Sec 93 rule in the provinces were all indicative of this But because of this, the Congress could not sit idle. If they kept back from elections—unsatisfactory as the conditions were—opportunists, the speaker said, would get in and entrench themselves in places of power "There are a sufficient number of fifth columnists to fill these places if the Congress stays away, Mr. Patel declared.

The Congress would pursue its own programme and policy and, at the same time, participate in the elections. The two programmes should go parallel to each other. Sardar Patel was confident that the Congress would capture every one of the

general constituencies. With regard to the communal constituencies—a plan devised by the British to entrench themselves in India—the Sardar hoped the influence of the Congress would be increasingly felt here also The Congress was fighting only for the good of the people and not for this or that section **Mr Patel was sure** the election would show the great influence the Congress had over the **country.**

Reverting again to the need for the Congress contesting the elections, **the** Sardar pointed out how Sir Rangaswami Mudaliar, now on the Viceroy's **Executive** Council, had been defeated by the late Mr Satyamurthi in the last Central Assembly election That should show them how if the Congress boycotted the elections, there would be others, who did not really represent the people, but ready to take the place left vacant by the Congress Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel appealed to Congressmen not to indulge in party squabbles during the forthcoming elections but to work unstintingly for the success of Congress candidates irrespective of the fact whether the claim of a particular person had been recognised or even overlooked He asked Congressmen to believe that if anyone's claims were overlooked, the Congress Working Committee would have weighty reasons for doing so "We must all work with complete mutual understanding so that we can capture the largest number of seats" he said Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel emphasised that the Congress had no special preference for the Labour Party as opposed to the Conservatives In the eyes of the Congress both were the same The Congress was determined to secure the freedom of India in the shortest time possible and the British people irrespective of parties were mainly opposed to the Congress demand "We are determined to have our freedom and we shall have it the next five years "The Sardar in conclusion, appealed to the House to pass the resolution unanimously

Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant former Premier of U P and once Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly, supporting the resolution sarcastically expressed gratification at the Labour Government taking up the India question in the midst of many other pre-occupations "Mr Attlee" said Pandit Pant, "is an old friend of India (Laughter) He was a member of the Simon Commission Lord Pethick-Lawrence is only 73 years old These are the people who have been entrusted with the fate of 400 millions of Indian people These gentlemen were now considering to what extent they should slacken the British stranglehold on India Was this not a tragedy? Did they think that India would be satisfied by such efforts? Certainly not Freedom is our birthright and we shall achieve it I have no doubt about it The events of the last three years have convinced me that India will secure her freedom in spite of Attlees and Churchills (Cheers) We shall break off our bondage very soon We are told that Labour Government's proposals are an advance on all past proposals I say it is the same old Cripps proposals, differently clothed I would call it a mountain in labour producing the proverbial mouse (Laughter) The new proposals contain nothing new, except that the very expression Constituent Assembly has been omitted So has all time limit regarding the calling of the Constituent **Assembly being taken off from the Cripps proposals and vague suggestions have been made These proposals cannot be accepted by us after our having rejected the Cripps proposals which we considered as not satisfactory. "The Labour Party has forgotten all its past promises Three years ago at the Labour Party Conference at Blackpool, the Party made certain suggestions for the solution of the Indian problem. There is no mention of any of those proposals in the announcement. Just before the British elections, the Labour Party promised the abolition of the India Office, if Labour came to power Labour has come to power, but there is absolutely no mention of the intention of the Labour Government to abolish the India Office either in Mr. Attlee's speech or Lord Wavell's broadcast Both Lord Wavell and Mr Attlee have taken care to omit all reference to the word 'Independence'. The word 'self-Government' is used. I say Self Government is not Independence. To-day we in India want nothing short of Independence.**

NO INTENTION TO TRANSFER POWER

"**The British Government appear to be experts in creating new problems and difficulties As soon as we solve one problem they create a new one It is like asking a school boy to produce ice in scorching sun (Laughter) All this does not show a genuine intention on the part of the British Government to transfer power into the hands of the people. The numerous restrictions and the faulty electoral rolls are proof of our contention that the Civil Services in India do not want free elections though Attlee-Saheb has promised us free elections in the best conditions" Explaining the reasons why Mahatma Gandhi started negotiations with Mr Jinnah**

in September last and the Congress later attended the Simla Conference, Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant said that the Congress did all this because of a genuine desire to come to an understanding with the Muslim League and thus prepare the way for forming a National Government to alleviate the sufferings of the millions of people who had no food to eat, no clothes to wear and who are subjected to untold miseries and sufferings. Jinnah Saheb insisted on Pakistan, which he would not define and he exercised his right of veto and broke up the Conference If the British Government was not supporting him, the speaker wanted to know why the Viceroy did not go ahead with his plan to form an interim Government. Pandit Pant continuing said: "All the world over there is no instance of a minority vetoing the rights of a majority Here in India the Muslim League was doing it Could it do it unless it had the support of the Government? The Congress had expressed its readiness to submit the communal question to arbitration, which is the only recognised method adopted all over the world, but Jinnah Saheb would not accept it because if he agreed to arbitration, he could not exercise his right of veto. The British Government supported Mr Jinnah because that helped them to maintain and continue their strangle-hold on India Pandit Pant attacked the Provincial Governors for dissolving some of the Assemblies lest popular Ministries should come back and clean the stables He added "All this makes it clear to us that our only course is to stick to our slogan of 'Quit India' We must repeat our demand to the British Government to quit India, because that is the only way we can secure the freedom of our country The elections are coming In spite of all the restrictions and handicaps placed in our way, we shall sweep the polls and give a fitting reply to the reactionary services." he concluded

Dr *Choitram Gidwani* (Sind) referred to "the new source of revenue" resorted to by the Sind Government by charging Rs 10 in court fee for each application for revision of electoral rolls The Chief Secretary to the Sind Government saw nothing wrong about the charge, as in any case, he argued, the candidates standing for elections spent lakhs! Dr Choitram also criticised the Sind Government for not removing the disqualification on Congressmen, who had undergone more than two years' imprisonment and said this was one of the obstacles put in the way of Congress in fighting the elections Dr Choitram said the Ministers were puppets in the hands of the Governor, chiefly interested in saving their own skin and retaining their seats

Maulana Hafizur Rahaman (Bengal), supporting the resolution, said that it was usual to expect a change in policy with a change in Government, but so far as India was concerned, the Labour victory in Britain had meant absolutely no difference If it indicated anything, it had proved that the British people were as insincere in their attitude to India as ever before The Maulana accused the British Government of doing everything to keep the people of India divided and then insincerely appealing to the Indians to get united The speaker refuted the claims of the Muslim League to represent the Muslims of India He said that the League President had not raised his little finger to help the Muslim majority province of Bengal, when millions were dying of starvation, and yet wanted Pakistan for the welfare of the Muslims of India

Maulana Hafizur Rahaman challenged the British Government that within fifteen days of British quitting India, the Hindu-Muslim problem would disappear The people of India would decide on Pakistan or Hindustan, as they like as free people.

Mr *Kedar Nath Saigal* of the Meerut Conspiracy Case fame, who has sworn to don black until the country is free, supporting the resolution, vehemently denounced the British Government's policy and intentions towards India, and advocated that Congress should fight and enter the Legislatures only with a view to fighting the British Government with a straight obstructionist policy to be pursued in the Legislatures. He exhorted the country to stand by the Congress and depend upon their own strength to win freedom instead of looking for help from outside.

The House at this stage adjourned for tea.

SRI KAMALADEVI'S AMENDMENT

On resumption after the tea interval, *Srimathi Kamaladevi* moved an amendment to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's resolution, by which she sought to clarify the object of the Congress in contesting the elections She urged this should be for demonstrating the will of the people on the issue of immediate transfer of power and the framing of a Constitution for an Independent India. She further wanted that the Congress should seek the mandate of the people on the fundamental necessity of a Constituent Assembly, consisting of the representatives of British

India and the Indian States elected on the basis of adult suffrage and clothed with sovereign authority to frame a free and unfettered Constitution for India. Srimathi Kamaladevi declared that the Viceroy's recent announcement did not hold out any promise at all. She wanted clarification from the Working Committee on the following three points: Firstly, on what basis was the Constituent Assembly going to be based? Speaker after speaker had told them how the electoral rolls, based on which the elections were to be held, were outdated and how the franchise was too narrow to represent the will of the people. So any Constituent Assembly, which was going to be based on this franchise and on these electoral rolls, would not be a real Constituent Assembly. Secondly, what power was the Constituent Assembly going to have? Obviously its decisions were not going to be final as the British Government had the last word on the subject There could be no Constituent Assembly without having sovereign power and whose decisions would be final and binding Thirdly, what was going to be the composition of the Constituent Assembly? Were they going to leave out the real representatives of the people of Indian States? It was with a view to clarifying these points she had moved her amendment, Srimathi Kamaladevi said.

Shahid Ansari, speaking on the resolution, urged the release of Mr. Jai Prakash Narain and all other detenus, thereby creating the proper atmosphere for elections. There were too many hurdles in the way of free elections He also urged withdrawal of the ban on those who are absconding

COMMUNIST MEMBER HECKLED

Dr. Ashraff rose to move an amendment to the resolution, when members objected to his addressing the House,

The Congress *President* said until the Congress finally had taken their decision on the Communists, Dr. Ashraff had the right to address the House There was a general protest and what Dr Ashraff spoke could scarcely be heard Dr. Ashraff said that the Congress message had not reached the Muslims and as he referred to the question of self-determination for Muslims, the audience raised a shout of protest There was a general uproar in which the speaker's voice was drowned

The Congress President persuaded the speaker to conclude his speech as he had overstayed his five minutes

Malik Fakruddin (Assam) explained the situation in his Province, where large areas were prohibited areas The necessary atmosphere for elections was lacking

Mr Avadesh Pratap Singh (Rewa) urged that Indian States people should be fully represented in the Constituent Assembly and moved an amendment in this behalf The hundred million people of the Indian States had a right to have their say in framing the future Constitution of India, he said

MIAN IFTIKHARUDDIN'S AMENDMENT

Mian Iftikharuddin, (Punjab). in a lengthy amendment, urged that the elected representatives of the Constituent Assembly of areas in which the Muslims are in a majority, as in N W F and Eastern Zones of India, should be free to mould their own destiny and to make their own decision, whether they should join the Indian Union or not He said that the Congress had to awaken the masses of Muslims in the country, and win them over to their side Efforts should be made to release the Muslims from the reactionaries Mian Iftikaruddin remarked that in the hall which contained 30,000 there were only a few Muslims Why were the Muslims keeping aloof? he asked The speaker continuing said the Muslims had gone to the League because the Congress had not enunciated their policy in clear and unequivocal terms

Mr. *Sanguru Saran* urged that only those Congressmen who had suffered and sacrificed in the cause of freedom of the country should be set up as candidates for the forthcoming elections, and that those who sulked in the tent should find no place in the Legislatures

Acharya Narendra Dev (Socialist), supporting Srimati Kamaladevi's amendment, said people hoped when Lord Warell flew to England that he was bringing new proposals from the Labour Government But what the Viceroy brought was the same old Cripps Plan, which had been rejected by the entire country It had only proved that the British Government was again at their old game of dilatory tactics. But the country should refuse to be fooled this time. They were not bound to abide by any restrictions imposed by the British Government in regard to the Constituent Assembly The Congress must fight the elections on the issue of forming a full-fledged Constituent Assembly with the definite objective of achieving Complete Independence. Acharya Narendra Dev insisted

that the people as a whole must have a hand in shaping the destinies of their country. For this purpose it was essential that every adult must have a vote. The forthcoming elections should be utilised to create a new spirit in the country and to voice the determination of the country to be free.

Pandit Nekhiram Sharma of the Punjab claimed that when the Indian soldier returned to his village he would be with the Congress The polling booths will show whom he supports. The speaker also affirmed that the Muslims would be with the Congress and not with the Muslim League and asked what the Muslim League which claimed to speak on behalf of all Muslims did when Bengal, a Muslim majority Province, was stricken by famine and thousands died?

PANDIT NEHRU REPLIES TO CRITICS

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru replied to the critics of Congress policy, who had suggested that the Congress had no contact with Muslim masses. "The Congress may have committed mistakes in the past, but the Congress has certainly never been guilty of not trying to reach each and every section of the people," Pandit Nehru declared "I intend very shortly to tour the Muslim districts of the United Provinces and I would ask Dr Ashraff and Mian Iftikharuddin to come with me to see for themselves how Muslims respond to the Congress I am afraid these gentlemen are looking at the issue with the wrong end of the telescope" Pandit Nehru, continuing declared "We have done our best to come to an understanding with the Muslim League in the past. We have now come to the conclusion that it is in the best interests of the country to keep away from the Muslim League leaders hereafter. (Loud cheers) Have Dr Ashraff and Mian Iftikharuddin forgotten the way our President was humiliated by the League leaders? Until and unless they make amends for this, we are not prepared to have any discussions or negotiations with the League" Pandit Jawaharlal proceeded 'We shall take the Muslims into our confidence We shall do everything to satisfy their demands and win them over completely to the Congress, but we shall not go again to the Muslim League leaders"

Mr. Nehru observed "As far as I can see it is better to be miles and miles away from the Muslim League. Again and again we went with folded hands only to receive kicks. Why do people who advocate Congress-League unity forget the words used by Mr. Jinnah against our revered President? Those who have put obstacles in the way of the country's freedom, those who have made us gulp many a bitter cup, with them we can have no truck."

CONGRESS AND ELECTIONS

Earlier in his speech, Pandit Nehru announced that the Congress Working Committee would frame an election manifesto in which task the points raised during the debate on the resolution would be kept in mind by the Committee He hoped the A I C C would have an opportunity of approving this manifesto. He did not think they should bind themselves to definite promises in the manifesto as the British Government's proposals on which the elections were going to be based were vague and ambiguous and consequently they could not be sure what they could achieve through these elections The Congress should utilise its strength in the right direction and he felt sure that the country would respond to the Congress whole-heartedly He did not think it would be advisable to include anything specifically about the problem of minorities or Indian States in this resolution In this connection, the Pandit dwelt on the question of Self-determination He said that he entirely agreed that this principle was correct and India would not be free until the population stood together. It was only with the co-operation of every section that they would be able to free India. If any section decided on following a particular line of action, nobody could prevent it from doing so. Refering to Dr. Ashraff's speech, Pandit Nehru said there had been no two opinions in the country regarding the nature of the war which had just concluded. It was certainly not a people's war for Indians. Yet Communists went about calling it a people's war and misleading the public He assured the members that the suggestions made in the course of the debate would as far as possible be incorporated in the election manifesto.

SARDAR PATEL'S REPLY TO DEBATE

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, replying to the debate, said it was clear from the amendments moved that the resolution was acceptable to the House, except for its last paragraph Certain of the amendments had pointed at the handicaps and obstacles put in the path of the Congress fighting the elections and demanded their

removal. But the Congress, he said, did not entertain any such hope that the Government would remove those handicaps so easily. The Congress wanted to fight the elections in spite of those obstacles and handicaps. Sardar Patel pointed out that the resolution before them was not an election manifesto which would be drawn up and presented later There was naturally one issue before the country, and that issue was the country's freedom When the election manifesto was drawn up, all the other issues would be included therein Sardar Patel then referred to Mian Iftikharuddin's amendment, and recounted the continuous and persistent efforts made by Mian Iftikharuddin to persuade the Congress to go to the League. The Congress had done everything to meet the League in the past Every possible concession, communal electorates, fifty-fifty representation, parity, had been made to the League But Mr. Jinnah wanted to pull out Muslims from the Congress The League had proclaimed those Muslims within the Congress as 'Kaffirs" and then declared that the Congress did not represent the Muslims Referring to Dr Ahmad Ashraff's amendment, Sardar Patel said he could understand the Doctor's stand. He was following the Communist Party line faithfully.

Sardar Patel bitterly attacked those who compared the League with the Congress. Referring particularly to the Communists he said "Whatever the Congress does, they have to be against it" "The acceptance of the principle of communal electorates was a mistake", he concluded "It has created the communal problem. I entirely agree with Pandit Nehru that the Congress cannot afford to have any truck with the League There may be differences of opinion, but to obstruct the freedom of the country is a great sin. If there are differences we are prepared to take them to international arbitration. If even then they are not satisfied, their place is in the Muslim League and not in the Congress." "There shall be no more offers to the League," declared the Sardar. "But I do make one offer to the Muslim League. Let us have a third party impartial tribunal to adjudicate the differences between the Congress and the League We shall abide by its award".

Mr. *Fakruddin's* amendment relating to restrictions in Dibrugarh Area, which was still a prohibited area, was accepted by the mover. Other amendments except those by Mian Iftikharuddin and Dr Ashraff were withdrawn.

When the two amendments by *Mian Iftikharuddin* and Dr *Ashraff* were put to vote successively, only seven voted in favour of each amendment. Then the main resolution was adopted and passed without a division

The Congress President thereafter moved four resolutions from the Chair pertaining to the appointment of a Congress Election Board, preparation of the Congress election maifesto, the status of Indian States' subjects and the Constructive Programme. These were passed without any discussion. The Congress President then wound up the proceedings with a speech.

PRESIDENT'S CONCLUDING REMARKS

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, winding up the proceedings with a spirited but short peroration said the nation was now fully awake. The fire had been kindled in the hearts of the masses and was now burning bright. The Government thought that they could extinguish the fire and on the morning August 9, 1942, arrested all the leaders The people demonstrated that the nation's will for freedom would not be put out. The nation was now fully awake and was racing towards the goal of Independence No power on earth can stop it now. The seeds sown in 1942 are bearing fruit now Referring to the session, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said that the present session of the A I C C was the biggest ever held Such a mass demonstrative session was never held before In spite of many difficulties, the session was a success Although it was raining throughout yesterday and also to-day, thirty thousand people demonstrated the will of the masses Their drenched clothes did not quench the fire inside This showed the determination of the nation The Congress President congratulated the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee on the excellent arrangements made for the session. He also congratulated the volunteers, especially the lady volunteers, on their work.

Mr. *Nagindas T Master*, President of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee thanked the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and members of the A. I. C. C for having helped him in making the nation a success

The session concluded with the community singing of *Vande Mataram*, the national song of India

Summary of Proceedings of the Working Committee

Calcutta—December 7—11, 1945

A meeting of the Working Committee was held in Calcutta from December 7 to 11, 1945 Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided. The members present were Shris Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Shankarrao Deo, Govind Ballabh Pant, Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, Asafali, Narendra Deo, Harekrishna Mehtab and J. B. Kripalani. Gandhiji was present at some afternoon sittings of the committee

MINUTES

The minutes of the last meeting of the Working Committee held at Poona and Bombay were placed before the Committee and confirmed.

The Committee passed the following resolutions:

(1) ELECTION MANIFESTO

The All-India Congress Committee at its meeting held in Bombay in September last resolved that a manifesto containing the policy and programme of the Congress for the information of the public and the guidance of the Congress candidates in the forthcoming general elections be prepared by the Working Committee and placed before the A I C. C for consideration and adoption Further, it authorised the Working Committee to issue an earlier manifesto for the Central Assembly elections. Accordingly this latter election manifesto has already been issued to the public. The Working Committee regret that owing to the nearness of the general elections in the provinces it is not feasible now to hold a meeting of the A. I. C. C. in the near future to consider the fuller manifesto, as contemplated by the A. I. C. C. They have, therefore, themselves prepared this manifesto and issue it for the information of the public and the guidance of Congress Candidates. (For text of the Manifesto See *poste*).

(2) NON-VIOLENCE

After the arrest of the principal congressmen in the August of 1942, the unguided masses took the reins in their own hands and acted almost spontaneously. If many acts of heroism and sacrifice are to their credit there were acts done which could not be included in non-violence. It is, therefore, necessary for the Working Committee to affirm for the guidance of all concerned that the policy of non-violence adopted in 1920 by the Congress continues unabated and that such non-violence does not include burning of public property, cutting of telegraph wires, derailing trains and intimidation.

The Working Committee are of opinion that the policy of non-violence as detailed in the Congress resolution of 1920, since expanded and explained from time to time, and action in accordance with it has raised India to a height never attained before

The Working Committee are further of opinion that the constructive activities of the Congress, beginning with the spinning wheel and Khadi at the centre, are emblematic of the policy of non-violence, and that every other Congress activity, including what is known as the Parliamentary programme, are subservient to and designed to promote the constructive activities as explained by Gandhiji.

The Working Committee are of opinion that civil disobedience, mass or any other, meant for the attainment of freedom is inconceivable without the adoption of the constructive programme on the widest scale possible by the masses of India.

(3) I. N. A INQUIRY AND RELIEF COMMITTEE

In view of the many problems, other than those of legal defence, arising in connection with the personnel of the Azad Hind Fouj, it is resolved to form a committee, separate from the I N A Defence Committee which has already been constituted, in order to gather information and give relief where needed to this personnel. This Committee will be called the I. N A Inquiry and Relief Committee and will consist of the undermentioned persons The Committee will also arrange to gather full information about the dependents of those who died in the service of the I. N. A. The method of organizing relief should be, except for urgent and immediate purposes, to provide productive work.

The following shall be the members of the I. N. A. Inquiry and Relief Committee;

1 Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel (*Chairman*)
2. Jawaharlal Nehru
3. J. B. Kripalani

4. Sarat Chandra Bose
5. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai
6. M. Daud Ghaznavi
7. Sri Prakasa (*Secretary*)
8. Raghunandan Saran
9. Khurshed Naoroji
10. Rao Saheb Patwardhan
11. Sardar Pratap Singh
12. A representative of the Bombay I. N. A. Committee with power to add to their number.

The Treasurer of the All-India Congress Committee shall be in charge of the funds collected for I. N A Defence and Inquiry and Relief Work.

(4) INDONESIA AND INDO CHINA

The Working Committee have watched with admiration and sympathy the valiant struggle in defence of their newly won republic and independence which the people of Indonesia have been carrying on with steadfast courage and determination against British and Dutch forces. This committee emphatically condemn the wanton invasion of Java and other parts of Indonesia in order to impose Dutch imperialist domination on their inhabitants against their unanimous demand for a free State. Any support from any quarter to imperialist designs in Indonesia, Indo China and elsewhere is resented throughout Asia as culpable violation of the professed aims of the United Nations and the undeniable right of Asian nationals. This will destroy the chance of international understanding and the very basis of any future world organisation. The Committee regret that the United States of America have by their passive attitude encouraged these imperialist aggressions. While expressing their heartfelt sympathy with the Indonesia and Indo-Chinese nationalists for the enormous loss and suffering inflicted upon them by the imperialist powers, this Committee are particularly distressed to find the units of the Indian army arrayed against the Indonesians and Indo Chinese and view with deep indignation this mischievous misuse of the Indian forces by the British Government. This committee note with resentment that the Government of India has not granted necessary facilities to enable Jawaharlal Nehru to proceed to Java in response to Dr. Seokarno's invitation and reaffirm their determination to put an end to India's political subjection to which the present intolerable state of humiliating helplessness is due.

(5) BURMA AND MALAYA

The Working Committee have noted with grave disquiet the reports of the treatment of Indians by the authorities in Burma and Malaya. Many have been arrested and interned or put in prison and no proper opportunities for defence have been given. Even information about them is lacking, and this absence of news is causing anxiety to their friends and relations in India. Owing to the deterioration in the economic conditions of these countries and the scarcity of food and the invalidation of the currency the civil population is suffering from want and distress. The considerable Indian population there suffers even more than others, for they receive no help or protection from the Government of India, and are almost in the position of being stateless individuals and groups, for whom no one assumes responsibility. While the Government of India is taking no adequate step to help these Indians abroad, it is giving no facilities to representatives of defence and relief committees and public men to visit Burma and Malaya to give the help that their countrymen so urgently need. The Working Committee appoint Jawaharlal Nehru to proceed to Burma and Malaya on their behalf, to enquire into the condition of Indians there and to arrange for their defence and other help.

The Working Committee also call upon Indians in Burma and Malaya to organize defence and relief committees in both countries in order to help themselves and all their countrymen in the hour of their distress. These committees should contact with the central defence and relief committees in India and work in co-operation with them.

(6) I. N. A.

Whilst the Congress must feel proud of the sacrifice, discipline, patriotism, bravery and the spirit of unity displayed by the Azad Hind Fouj, organized as an independent force in foreign countries under unprecedented conditions by Shri Subhas Chandra Bose, and whilst it is right and proper for the Congress to defend the members of that body now undergoing trial and to aid its sufferers, Congressmen must not forget that this support and sympathy do not mean that the

Congress has in any way deviated from its policy of attaining Swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means.

(7) COMMUNIST PARTY

The report of the Sub-Committee appointed to consider the charges brought against the Communist members of the A. I. C. C was considered and their recommendations were approved. Resolved that disciplinary action be taken against Shris S. G. Sardesai, V. G. Bhagvat, V. D. Chitale, K. M. Ashraf, S. Sajjad Zaheer, Sohan Singh Josh, Karyanand Sharma and R. D. Bharadwaj, and their names be removed from membership of the A. I. C. C. and from all other elective Congress Committees of which they may be members. Further that Provincial Congress Committees should be directed to take similar action for the removal from all Congress elective offices of members of the Communist Party of India.

(8) MEDICAL MISSION TO BURMA AND MALAYA

In view of the serious and widespread distress prevailing among Indians in Burma and Malaya for want of food and medical attention and cloth scarcity, the Working Committee resolve that a medical mission be sent on behalf of the Congress to Burma and Malaya in order to give medical and other needed relief, more especially to I. N. A. and Indian Independence League personnel there. The Committee authorises Dr B C. Roy to organise such a mission in consultation with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the Chairman of the I. N. A. Inquiry and Relief Committee, and to arrange for its despatch at an early date.

(9) CALCUTTA DEMONSTRATIONS

The Working Committee are of opinion that the demonstration by the students of Calcutta on 21st November, resulting in the loss of precious student life and many injured from bullet wounds, and the events thereafter demand an open and impartial judicial inquiry by the Government of Bengal Meanwhile, the Committee record their opinion that the students of Calcutta showed the utmost bravery of the non-violent type by remaining unmoved under a shower of bullets.

(10) ANJUMAN-E-WATAN

With reference to the affiliation of Anjuman-e-Watan of Beluchistan by the A. I. C C. the Working Committee resolves that the following representation be granted to it

2 Members of the A. I. C. C.
3 Delegates for the annual session of the Congress.

The Committee gave their decision on the following matters —

(1) *Bombay Disputes*

Boundary disputes with regard to Ganjam and Koraput in Orissa and Chakradharpur in Singbhoom (Bihar) and the connected correspondence were considered by the Working Committee It was decided that these disputes be referred to Shri Shankarrao Deo for investigation and decision

(2) *Karnatak Provincial Headquarters*

The Committee considered the representation of the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee that the Provincial Headquarters be transferred from Dharwar to Hubli being the biggest industrial town in the province and also more centrally situated. The Working Committee sanctioned the transfer.

(3) *Demobilization*

The Working Committee considered the communications received in the A. I. C. C. Office asking whether congressmen could serve on Advisory Committees set up by the Government under their scheme for the re-settlement of the recently demobilized soldiers and labourers thrown out of employment consequent upon the cessation of hostilities. The Committee decided that it was not advisable for Congressmen to serve on such committees The committee could advise Congressmen to participate in such committees only if the principles and the plans of the re-settlement schemes as conceived by the Government were such as would be satisfactory from the national view point As the schemes were conceived, the Committee were of opinion that no useful service could be referred to the individuals concerned and the nation by Congressmen serving on these committees.

(4) *Mr. Asafali's Visit to Tamil Nadu*

The Working Committee heard the deputation of some Congressmen from Tamil Nadu on the existing divisions among Congressmen in Tamil Nadu. The Committee decided to depute Mr. Asafali to proceed to Madras and try to amicably

settle the disputes that had arisen among the Congressmen there with the goodwill of the parties concerned.

(5) *Political sufferers*

The question of rendering relief to political sufferers was considered. It was decided that the Work of organizing relief for political sufferers should be left to the Provincial Congress Committees.

(6) *Plenary Session of the Congress*

The question of holding the annual session of the Congress was considered in the light of the representations in this behalf from the P C Cs It was decided that in spite of unavoidable inconvenience to some provinces on account of the election work the next annual session of the Congress be held as early as possible. As it was difficult to make suitable arrangements for holding the session in some rural area as has become customary in the last few years, it was decided to hold the forthcoming session at Delhi in the first week of April It was left to the A I C C. office to issue the time-table for the election of delegates and the president,

(7) *A I C. C Office*

The Committee considered the question of raising necessary funds for the A. I. C C Office It was decided that the President should issue an appeal for funds on behalf of the Working Committee

(8) *Non-Official Resolutions*

The Committee considered the non-official resolutions which were to be moved at the last meeting of the A I. C C but could not be moved on account of the shortness of time and pressure of official business. It was found that most of the non-official resolutions were covered by the resolutions passed by the Working Committee at its Bombay and Calcutta sessions Two resolutions, one relating to the memorial for martyrs and the other relating to volunteers corps, which were not covered, were reserved for consideration by the Working Committee at its next meeting.

A. I. C. C. Circulars

Circular No. 3. *25th October,* 1945
P-1/379

TO ALL PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEES

Dear friend,

I would again draw your attention to Circular No. 1 of this office. From reports in the newspapers I find that the main activity of Congressmen at present is confined to the forthcoming elections. Considering the attitude of the Government this narrowing of the Congress activities to the Parliamentary programme is scarcely justified We may not forget our companions in jail who apart from their prolonged incarceration are subject to much harsh and humiliating treatment; many of them are known to have suffered in health Sri Ram Manohar Lohia's father, who had an interview with him in jail, publicly complained that his son had lost forty pounds in weight. Ram Manohar Lohia is not an instance. Hundreds of our colleagues are suffering in various ways

You know the attitude of the Government towards war prisoners of the I.N A. and those who belong to this category, made prisoners in the West. We consider that such of these prisoners who were not compelled by circumstances to join the axis forces were motivated by as great a love of the freedom of India as the best of us In all freedom fights the world over, patriots have sought outside help to free their country from foreign yoke When Churchill said that if need be his government would retire to America and wage war against Germany from there and free his country, he counted upon foreign help If England had been occupied by Germany, Churchill and his colleagues would have gone at the head of a mixed force of Englishmen and Americans to invade England Such an invasion, in spite of foreign help could not have been considered as a foreign invasion Nor in that case would Mr. Churchill and his colleagues have been considered as the 'King's Enemies.' They would have been rightly considered as patriots fighting for the freedom of their country As long as foreign rule lasts in India, patriots in desperation will be obliged to seek foreign help To style such undoubted patriots as enemies of the country and criminals, is to pervert the meaning of words to suit selfish and morally and politically unjustified ends. Such camouflage can deceive nobody, much less the Indians.

You also know how Indian soldiers are being used against patriots in Indo-China and Indonesia, to re-institute in these Asiatic lands the rule of imperial

France and Holland. The British authorities and their Indian henchmen have always indignantly protested against Indian soldiers being called mercenaries The Indian soldier is paraded as a volunteer who is fighting for his hearth and home and for justice and democracy. For whose hearth and home and for what variety of justice and democracy is the Indian soldier being used in Indo-China and Indonesia? The plain and unvarnished fact is that he is fighting as a mercenary at the bidding of his masters to aid French and Dutch Imperialism and to drive back the native population to their old slavery. The Indian soldier is fighting undoubted patriots and helping Imperialism to play successfully the game that the Fascist powers tried to play successfully, in Europe and Asia. Bad as slavery is, it is much worse to be made the instrument for the enslavement of other people. Our slavery under such circumstances become a public nuisance and an international danger. By repeated resolutions of ours we have protested agaist this prostitution of Indian troops for foreign and imperial purpose; but our protest have fallen on deaf ears.

You know what is being done in the matter of elections and how every administrative device is used to see that the popular side does not get a free and unhampered vote. In spite of the talk of 'forgive and forget' the ban on the ex-premier of Utkal to stand as a candidate in the forthcoming elections remains. Recently the applications of T. Prakasam, the Ex-minister, and Sri M. Bhaktavatsalam, the ex-parliamentary Secretary of Madras, to be enrolled as voters for the provincial legislature were rejected on the plea that jail is no residence. Evidently those in jail are not supposed to have lived in this land

All these things indicate that there is no desire on the part of British Imperialism to part with power. In this there is little difference between Conservative Churchill and Laborite Attlee The present elections were devised merely to gain time. We have, therefore, to rely entirely upon ourselves and organize the country for all possible exigencies. A nation out to achieve liberty cannot rest till the goal is reached In the present world context it may not rest even after the goal is achieved. In must be ready whenever the call comes But the call can be effectively responded to only by a healthy and strong organization.

The first thing in that direction at present is the perfecting of our organization. Towards this end the campaign for the enrolment of Congress members must be intensified. The time at our disposal is short. We must, therefore, hurry up. We may also no neglect the constructive programme, which more than the parliamentary programme, helps the country to organize itself Without, therefore, neglecting the forthcoming elections, let us direct every ounce of our energy in these two tasks.

You will please send your suggestions, as early as possible, about the charges that you would like to be incorporated in the present constitution of the Congress to make our organization more efficient and powerful. You may set up, if necessary, a committee for this purpose

You will keep us periodically informed about the programme of Congress work in your province.

Yours sincerely,

(SD.) J B KRIPALANI

General Secretary

Circular No 8, *19th December, 1945*

P-1/1183

TO ALL PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEES

Dear Friend,

At the last meeting of the Working Committee held in Calcutta it was decided that the plenary session of the Congress be held in the first week of April It is about six years since the last annual session of the Congress was held at Ramgrah. The Working Committee was, therefore, of opinion that notwithstanding our pre-occupation with Assembly Elections the plenary session should be held at the earliest practicable date.

The democratic procedure of the Congress for holding the election of delegates and thereafter of the A. I. C. C and the president involves time. There are also many intermediate steps between the final date for the enrolment of primary members and the submission of authentic rolls by the P. C C's to the A. I. C. C. office. None of these steps can be skipped over We have, therefore, tried to expedite the various steps within practicable time limit allowed to us by our constitution and circumstances. The revised time-table is enclosed herewith. In fram-

ing it we had before us all the objections that can reasonably be urged against it These objections have force but to have yielded to them would have meant the postponement of the annual session to the next winter. May and June are too hot for the annual session. The rainy season too is inappropriate for obvious reasons. All these considerations left us only the beginning of April for the holding of the annual session.

I have, therefore, to request you to adhere to the time-table enclosed herewith, and take speedy steps for ensuring its fulfilment We have plenty of good workers and organisers and it should not be difficult to detail some of them for attending exclusively to the Congress elections while leaving the rest for the organizational work of the Congress It only means that our various Congress offers, from the provincial downward, have to function more vigorously than here-to-fore.

It is quite possible that it may not be practicable in the limited time at our disposal to hold elections to the various committees subordinate to the P C C's In that case such elections must wait till after the plenary session What is necessary now is the election of delegates, the President-elect and the members of the A I C C The Provincial Congress Committees are automatically formed with the election of delegates

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) J B KRIPALANI
General Secretary

REVISED TIME-TABLE

Last date for enrolment of members	Dec 15, 1945
Publication	Dec 31, 1945
Time for inspection of rolls	Jan 1 1946
Last date for objection to entries in rolls	Jan 9, 1946
Last date for decision of objection	Jan 19, 1946
Final publication of rolls	Jan 25, 1946
Rolls to be submitted to the A I C C	Jan 31, 1946
Election of delegates	Feb 13 1946.
A certified list of delegates to be submitted to the A I C C office by the Provincial Congress Committees	Feb 23, 1946
Proposals for the President to be received by the A I C C office	Feb 28, 1946
Publication by the General Secretary of the names of persons proposed for Presidentship	Mar 2, 1946
Recording of votes for Presidential election by delegates	Mar 7, 1946
The Election of the A I C C by the delegates	Mar 7 1946

The Annual Session of the Congress to be held at Delhi in the first week of April

Circular No 10 *19th December*, 1945
P-1/1187

TO ALL PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEES

Dear Friend

The office has already sent you a copy of the election manifesto prepared and issued by the Working Committee at its recent session I am sending you herewith copies of some of the resolutions passed by the last meeting of the Working Committee

The resolution about the Communist Party requires you to take necessary steps for the removal of members of the Communist Party of India from all Congress Elective offices in your province If your office has received any intimation of members of the Communist Party having already resigned from elective offices in the province or primary membership of the Congress, you will please let us know the number of such resignations in your province

* * *

The Resolution on Non Violence is a reiteration in clear and unambiguous terms of our basic policy It is designed to clear doubts and misunderstandings arising out of the struggle of 1942 Congressmen need no assurance that this resolution and that on the I N A have nothing to do with the talks that some of our leaders were invited to have with high government officials at Calcutta These talks on the admission of Delhi itself had no political significance whatsoever They have, as is plain from the Viceroy's speech at the Associated Chambers of Commerce, made no difference whatsoever in the existing relations as between India and England It we ask our people assiduously to cultivate non-violence, observe restraint and conserve good national energy, it is not to please the

government which believes in violence through and through and practises it in India on every conceivable occasion but because we consider these virtues good in themselves We also believe that these virtues are useful for the achievement of the Swaraj of our conception We further believe that international peace can come only that way and not through the manufacture and use, however monopolistic, of the atom bomb by a few powerful nations, however good their intention may be

* * *

The Constitution Committee of the A I C C met at Calcutta It held one sitting during which it listened to Gandhiji's exposition of the views he had embodied in a note for the consideration of the Committee It was not possible for the Committee to hold detailed consultations as there were no reports before it from P C C's Now that the plenary session of the Congress is due to be held in April next, I would urge you to expedite the preparation of a memorandum containing the considered views of your committee or any sub-committee appointed by it on constitutional reorganization of the Congress This memorandum should reach us by January 15 so as to enable me to call a meeting of the Constitution Committee some time in February next

* * *

The reports asked for in our previous circulars have not reached us yet We find that provincial and subordinate committees are not functioning satisfactorily Our pre-occupation with Assembly elections should not prevent us from attending to urgent organizational work It is time we recognised this fact and organized our various offices and made them efficient instruments for all Congress work

Yours sincerely,
(SD) J B KRIPALANI
General Secretary

Circular No 11 *7th January* 1946
P 1/1477

TO ALL PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEES

Dear Friend,

I am sending herewith a copy of the text of the pledge that is to be administered and taken on January 26, 1946, the Independence Day The pledge is to be administered either in Hindustani, the National language or in the language of the province

It is customary to begin the day with Prabhat Pheries and flag salutations In the evening at about 5 a public meeting is called where the pledge is administered. At this meeting no speeches are made The President in a few words explains the solemnity of the occasion and the significance of the pledge He then administers the pledge When however owing to illness or other physical disability or owing to being in an out of the way place individual Congressmen and all those who will and strive for complete independence, are unable to attend a public meeting they take the pledge in their homes individually or in groups

Yours sincerely,
(SD) J B. KRIPALANI
General Secretary

Independence Pledge for 26th January, 1946

We believe that it is an inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom and enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any Government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or abolish it. The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually We believe, therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or Complete Independence

We recognise that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is not through violence India has gained strength and self-reliance and marched a long way to Swaraj following peaceful and legitimate methods, and it is by adhering to these methods that our country will attain independence

We pledge ourselves anew to the Independence of India and solemnly resolve to carry out non-violently the struggle for freedom till Purna Swaraj is attained

We believe that non-violent action in general and preparation for non-violent

direct action in particular, require successful working of the constructive programme kept before the country by Gandhiji and accepted by the Congress and in particular of Khadi, communal harmony and removal of untouchability. We shall seek opportunity of spreading goodwill among fellowmen without distiction of caste or creed. We shall endeavour to raise from ignorance and poverty those who have been neglected and to advance in every way the interests of those who are considered to be backward and suppressed. We know that though we are out to destroy the imperialistic system, we have no quarrel with Englishmen whether officials or non-officials. We know that the distinction between the caste Hindus and Harijans must be abolished, and Hindus have to forget these distinctions in their daily conduct. Such distinctions are bar to non violent conduct. Though our religious faith may be different, in our mutual relations we will act as children of mother India, bound by common nationality and common political and economic interest.

Charkha and Khadi are an integral part of our constructive programme, for the resuscitation of the seven hundred thousand villages of India and for the removal of the grinding poverty of the masses. We shall, therefore, use for our personal requirements nothing but Khadi, and so far as possible, products of village handi-crafts only and endeavour to make others likewise. We shall also try to work to the best of our ability some item or items of the constructive programme.

We pay our grateful homage to thousands of our comrades who faced grave hardships, suffered humiliations and sacrificed their life and property in the last struggle. Their sacrifice will always remind us of the duty never to rest until we have attained our goal.

We reaffirm the resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee on 8th August, 1942. It demands the immediate withdrawal of British power from India in the interest as much of India as of World Peace and Freedom for all.

This day we pledge ourselves again to a disciplined observance of Congress principles and policies and to keep in readiness to respond to the call of Congress for carrying on the struggle for the Independence of India.

The Congress Election Manifesto

For sixty years the National Congress has laboured for the freedom of India. During this long span of years its history has been the history of the Indian people, straining at the leash that has held them in bondage, ever trying to unloose themselves from it. From small beginnings it has progressively grown and spread in this vast country, carrying the message of freedom to the masses of our people in the towns as well as the remotest villages. From these masses it has gained power and strength and developed into a mighty organization, the living and vibrant symbol of India's will to freedom and independence. From generation to generation it has dedicated itself to this sacred cause, and in its name and under its banner innumerable countrymen and countrywomen of ours have laid down their lives and undergone suffering in order to redeem the pledge they had taken. By service and sacrifice it has enshrined itself in the hearts of our people, by its refusal to submit to any dishonour to our nation it has built up a powerful movement of resistance to foreign rule.

The career of the Congress has been one of both constructive effort for the good of the people and of unceasing struggle to gain freedom. In this struggle it has faced numerous crises and come repeatedly into direct conflict with the armed might of a great empire. Following peaceful methods, it has not only survived these conflicts but has gained new strength from them. After the recent three years of an unprecedented mass upheaval and its cruel and ruthless suppression, the Congress has risen stronger than ever and become more loved by the people by whom it has stood through storm and stress.

The Congress has stood for equal rights and opportunities for every citizen of India, man or woman. It has stood for the unity of all communities and religious groups and for tolerance and goodwill between them. It has stood for full opportunities for the people as a whole to grow and develop according to their own wishes and genius; it has also stood for the freedom of each group and territorial area within the nation to develop its own life and culture within the larger framework, and it has stated that for this purpose such territorial areas or provinces should be constituted as far as possible, on a linguistic and cultural basis. It has stood for the rights of all those, who suffer from social tyranny and injustice and for the removal for them of all barriers to equality.

The Congress has envisaged a free, democratic State with the fundamental rights and liberties of all its citizens guaranteed in the constitution. This constitution, in its view, should be a federal one with autonomy for its constituent units, and its legislative organs elected under universal adult franchise. The federation of India must be a willing union of its various parts. In order to give the maximum of freedom to the constituent units there may be a minimum list of common and essential federal subjects which will apply to all units, and a further optional list of common subjects which may be accepted by such units as desire to do so

1. Every citizen of India has the right of free expression of opinion, the right of free association and combination, and the right to assemble peacefully and without arms, for a purpose not opposed to law or morality.

2. Every citizen shall enjoy freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess and practise his religion subject to public order and morality.

3 The culture, language and script of the minorities and of the different linguistic areas shall be protected

4. All citizens are equal before the law, irrespective of religion, caste, creed or sex.

5. No disability attaches to any citizen by reason of his or her religion, caste, creed or sex, in regard to public employment, office of power or honour, and in the exercise of any trade or calling.

6 All citizens have equal rights in regard to wells tanks, roads, schools and places of public resort, maintained out of State or local funds, or dedicated by private persons for the use of the general public.

7. Every citizen has the right to keep and bear arms, in accordance with regulations and reservations made in that behalf.

8. No person shall be deprived of his liberty, nor shall his dwelling or property be entered, sequestered, or confiscated, save in accordance with law.

9. The State shall observe neutrality in regard to all religions.

10 The franchise shall be on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

11. The State shall provide for free and compulsory basic education

12. Every citizen is free to move throughout India and to stay and settle in any part thereof, to follow any trade or calling, and to be treated equally with regard to legal prosecution or protection in all parts of India.

The State shall further provide all necessary safeguards for the protection and the development of the backward or suppressed elements in the population, so that they might make rapid progress and take a full and equal part in national life In particular, the State will help in the development of the people of the tribal areas in a manner most suited to their genius, and in the education and social and economic progress of the scheduled classes.

A hundred and fifty years and more of foreign rule have arrested the growth of the country and produced numerous vital problems that demand immediate solution Intensive exploitation of the country and the people during this period has reduced the masses to the depths of misery and starvation The country has not only been politically kept under subjection and humiliated, but has also suffered economic, social, cultural and spiritual degradation During the years of war this process of exploitation by irresponsible authority in utter disregard of Indian interests and views, and an incompetence in administration reached a new height leading to terrible famine and widespread misery There is no way to solving any of these urgent problems except through freedom and independence The content of political freedom must be both economic and social

The most vital and urgent of India's problems is how to remove the curse of poverty and raise the standard of the masses It is to the well-being and progress of these masses that the Congress had directed its special attention and its constructive activities It is by their well-being and advancement that it has judged every proposal and every change and it has declared that anything that comes in the way of the good of the masses of our country must be removed Industry and agriculture, the social services and public utilities must be encouraged, modernised and rapidly extended in order to add to the wealth of the country and give it the capacity for self-growth, without dependence on others But all this must be done with the primary object of benefitting the masses of our people and raising their economic, cultural and spiritual level, removing unemployment, and adding to the dignity of the individual For this purpose it will be necessary to plan and co-ordinate social advance in all its many fields, to prevent the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of individuals and groups, to prevent vested in-

terests inimical to society from growing, and to have social control of the mineral resources, means of transport and the principal methods of production and distribution in land, industry and in other departments of national activity, so that free India may develop into a co-operative commonwealth. The State must, therefore, own or control key and basic industries and services, mineral resources, railways, waterways, shipping and other means of public transport. Currency and exchange, banking and insurance, must be regulated in the national interest.

Though poverty is widespread in India, it is essentially a rural problem, caused chiefly by overpressure on land and lack of other wealth-producing occupations. India under British rule, has been progressively ruralised, many of her avenues of work and employment closed and a vast mass of the population thrown on the land, which has undergone continuous fragmentation, till a very large number of holdings have become uneconomic. It is essential therefore, that the problem of the land should be dealt with in all its aspects. Agriculture has to be improved on scientific lines and industry has to be developed rapidly in its various forms—large-scale, medium and small, so as not only to produce wealth but also to absorb people from the land. In particular cottage industries have to be encouraged, both as whole-time and part-time occupations. It is essential that in planning and the development of industry, while maximum wealth production for the community should be aimed at, it should be borne in mind that this is not done at the cost of creating fresh unemployment. Planning must lead to maximum employment, indeed to the employment of every able-bodied person. Landless labourers should have opportunities of work offered to them and be absorbed in agriculture or industry.

The reform of the land system, which is so urgently needed in India, involves the removal of intermediaries between the peasant and the State. The rights of such intermediaries should therefore be acquired on payment of equitable compensation. While individualist farming or peasant proprietorship should continue, progressive agriculture as well as the creation of new social values and incentives require some system of co-operative farming suited to Indian conditions. Any such change can, however, be made only with the good-will and agreement of the peasantry concerned. It is desirable, therefore, that experimental co-operative farms should be organized with State help in various parts of India. There should also be large State farms for demonstrative and experimental purposes.

In the development of land and industry there has to be a proper integration and balance between rural and urban economy. In the past, rural economy has suffered, and the town and city have prospered at the cost of the village. This has to be righted and an attempt made to equalise, as far as possible, the standard of life of town-dwellers and villagers. Industry should not be concentrated in particular provinces so as to give a balanced economy to each province, and it should be decentralized, as far as this is possible, without sacrifice of efficiency.

Both the development of land and of industry, as well as the health and well-being of the people, require the harnessing and proper utilization of the vast energy that is represented by the great rivers of India, which is not only largely running to waste but is often the cause of great injury to the land and the people who live on it. River Commissions should be constituted to undertake this task in order to promote irrigation and ensure an even and continuous supply of water, to prevent disastrous floods and soil erosion, to eradicate malaria, to develop hydro electric power, and in other ways to help in raising the general standard of life especially in the rural areas. The power resources of the country have to be developed rapidly in this and other ways in order to provide the necessary foundation for the growth of industry and agriculture.

Adequate arrangement should be made for the education of the masses with a view to raising them intellectually, economically, culturally and morally, and to fit them for the new forms of work and services which will open out before them. Public health services which are essential for the growth of the nation should be provided for on the widest scale, and in this, as in other matters, the needs of the rural areas should receive especial attention. These should include special provisions for maternity and child welfare.

Conditions should thus be created in which every individual has an equal opportunity for advance in every field of national activity and there is social security for all.

Science in its innumerable fields of activity has played an ever increasing part in influencing and moulding human life and will do so in even greater measure in the future. Industrial, agricultural and cultural advance, as well as national defence

depend upon it Scientific research is, therefore, a basic and essential activity of the State, and should be organized and encouraged on the widest scale

In regard to labour, the State shall safeguard the interests of industrial workers and shall secure for them a minimum wage and a decent standard of living, proper housing, hours of work and conditions of labour in conformity, as far as economic conditions in the country permit, with international standards, suitable machinery for the settlement of disputes between employers and workmen, and protection against the economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment. Workers shall have the right to form unions to protect their interests.

Rural indebtedness has in the past crushed the agricultural population, and though owing to various causes in recent years this has grown less, the burden still continues and must be removed Cheap credit must be made available through co-operatives Co-operatives should also be organized for other purposes both in rural and urban areas. In particular, industrial co-operatives should be encouraged as being specially suited for the development of small-scale industry on a democratic basis

While the immediate and urgent problems of India can only be effectively tackled by joint and planned attack on all fronts—political, economic, agricultural, industrial and social—certain needs are of paramount importance today Owing to the gross incompetence and mismanagement of the Government an incredible amount of suffering has been caused to the people of India Millions have died of starvation, and scarcity of food and clothing is still wide-spread. Corruption in the services and in all matter pertaining to the supply and control of the vital necessaries of life is rampant and has become intolerable These urgent problems require immediate attention

In international affairs, the Congress stands for the establishment of world federation of free nations Till such time as such a federation takes shape, India must develop friendly relations with all nations, and particularly with her neighbours In the Far East, in South-East Asia and Western Asia, India has had trade relations for thousands of years, and it is inevitable that with freedom she should renew and develop these relations Reasons of security and future trends of trade also demand closer contacts with these regions India, which has conducted her own struggle for freedom on a non-violent basis, will always throw her weight on the side of world peace and co-operation She will also champion the freedom of all other subject nations and peoples, for only on the basis of this freedom and the elimination of imperialism everywhere can world peace be established

On the 8th of August, 1942, the All-India Congress Committee passed a resolution, since then famous in India's story By its demand and challenge the Congress stands today It is on the basis of this resolution and with its battle-cry that the Congress faces the election

The Congress therefore appeals to the voters all over the country to support the Congress candidates in every way at the forthcoming elections, and to stand by the Congress at this critical juncture, which is so pregnant with future possibilities In these elections petty issues do not count, nor do individual, nor sectarian cries,—only one thing counts · the freedom and independence of our Motherland, from which all other freedoms will flow to our people. Many a time the people of India have taken the pledge of Independence, that pledge has to be redeemed, and the well-beloved cause for which it stands and which has summoned us so often, still beckons to us The time is coming when we shall redeem it in full The election is a small test for us, a preparation for the greater things to come. Let all those who care and long for freedom and the independence of India meet this test with strength and confidence and march together to the free India of our dreams.

The Congress Election Manifesto

For the Central Legislative Assembly Election

The Central Election Board of the Indian National Congress has been authorised to publish the following manifesto which has been issued by the Working Committee in accordance with the directions given by the A. I. C. C. held in Bombay in connection with the ensuing election to the Central Legislative Assembly.

For sixty years the National Congress has laboured for the freedom of India During this long span of years its history has been the history of Indian people, straining at the leash that has held them in bondage, ever trying to unloose them-

selves from it. From small beginnings it has progressively grown and spread in this vast country, carrying the message of freedom to the masses of our people in the towns as well as the remotest villages From these masses it has gained power and strength and developed into a mighty organisation, the living and vibrant symbol of India's will to freedom and independence From generation to generation it has dedicated itself to this sacred cause, and in its name and under its banner innumerable country-men and country-women of ours have laid down their lives and undergone suffering in order to redeem the plegde they have taken By service and sacrifice it has enshrined itself in the hearts of our people, by its refusal to submit to any dishonour to our nation it has build up a powerful movement of resistance to foreign rule

The career of the Congress has been one of both constructive effort for the good of the people and of unceasing struggle to gain freedom In this struggle it faced numerous crises and come repeatedly into direct conflict with the armed might of a great Empire Following peaceful methods, it has not only survived these conflicts but has gained new strength from them After the recent three years of an unprecedented mass upheaval and its cruel and ruthless suppression, the Congress has risen stronger than ever and more loved by the people by whom it has stood through storm and stress

The Congress has stood for equal rights and opportunities for every citizen of India, man or woman. It has stood for the unity of communities and religious groups and for tolerance and goodwill between them It has stood for full opportunities for the people as a whole to grow and develop according to their own wishes and genius, it has also stood for the freedom of each group and territorial area within the nation to develop its own life and culture within the larger framework, and for this purpose such territorial areas or provinces should be constituted, as far as possible, on a linguistic and cultural basis It has stood for the rights of all those who suffer from social tyranny and injustice and for the removal for them of all barriers to equality

The Congress has envisaged a free, democratic State with the fundamental rights and civil liberties of all its citizens guaranteed in the constitution This constitution, in its view, should be a federal one with a great deal of autonomy for its constituent units and its legislative organs elected under universal adult franchise

A hundred and fifty years and more of foreign rule have arrested the growth of the country and produced numerous vital problems that demand immediate solution Intensive exploitation of the country and the people during this period has reduced the masses to the depths of misery and starvation The country has not only been politically kept under subjection and humiliated, but has also suffered economic, social, cultural and spiritual degradation During the years of war, and even now, this process of exploitation by irresponsible authority and complete ignoring of Indian interests and views has reached a new height, an incompetence in the administration, leading to terrible famine and widespread misery among our people. There is no way to solve any of these urgent problems except through freedom and independence. The content of political freedom must be both economic and social

The most vital and urgent of India's [illegible] for [illegible] is how to remove the curse of poverty and raise the standards of the mas[illegible] Even [illegible] to the well-being and progress of these masses that the Congress has dire[illegible] not baric[illegible] ial attention and its constructive activities It is by their well-being evented fro[illegible] ement that has judged every proposal and every change, and it has [illegible] t anything that comes in the way of the good of the masses of our as into existen[illegible] removed Industry and agriculture, the social services and publ[illegible] llegal organisa[illegible] be encouraged, modernised and rapidly extended in order to add t[illegible] itude and policy [illegible] country and give it the capacity for self-growth, without depe[illegible] Congress, which [illegible] it all this must be done with the primary object and paramou[illegible] peasantry, and was [illegible] the masses of people and raising their economic, cultural was characterised as [illegible] oving unemployment, and adding to the dignity of the ind[illegible] from following their na[illegible] will be necessary to plan and co-ordinate social advance[illegible] lamed for coming in the [illegible] ent the concentration of wealth and power in the hand held up to ridicule In spi[illegible] to prevent vested interests inimical to society from unists in India by the Cong[illegible] rol of the mineral resources, means of transport and d influence that they did not [illegible] tion and distribution in land, industry and in an illegal organisation which [illegible] ity, so that free India may develop into a co-op[illegible] ental authorities. The sympath[illegible]

In international affairs, ered from Government s repressiv[illegible] lishment of world

federation of free nations Till such time as such a federation takes shape, India must develop friendly relations with all nations, and particularly with her neighbours on the east and the west and the north In the far East, in South-East Asia and in Western Asia India has had trade and cultural relations for thousands of years and it is inevitable that with freedom she would renew and develop these relations Reasons of security and future trends of trade also demand these closer contacts with these regions. India, which has conducted her own struggle for freedom on a non-violent basis, will always throw her weight on the side of world peace and co-operation. She will also champion the freedom of all other subject nations and peoples, for only on the basis of this freedom and the elimination of imperialism everywhere can world peace be established

On the 8th of August, 1942, the All-India Congress Committee passed a resolution, since then famous in India's story By its demands and challenge the Congress stands today It is on the basis of this resolution and with its battle-cry that the Congress faces the elections for the Central and Provincial Assemblies

The Central Legislative Assembly is a body with no power or authority and is practically an advisory body whose advice has been constantly flouted and ignored. It is completely out of date and is based on a very restricted franchise The electoral registers for it are full of errors and omissions and no opportunities for correcting or adding to them have been given. Large numbers of our countrymen are still in prison and many others who have been released are disqualified from standing for election. Obstructions in the way of holding public meetings still continue in many places Yet, with all these and other handicaps and drawbacks, the Congress has decided to contest the elections to show that the inevitable results of elections, however restricted, must be to demonstrate the overwhelming solidarity of the opinion of the voters on the issue of Independence Therefore, in this election petty issues do not count, nor do individuals, nor sectarian cries,—only one thing counts, the freedom and independence of our Motherland, from which all other freedoms will flow to our people

So the Congress appeals to the voters for the Central Assembly all over the country to support the Congress candidates in every way at the forthcoming elections, and to stand by the Congress at this critical juncture, which is so pregnant with future possibilities Many a time the people of India have taken the pledge of independence, that pledge has yet to be redeemed, and the well-beloved cause for which it stands and which has summoned us so often, still beckons to us But the time is coming when we shall redeem it in full, not by the election but by what comes after it. Meanwhile this election is a small test for us, a preparation for the greater things to come Let all those who care and long for freedom and the independence of India meet this test with strength and confidence, and march together to the free India of our dreams.

Charges Against Members of the Communist Party of India in the Congress

The Working Committee at it [illegible] *ting at Poona in September 1945 appointed a sub-committee consisting of (1)* [illegible] *Jawaharlal Nehru (2) Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and (3) Pandit Govind B*[illegible]*ant to go into the complaints and charges of misconduct which the A I* [illegible] *had received against Congress members of the Communist Party and* [illegible] *eport to the Working Committee. The following is the full text of t*[illegible]

The A I C C office hav[illegible]rge number of complaints and accusa-
tions against the activities [illegible] members of the Congress and of the
Communist Party in Indi[illegible]elation to the Congress, the Working
Committee have referred [illegible] for examination and, if the facts so
warrant, to frame char[illegible]sons concerned might be invited to
reply There is a vast [illegible]ports in the files before us For the
most part they are v[illegible]ant Some of the charges, relating
to individual or gro[illegible] they would require fuller examina-
tion and proof bef[illegible]d on them We do not propose to
take into consider[illegible]nproved assertions, or to initiate
further inquiries i[illegible] As we understand the reference
made to us, the W[illegible] with the larger issues involved
and not so much [illegible] Under the Congress constitution
and rules, it is op[illegible]ttees or their executives to take

disciplinary action against any individual Congressman or Congresswoman who has acted contrary to Congress policy. Such action, we are informed, has already been taken or recommended in certain cases by some Provincial Congress Committees. We propose, therefore, to consider only the broader aspects of the question in this report It is not without significance, however, that complaints and accusations against communist activity in India have been received from a very large number of Congressmen all over India. There is also no doubt that the attitude of the Communist Party towards the Communal problem and their unqualified support of the Muslim League's claim for Pakistan have added to the prevailing estrangement It is manifest that there is at present a widespread and deep sentiment against members of the Communist Party in India, and the Congress rank and file are powerfully influenced by it. We do not propose to allow ourselves to be guided by this sentiment in considering any action which might have to be taken.

The Congress has in the past kept its membership open to all individuals, classes, and religious and political groups in India, provided only that the objective of Indian independence was accepted, as well as the method of peaceful and legitimate action Within that broad framework various ideologies have found their place even when they were not wholly in line with the governing ideology of the Congress. Even foreigners who accepted the objective and methods of the Congress could join it Thus the Congress has been more of a movement than a narrow political party. It has however, functioned as a party also, especially in the legislatures, Being an organization which has indulged in militant action from time to time on an extensive scale, it has inevitably tended to function as a strictly disciplined organisation, even though it consisted of people with differing views on many political and economic matters These two somewhat differing approaches—as a broad movement and as a disciplined party—have usually been reconciled by allowing full freedom of expression of views and opinions and at the same time insisting on uniformity in action, especially when that action meant a conflict with the British Government in India. In practice this meant freedom in discussing the policy to be laid down, and when that policy had been determined, to adhere to it as closely as possible, and certainly not to oppose it in any way. Without that strictness of uniformity in the field of action, the Congress would have faded away as a militant organisation and become an ineffective motley crowd pulling in different directions and wholly incapable of acting. Thus while different groups continued in the Congress, if any member of the Congress clearly acted against Congress policy disciplinary action could be, and sometimes actually was taken against him This applied particularly to such Congressmen as were members of executive bodies within the organisation It was manifestly absurd for a person to be a member of an executive committee when he or she did not accept the policy which that committee was supposed to further, or even opposed it.

Owing to the conflicts that have arisen between the view points and policies of the Congress and various communal organisations in India, it was laid down in the Congress constitution some years ago that "No person who is a member of a communal organisation, the object or programme of which involves political activities which are, in the opinion of the Working Committee, anti-national and in conflict with those of the Congress, shall be eligible for election to any office or membership of any elective Congress Committee." Even in this case, it should be noted, members of communal organisations were not barred from joining the Congress as ordinary primary members they were prevented from seeking office or membership of any executive

The Communist Party in India came into existence in a very small way early in the twenties. It was for long an illegal organisation A few of its members joined the Congress but the general attitude and policy of the party were to criticize, ridicule and condemn Congress policy. Congress, which had spread to the masses of the people and especially among the peasantry, and was in fact carrying on mass struggles on an unprecedented scale, was characterised as a bourgeois reactionary body trying to prevent mass urges from following their natural course In particular the Congress leadership was blamed for coming in the way of the masses. Official Congress policy was often held up to ridicule. In spite of this no action was ever taken against the Communists in India by the Congress, partly because they were so few in numbers and influence that they did not count at all, and partly because they belonged to an illegal organisation which was being harassed and suppressed by the governmental authorities. The sympathy of Congressmen always went to all who suffered from Government's repressive policy. In 1929,

when the Meerut trial took place, and many prominent Communists were involved in it, leading Congressmen helped in the defence

Even in the early thirties the general attitude of the Communist Party of India towards the Congress did not change and was one of strong criticism and ridicule In 1935-36, however, there was a change in the wider policies of the Communist parties all over the world and attempts were made in various countries to form 'Joint Fronts' and 'Popular Fronts' It took some time for the C P of India to be affected by this, and, indeed, it was resisted for a while as it directly opposed the policy they had so far been pursuing. However, in 1936 Communists in India became more friendly to the Congress, exhorted people to join it, and tried to enter its local executives From then onwards till the middle of 1939, that is for a little over three years, there was often much friction between the Communists and other elements in the Congress, but on the whole they functioned together and no major crisis arose It should be noted that even this friction was in regard to internal and domestic policies in India, and seldom had anything to do with communism as such or with reactions to events in the Soviet Union In the Congress there was a considerable body of opinion which was favourably inclined towards many of the aspects of communism and socialism, as there were also many who did not approve of the philosophy underlying communism In particular, the stress by Communists on violent methods was in conflict with the Congress policy of peaceful action. But in practice this did not usually lead to conflict in action except occasionally in local areas. Usually this resulted in long and sometimes heated argument in A I C C meetings A few Communists, not exceeding 2 or 3 per cent of the total membership of A I C C were elected to that body chiefly because of the system of voting by means of proportional representation (single transferable vote) which enabled small minority groups to be represented

It should also be noted that within the Congress ranks there was widespread admiration for many of the achievements of the Soviet Union, though some of the policies pursued there were not uniformly admired

This was the background when the War broke out early in September 1939 The Congress policy before and after this turning point in world history is well-known It was defined at some length in a statement issued by the Working Committee on September 14, 1939, and subsequently this led to the resignation of the Congress Governments in the Provinces The Communist Party of India, characterising the war as an imperialist war, bitterly attacked the Congress and Mahatma Gandhi for not launching a mass struggle immediately after the war began for the emancipation of India The following extracts from a Review on Gandhism published by G Adhikari at the time of the Ramgarh Congress in March 1940 may be read with interest in this connection

(1) Once Gandhism held the fate of British rule in its hand Today it pursues the logic of "unconditional co-operation" with the same Government and that at a time when an unjust, imperialist and predatory war is raging in the world Gandhism has entered into its decadent phase At the most critical time of our national history it is acting as a fetter on the National struggle

(2) Immediately on the outbreak of the present war Gandhiji declared that his sympathies were with England and France He responded to the call of the Viceroy and interviewed him To the angry demonstrators and correspondents, who resented his action, he replied I have come to the conclusion that it is Hitler who is responsible for the war If Hitler thought his claim to Danzig and the Corridor was just he should have submitted it to an impartial tribunal Britain is fighting a just war. A Satyagrahi must support a just cause even when it is espoused by an enemy This is how "non-violence" is invoked in support of an Imperialist war Gandhiji would not bargain with Imperialism at this critical hour He would not use England's difficulty to win India's freedom The popular feeling of 1939 on the other hand was violently against and demanded the immediate resumption of the national struggle for freedom

(3) The results of the strategy of stalemate which has been adopted during the last six months are clear enough Firstly, it will mean that the revolutionary vanguard is decimated in isolation through imperialist repression Secondly, demoralisation would spread among the centre elements in the Congress and bring them to accept the position that no struggle is possible, Gandhiji's line is the best . Shorn of its moral embellishment it is the line of the cowardly and compromising bourgeoisie . Gandhism still retains its leadership in the national movement It is seeking to use its position to overtake and imprison the rapidly

growing forces of revolution, to isolate and eliminate them It is paving the way for the most ignoble compromise and defeat at a time when all the factors are favourable for decisive victory over imperialism

In the summer of 1940, the collapse of France and the blitzkrieg over England produced powerful reactions in India, and it was not considered desirable to start then the civil disobedience movement which had been envisaged in the Ramgarh Congress resolution In the autumn, however, the situation in the West was more stable, while in India conditions were rapidly deteriorating In October 1940, the Congress initiated the individual satyagraha movement controlled and conditioned by Gandhiji Referring to this, the 'Communist" of November 1940 wrote as follows

"Human wit could not have drawn up any better rules for sabotaging all struggle and for dashing the national movement to pieces Every Congressman must be made to realise that this satyagrah can only lead to our prostration before the enemy That we have a national leadership that can offer such a plan is the supreme tragedy of the situation'

Again the "Communist' of February 1941, wrote

'The national movement under bourgeois leadership has entered into a blind alley They feared the masses and trusted Imperialism They put their class above the nation They hand over the national organisers to Imperialism for safe custody They dissolve the Congress organization lest the people might use it as the instrument of a mass struggle '

And in March 1941, the "Communist" wrote

'The struggle is a jolly merry-go-round Shut up you irreverant scoffer! It is a nation's solemn, non-violent suicide In the phase of its decay Gandhism can only pursue an anti struggle and compromising policy . The future under Gandhism is to lose all that the Congress has built up so far."

When in the summer of 1941 Nazi Germany attacked Russia there was widespread sympathy and anxiety for the Soviet Union all over India The Communist Party of India naturally felt this all the more keenly but, in view of their past policy it was not easy for them suddenly to change their whole attitude to the war. It took them many months to do so, but when the change came, it was a complete swingover to the other extreme. The slogan of the "Imperialist War" gave place to one of the 'People's War" and cooperation with Britain was urged. This was directly opposed to Congress policy then and later and friction resulted from it Soon after the Cripps negotiations the old ban on the C P of India was removed by Government and the Communist Party became a legal organization in India As such it carried on intensive propaganda for its new point of view, which brought it into direct conflict with Congress activities and propaganda The C P. of India started a weekly, the 'People's War' to carry on this propaganda aggressively. Individual Communists who were members of Congress executives were thus placed in a very invidious position and as they adhered to the Communist line, complaints against them began to mount up There were some actual conflicts in public meetings, in Andhra especially, where it was alleged that Communists used violence In some provinces, as in the U P., disciplinary action was taken locally against Congress members of executives who were adopting the Communist line All this was in June and July 1942 prior to August Thus the position had already become difficult before the August Resolution was passed, and it was becoming increasingly clear that no person could or should be simultaneously a member of two executives with differing and hostile policies In view of the vastness of the Congress organization and the relative smallness of the C P of India the problem was not in a sense of great importance but it created a great deal of bitterness

The resolution of the A. I. C C. passed on August 8, 1942, was followed by arrest of large numbers of Congressmen and other events which are well known. Owing to governmental repression, spontaneous upheavals took place all over the country, hartals, strikes etc and there was also a good deal of violence in some places. While it was clear that no movement had been officially started by the A I. C. C. or Gandhiji, it was equally clear that this mass upheaval of unprecedented proportions was the direct consequence of the chain of events that preceded it Undoubtedly it was a direct manifestation of the people's will, which the Congress had claimed to represent.

In this vast conflict between the forces of Indian nationalism and British imperialism, when people were being shot down by the thousand, and many of

the horrors of war were being perpetrated on unarmed people in the towns and contryside alike, the Communist Party of India appeared to be lined up with the British Government in India It is true that they mildly criticised British policy occasionally and asked for the release of the leaders, but they also condemned as traitors many Congressmen and Congress groups and carried on a virulent campaign against the people's movement Whether the Communist Party's policy was right or wrong it is not for us to consider here. But there can be no doubt whatever that it was opposed to Congress policy and to that policy which had arisen spontaneously as a result of the people's movement. The two could not possibly be reconciled then or now. The "People's War", in its various editions in different languages, carried out ceaseless propaganda against this people's movement in which nearly all Congressmen were involved in some form or other.

The "People's War" dated August 23, 1942, had the following "To call upon workers to go on political strike is not to exert pressure upon the British Government but to disrupt the country's advance and starve the workers for nothing Continued production is a vital war necessity whatever the Government might be." Again in the same issue we find the following "We Communists know that to keep production going is the workers' contribution to national defence and to keep transport running is to help to hit the fascist We realise more seriously than others that there is no shortcut to Indian freedom except the unity of our nation which will bring us national government, and not satyagraha nor sabotage, which can only destroy our national defence and open the gates to fascist invaders" The following extract from Joshi's letter is significant, "We gave up our strike policy because we considered it anti-national in the conditions of today, aiding the Jap aggressors on the one hand and intensifying the economic crisis for our own people on the other That we successfully prevented the Indian working class from resorting to strikes even in a period of their worsening material conditions is the measure not only of our influence over it but its capacity to understand national interests as its own" Further "If you enquire into the bonafides of the persons who have written to you, you will find that they are those who organized or supported the post-9th August sabotage campaign or have been intensely prejudiced against us by these people They are bitter against us because we oppose sabotage and exposed them not only in words but in practice"

The first meeting of the Communist Party was held in September 1942 Joshi and Adhikari wrote in the report submitted by them to their Party that there were two groups in the Congress Working Committee "One, the anti fascist group of Pandit Jawaharlal, Azad etc, and other, the group of Gandhiji, Patel Rajendra Prasad and others, who wanted to bring British imperialism on its knees by creating a standstill in centres of war production and in all means of communications This group dominated in the Working Committee, and so the cutting of wires and removal of rails etc that took place in the disturbances were according to the ideas contemplated by Gandhiji's group" Thus the responsibility for the August disturbances was placed by the Communists on the Congress Working Committee directly and positively in September 1942, long before the publication of Tottenham's pamphlet on the subject

The following extracts are taken from the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India passed at the same meeting "The path along which the present national upsurge is directed is one of national suicide, not of national salvation and freedom It destroys the nation's indispensable defences, inevitably leading to conditions of civil commotion and disorder, anarchy, and even loot and arson It makes the national movement the prey of bureaucratic provocation in the name of struggle Finally, it creates a mass basis for fifth column activity in the name of patriotism ... It is leading the nation to a state of moral and political disruption and paralysis which, far from helping the people to get their freedom can only clear the path of the invader. Such is the disastrous culmination of policies of not relying upon the strength of the people, that is, on national unity, and leaving the initiative in the hands of the imperialist bureaucracy" Still more emphatic is the following

"The central tasks to which the Party must address itself today are threefold .. (b) carry on persistent political explanations among workers, kisans, student militants and Congressmen, how the present struggle leads to destruction and anarchy and is suicidal."

Again:

"Our first and foremost task must be to re-establish firmly the leadership of

the Unions and the Party in the industrial centres and stamp out the efforts of provocations and of misguided patriots to drag the working class into the suicidal campaign of sabotage and anarchy. Among the kisans we must conduct a sharp political campaign against these saboteurs and promoters of anarchy." "Among the students you must carry on a political explanatory campaign. We must explain to them that to pursue the policy of permanent strikes, to go in for destruction and anarchy is not to play their part in the freedom movement."

That the Party faithfully carried out these decisions is borne out by a circular of the Government of India issued just a year later on 20th September, 1913, from which the following extracts are given.

(1) "The party has as a whole exercised a restraining effect on students and its influence over the student community, though not great has, such as it is, been used in the direction of preventing student strikes and disorderly demonstrations."

(2) Such influence as the Party has with labour appears generally to have been exercised in the direction of opposing or minimising the effect of strikes

(3) In the Party Congress held in Bombay from May 23rd to June 1st, 1942, there was an attack on the negative policy of the Congress and their resolution openly identified for the first time the Congress Socialist Party and Forward Bloc with the fifth column agents who are accused of taking advantage of the Congress resolution of August 1942, to lead the country to the brink of disaster

(4) Not only are the Communists almost the only Party which fought for victory . they alone, however hesitantly, have criticised the Congress defeatism from a political point of view as opposed, for instance, to the fundamentally communal criticisms of Congress policy by the Muslim League etc and have openly attacked as traitors the off-shoots of Congress, the Forward Bloc and the Socialist Party.

There are numerous reports from Congress Committees alleging that the Communists had consistently condemned the August resolution of the Congress and vigorously criticised it as being opposed to the country's true interests. They accused the Congress and Congressmen as responsible for all the disturbances which followed the August resolution They had similarly thrown their full weight on the side of the Government advocating unconditional support of the war effort and dissuading all classes whether peasants, workers or students from countenancing anything that might hinder the war effort or actually embarrass the administration. There are also many reports made apparently after local investigation, showing that the Communists had been violently abusing and vilifying prominent Congressmen, and sometimes co operating with the police in their activities against some Congressmen in the post-August-9th period. Numerous cases of rowdyism and hooliganism on the part of Communists in connection with meetings organized by or under the auspices of local Congress Committees, especially in Andhra, are also mentioned in detail. Some of these cases are still the subject of inquiry and trial in some of the Madras courts. On the other hand, there are charges made by the Communists against Congressmen. We have not gone into these charges and counter-charges. It would be difficult to arrive at exact and definite findings without elaborate inquiries, and in any event, even if some local charge was proved, it will not follow that this was the result of the official policy of the Communist Party of India. There can, however, be no doubt that the Communists in the Congress, as well as those outside it, have ceaselessly opposed both in letter and spirit the Congress policy from early in 1942 onwards and specially since the resolution of August 8 1942

There has been a prolonged correspondence between Gandhiji and Shri P C. Joshi in regard to the activities of the Communists in the Congress and this has been recently published At the suggestion of Mr Joshi, the matter was referred to Shri Bhulabhai Desai for opinion : "You place your whole anti-communist file", wrote Joshi, "before any patriot of eminence who inspires mutual trust, for example, Mrs. Naidu, Rajaji or Bhulabhai. These are your old colleagues and known to us not to be prejudiced against us Let me have a copy of the file and let them ask me for explanations on any point. I am sure after reading their report you will consign the anti-communist file to the flames." Mr. Desai tendered his opinion on the 20th of August last. In the course of his written opinion Mr. Desai states that "it is candidly admitted by Mr. Joshi that they regarded the European war which has just now ended as the "People's War' for the reasons he had given ' Evidently there was no room for prevarication in this matter. With the propaganda that was being carried on day in and day out in the columns of the 'People's War" it did not require much candour to make this admission. Mr. Desai further says: "It

does not appear that the views and attitude of the Communist Party after the 9th August have been to carry on propaganda contrary to the views and policy of the Congress." A copy of Shri Bhulabhai's note was sent to Mr Joshi. Mr. Joshi while complaining that Shri Bhulabhai's decision was *ex parte* did not seriously contest his findings. In fact in most other matters Shri Bhulabhai had virtually exonerated the Communists. His conclusion that the Communist Party had been carrying on propaganda contrary to the views and policy of the Congress ever since 9th August, 1942, is of considerable significance. At a time when the country was passing through a reign of terror and the Congress was involved in a life and death struggle, no organization allied with the Congress could, without committing a serious outrage to the ordinary tenets of discipline, indulge in such hostile activities.

Although we have had to consider largely the past, we might add that even in the present, the policy of the Communist Party of India, as represented by the writings in the 'People's War' is very far removed from and often opposed to the Congress policy.

We are, therefore, of opinion that there is ample evidence on the record before us to establish a strong *prima facie* case againt the members of the Communist Party in the Congress and they should be asked to justify their position and policy and to show cause why action should not be taken against them We have not dealt with individuals in this report but we can only ask individuals to show cause We suggest that such Communists as are members of the A I. C C should be asked to do so, as presumably they have a leading position in their party If any other important member of their party desires to put forward his explanation or justification, he should be allowed an opportunity to do so We understand that it is the desire of the President, as well as the Working Committee, that full opportunities for explanation and justification be afforded to Communist members of the Congress We entirely concur in this opinion As a matter of fact, as we have mentioned above, there has already been a great deal of inquiry and explanation and at the instance of Shri P C Joshi, Secretary of C P. of India, Shri Bhulabhai Desai has given his opinion

In the event of the explanations given not being satisfactory, the question will arise as to what further steps should be taken This is premature at this stage But we should like to make it clear that the issue before us at present, is not to shut the door of the Congress completely to the Communists but to consider how far it is desirable to allow persons who are opposed to the basic Congress policies to be elected or to remain on Congress executive bodies which are charged with carrying out those policies.

(SD) *Jawaharlal Nehru*
(SD.) *Vallabhbhai Patel*
(SD) *Govind Ballabh Pant*

The following letter was addressed by Shri J. B Kripalani, the General Secretary of the Congress to the Communist members of the A. I. C. C.

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Camp Bombay
21-9-45

Dear Friend,

The Working Committee have had under consideration numerous complaints and charges against Communist members of the Congress They referred the matter and all the relevant papers to a sub committee which after careful consideration presented a report and framed certain charges, a copy of which I am enclosing You are invited to reply to them in writing Your reply should reach my office within two weeks of the receipt of this letter Should you or any one on your behalf desire to have an interview in this connection, we shall try to meet your wishes in the matter.

CHARGE SHEET

That you being a member of the A. I. C C. and as such bound loyally to abide by the policy and programme laid down by the A I. C. C. from time to time, actually opposed such policy and programme from June 1942 onwards, and more especially, actively resisted the policy and programme laid down by the A I. C. C. in August 1942,

That you carried on incessant propaganda through newspapers, pamphlets and books, meetings, and otherwise in favour of the war effort, calling the war as it affected the people of India a 'People's War', when the Congress had advised

the people not to co-operate in war activities till the freedom of India had been recognised and a national government established;

That you pursued this policy in accordance with the declared policy of your party, the Communist Party of India, which was opposing the policy and programme of the Indian National Congress;

That you made grave charges against individual Congressmen and groups within the Congress and the Working Committee of the A. I. C. C. itself;

And thereby rendered yourself liable to disciplinary action under the rules of the Congress.

You are, therefore, hereby called upon to show cause why such action should not be taken against you.

The Sub-Committee considered the reply received from the Communist members of the A. I. C. C. and submitted the following report thereon to the Working Committee.

THE SUB COMMITTEE'S REPORT

A large number of complaints against the activities of the Communist party and its individual members were received by the A I C. C. Office from subordinate Congress Committees and also from some prominent Congressmen The Working Committee appointed a Sub Committee to examine the material and to take such action as might be necessary. We framed certain charges after carefully and dispassionately weighing the evidence

The charge sheet (annexure A) was delivered to the Communist Members of the A I C C, on the 21st of September. They were asked to send their reply in writing within two weeks. They were also told that they could, if they so desired, see the members of the Sub-Committee and explain their position personally On their request a copy of the report (annexure B) on which the charges were based was given to them on the 24th of September. A letter dated the 28th September was subsequently received from Shri Sardesai on their behalf asking for a week's extension to enable them to prepare their reply to the charge sheet This request was granted. On the expiry of the period of three weeks another communication was received from Shri Sardesai stating that it had not been possible for them to prepare the reply within even this extended period He definitely promised to send the same by the end of October, but again failed to do so Their reply was despatched from Bombay about a month later on the 27th of November It is a bulky volume meant primarily for propaganda Hardly any attempt has been made in it to meet the specific charges nor is there a word of regret in it The evidence on which the charges are based is not impugned The authenticity of the documents cited in the report is accepted. The signatories have throughout pleaded justification and attacked the fundamental policy of the Congress in unmistakable terms Their explanation amounts to a tirade against the Congress Its tone throughout is one of self-righteous arrogance It leaves no doubt whatsoever about the validity of the charges framed against them It is clear from their reply that they have been actively opposing and obstructing the policy and the programme of the Congress for a considerable time They are still acting in a hostile manner so as to undermine and injure the prestige and position of the Congress Organisation

They have altogether forfeited the confidence of the Congress and are unworthy to occupy any responsible or elective place in the Congress They seem to have already realised their position. Conscious of their guilt, their members have already resigned from all subordinate Congress Committees and also from the primary membership of the Congress We recommend that Shris S G Sardesai, V. G Bhagat, V. D Chitale, K M Ashraf, S Sajjad Zaheer Sohan Singh Josh, Karyanand Sharma, R D. Bharadwaj should be expelled from the A I. C C and necessary directions should be sent to all Provincial Congress Committees so that they take appropriate steps wherever necessary to remove members of the Communist Party from all elective offices

Calcutta,
December 9, 1945

(SD) *Jawaharlal Nehru*
(SD) *Vallabhbhai Patel*
(SD) *Govind Ballabh Pant*

The resolution of the Working Committee on this report is given elsewhere.

Communists to Quit Congress

Mr P C Joshi's Statement

As a protest against the "new" attitude taken by the Congress towards the Communists', the Communist Party Headquarters in India called upon all Com-

munists—with the exception of the Communist members of the A. I. C. C.—to resign from the Congress. A statement issued in this connection from Bombay on the 5th October 1945, by the General Secretary of the Communist Party, Mr. *P. C. Joshi*, explains that the Communist members of the A. I. C. C. have been asked not to resign in order that they may remain to answer the charges made against them by the Congress Working Committee "as the decision of the Congress will concern not only the past but the future of our common national movement."

It may be recalled that *Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru* stated in Bombay recently that a sub-committee appointed by the Working Committee had presented the Communist members of the A. I. C. C. with the charge sheet that they had acted against the Congress's declared policy and that a time limit of 15 days had been given for a rejoinder as to why disciplinary action should not be taken against the Communist members concerned. Mr. *P. C. Joshi*, in his statement, says

"We, Indian Communists had great hopes that the leaders of the Congress, our foremost patriotic organisation, would rally the whole country behind a democratic plan for realising Indian freedom in alliance with progressive forces all over the world. We made their release the central plank of our agitation for the last three years, but the Congress leadership after release is not doing serious thinking but demonstrating sectarian arrogance. Instead of a plan to win Indian freedom and build Indian democracy, they have in the last A. I. C. C. meeting committed the organisation to a course, which will only divide and disrupt the freedom forces themselves.

"Their declaration of fight against the Muslim League will only unleash forces of civil war, not forge the future Indian Union. To glorify the strength of the Congress and deny that of the League is to be blind. To demand self determination from the British and to deny it to a section of our own countrymen is plain injustice. We do not think it is good patriotism to seek British intervention in our internal affairs, for it will lead not to Indian freedom, but to a British planned imposed constitution.

CRITICISM OF CONGRESS LEADERSHIP

"The Congress leadership is also raising its arms against our young Party, which consistently defended it against imperialist slander at home and abroad. While from inside jail they repudiated the August 'struggle', on release they denounced us for not joining it. They refuse to frankly study the last three years and face up to their own self-contradictory lead of August, 1942, which led not to National Government but to national humiliation. They want to make our party the scapegoat. This blind and prejudiced attitude towards us has caused dismay among friends of India abroad. Openly Fascist, reactionary and authoritarian trends are raising their heads inside Congress and under cover of anti-Communism carry on factional struggles for control of the Congress machine.

"By seeking to gag our Party by depriving us of elective posts while retaining us as ordinary members, the Congress leadership is aping the reactionary bosses of the British Labour Party, who issued the "Black Circular', which prevented the Communists in the British Trade Union Congress from holding any elective post. It thus denies democratic rights to a section of the national movement itself.

'The Congress leaders are also directly or indirectly supporting the setting up of rival trade unions, kisan sabhas, etc., through elements who are open agents of the big profiteers or discredited kisan and labour leaders who want to stage a come-back with Congress aid.

"We, Indian Communists consider the anti-League, anti-Communist policy of the Congress High Command as direct encouragement to the forces of civil war, which will lead to the country's ruin not to its freedom. We consider it our foremost duty to demarcate ourselves sharply from such a policy.

DECISION TO RESIGN FROM CONGRESS

"We are, therefore, directing all our Party members to resign from the Congress except the A.I.C.C. members who will remain to answer the 'charges' and face the verdict of the Working Committee as its decision will concern not only the past but the future of our common national movement. In two weeks all documents will be available to the public. We are confident that all honest Congressmen will see that this, in the circumstances, is the best course both for Congress and our Party. We will be able to put our policy before Congressmen; the Congress itself will find its feet more naturally.

"By the conscious adoption of such a policy, the Congress leadership has shattered the dream of all progressives, of seeing the Congress develop as the

builder of a united national front of our people We are convinced that the only path to our national Independence lies through a national united front of all popular forces We will ceaselessly work to build a Congress-League-Communist joint front for Indian freedom."

Communists and the Elections

Mr. P. C Joshi's Statement

The Communist Party of India will support the Congress candidates in the general constituencies and the Muslim League candidates in the Muslim constituencies, wherever it is not setting up its own candidates for the coming elections

A statement issued by Mr. *P. C Joshi*, General Secretary of the Party, from Bombay on the 12th October 1945 defining the party's election programme, says "Our election policy is based on the fact that in spite of very serious differences with the Congress and the Muslim League we recognise them as major patriotic organisations and will generally support both where we do not put up our candidates We will put up our own candidates in almost all labour seats to show that the party is the accepted leader of the working class We will contest such rural seats, both general and Muslim, where we form the existing majority of the people and to make others see the unity, strength and vitality of the organised Kisan movement. In those Muslim seats, where the Party is not putting up its candidates, we will support the Muslim League against all rivals. If a notorious hoarder or hated enemy of the people stands as a Congress or a League candidate, the Party will, of course, not campaign for him

"We will demand that the constitution making body should be based on three principles firstly, universal adult suffrage, secondly, sovereign Constituent Assemblies for each national area, and lastly, the delegates to the Constitution-making body be elected by these sovereign Constituent Assemblies We will also campaign for freedom to States' subjects by the application of the principles of self-determination and adult suffrage"

The Communist Party is not putting up candidates for the Central Legislative Assembly as, in the opinion of the party, "the electorate forms less than one per cent of the population of the country" The Central Committee of the Party will meet in the first week of November to make final selection of candidates

ELECTION PROGRAMME

The Communist Party's election programme for a "free and happy India" makes the following points

In a free India there should be freedom for all, there should be freedom for the subjects of all the Indian States, there should be food for all and the land should belong to the peasants, there should be planned industrial expansion, there should be no opposition to untouchables

The Party will propagate the following programme

(a) Abolition of landlordism, nationalisation of land, re-distribution of land to make the uneconomic holdings of the poor peasants into consolidated economic holding and to make large-scale co-operative farming possible

(b) Usury to be banned. All agricultural credit to be only through co-operative state banks

(c) Private trade in people's food will be banned. People's State to ensure direct purchase from the peasant at fair prices

(d) Large-scale mass peasant initiative to be directly aided by the people's State for starting a net-work of co-operative sales and purchase societies to buy from the peasant his surplus produce at a fair price and making available to him his daily necessities at cheap rates

The Party will demand that popular Ministries should immediately enforce the following urgent steps as interim measures to increase food production, give prompt relief to the poor peasant-producer and get from the "parasitical landlord" a part of his "ill gotten gains" to start village rehabilitation.

1. Landless labourers to get all the available fallow land whether of the landlord or the Government for producing food-grains.

2 Poor peasants with uneconomic holdings to be given substantial reduction in rental to stabilise their own family economy and to encourage intensified food production

3. Big landlords to pay over and above the land-revenue a steeply graduated income-tax, so as not to leave an annual surplus of more than Rs 6,000 a year out of the total rental collected by him.

Congress Attitude to Communists

Pandit Nehru's Defence

"The cause of Communism and the name of Russia have suffered most at the hands of the Communist Party of India," said *Pandit Jawharlal Nehru*, addressing a large public meeting at Beawar on the 23rd October 1945

Pandit Nehru said: "When the second great war started, the Congress agreed to join hands with the anti-Fascist forces, provided the national freedom of the country was assured. This demand was not a bargain, because, as the situation stood, neither the Congress nor its biggest leaders could have organised the national forces against Fascism without the assurance of National Independence. The Communist Party was the one party that tried to do what the Congress could not do, namely, organise the national forces without the assurance of Independence, and it failed.

Continuing, Pandit Nehru said that he was not against Communism or Russia. He had himself popularised Socialistic and Communist views in the past. But the role of the Communist Party of India, he said, has made all Nationalist India its cent per cent opponents Opposition to the Indian Communists was not merely political The whole nation was angry with them "When lakhs of Indians staked their all for the country's cause," said Pandit Nehru, "the Communists were in the opposite camp, which cannot be forgotten. The common man associates the Communist Party with Russia and Communism But the actions of the Communist Party of India have prejudiced both Russia and Communism, We don't want to spoil relations with Russia, with whom we are looking forward for closer relations when India becomes free"

Tracing the history of the Communist Party's relations with the Congress, Pandit Nehru said that from the inception of the Party till 1935, it had been doing propaganda against the Congress from underground. In 1936, the Party changed its policy to one of joint front with the Congress It worked within the Congress for three years. When the Congress offered individual civil disobedience, the Communists criticised the Congress for not taking a stronger course of action against the British power. But when Russia joined the war against Germany, the Imperialist War became an object of attack The Congress organisation began to be disturbed from within. The Communists played against the Congress policy. But the Congress was even now following the least offensive policy towards the Communists. Explanations from members holding executive posts only had been asked for.

"No other political organisation would deal so leniently with its opponents," declared Pandit Nehru "For the Congress, National Independence was the prime objective, while the Communists gave primary importance to other issues. The last three years have been a clear indicator as to where a particular person or organisation stood in relation to the struggle for National Independence It is no use fighting a battle of words when the issues have been clearly decided in action. The Communist Party itself has brought on it its present position. No one should be misguided by the blooming name of Russia and Communism uttered by the Communist Party."

Pandit Nehru made a passing reference to the impending trial of the members of the Indian National army and said that the vanishing Government of the day wanted to try those who should set that Government on its trial.

Government and August Incidents

Bengal Congress Committee's Report

Report on the alleged Government repression and "atrocities" that followed the 1942 August movement in the Sub Division of Tamluk, District Midnapore, was released to the Associated Press of India by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee from Calcutta on the 19th November 1945

The following are the accounts as gathered and collected by the Office of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee from the Tamluk Sub Division, in accordance with the directives of the Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee. The area concerned covers six police stations, namely, Sutahatan, Nandigram, Mahishadal, Tamluk, Punchkura and Mayna.

Between August, 1942, and August, 1944, police and military personnel opened fire in 22 places, as a result of which 44 died, 199 were wounded and 142 slightly

injured. Womenfolk raped in this period number 63 attempted to be raped 31 assaulted and modesty outraged 150. As many as 4,226 men were assaulted: 1,863 arrested; and 5,076 "illegally detained", while 9 were detained under the Defence of India Rule. 401 were drafted to serve as special constables

The total number of houses burnt was 12[illegible] with an estimated loss of Rs 1,39,500. Moreover, houses damaged number 49 with a loss of Rs 8,075, while 1,044 houses were looted of property valued at Rs 2,12,795 13,730 houses were searched and 27 occupied

Property worth Rs. 25,365 belonging to 59 families was attached and collective fines imposed on five Unions amounted to Rs. 1,90,000. Government declared 19 different organizations illegal.

The details of the report add that among the dead there was a "glorious old woman" of 73—an active Congress Worker for many years—who was thrice fired upon when she was leading a non-violent procession. Six boys of 12 to 16 years old were killed.

Government planes also bombed the "non-violent rebels" when they occupied the Sutahata police station.

A case is also cited in which an infant's leg was crushed under boots.

Thatched houses and buildings were set fire to with petrol and kerosene. In the house of an un-named but noted Congress worker 12 domestic animals, including five cows were burnt alive.

Arrested people were detained for periods varying from two hours to three days during which they were mercilessly beaten and denied all food. The Tamluk Sub-jail contained prisoners four times more than its normal capacity One of them went on a hunger strike for 20 days as a protest

The total loss due to burning and breaking of houses, looting, attachment, collective fine, denial policy, extorted war fund donations, etc., in the whole Sub-Division though not exactly determined is placed at about 10 lakhs of rupees.

Coming to events after the Midnapore tidal-borne cyclone of 1942 the collated report says "Even after the destructive storm and flood, this sort of brutal activities were continued The news of storm and flood and damages were all suppressed and no publicity was allowed When the news, however, came to public knowledge outside help was denied The activities of non-official relief organisations were not allowed. The pressure of public opinion, however forced the district authorities to open Government centres and to allow the non-official relief organisations to carry on their relief work. The Government relief works were managed by such persons who took the lion's share and misappropriation of things for relief was the main work of these persons Generally, informers, supporters of Government, Government employees and pro-Government people got relief from these centres, but the actually needy and the helpless were overlooked

ACTIVITIES OF "NATIONAL GOVERNMENT"

The other part of the report deals with the activities of the "National Government" set up in the Subdivision of Tamluk in the wake of the August move ment

On the night of September 28, 1942, 90 per cent of the means of communication were destroyed and the next day "some 40,000 non-violent people having no weapon in their hands mustered strong in some of the police stations" to commence the attack The tabulated chart states that the activities of the "National Government" were mainly confined to four of the six police stations—Sutahata, Nandigram, Mahishadal and Tamluk—which were invaded seven times

In the course of the struggle, with a view to dislocating the means of communication 30 bridges were destroyed, 27 miles of telegraph wire cut, 134 telegraph posts broken and 47 roads were blocked by felling trees across.

A "scorched earth policy" was followed in regard to those places which could not be held As a result, the following categories of "enemy camps" were burnt two police stations two sub-registrars' office, 13 post offices, one khasmahal office, 17 excise shops and 12 dak bungalows, in addition to 24 zamindar's kutcharis, 16 Panchayat Boards, 9 Union Bords and 14 District Board offices

Thirteen Government officers were arrested and subsequenly released According to the report, arrested officers were very kindly treated and were provided with travelling expenses to get back home Six guns and two swords were seized which, the report adds, were never used but destroyed

ADMINISTRATION OF SUB DIVISION

On December 17 1942, the people established a "National Government" in the Subdivision "with five police stations, and six Union and Panchayat offices" of

their own At the head of the Subdivisional "National Government" was a "dictator" appointed by the Subdivisional Congress Committee. The 'Dictator" was empowered to nominate his successors who, however, had to receive the approval of the Subdivision Congress Committee. There were four successive Subdivisional "Dictators", the fourth having surrendered according to Gandhiji's instruction Activities of the "National Government" had to be carried on by the "Dictator" with the help of a cabinet, all responsible to the Sub-divisional Congress Committee Education, finance, justice, relief and reconstruction were some the Cabinet portfolios

The "law courts of the National Government" had 2907 cases filed with them, of which 1,611 were disposed of; 251 places were searched by them and 278 persons arrested and released Fines imposed by the courts on 523 persons amounted to Rs 33,937 15; among other punishments, warning and detention till rising of the court were mostly current and money realised in fines was spent in relief work

After the Midnapore cyclone and during the famine, they undertook relief work. They distributed food, clothing, medicine, diet and milk to the needy and also undertook various measures of rescue work The total amount sent by them, in the relief amounted to Rs 1,58,845-7-3

The Desai—Liaqat Pact

League Secretary's Statement

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the all-India Muslim League, in a statement issued from New Delhi dated the **31st August 1945**, explained the genesis of the so-called Desai-Liaqat Pact, and published the text of the proposals which he said Mr. Desai gave to him in confidence in January last. The following is the text of the statement

I am informed that Mr Bhulabhai Desai, Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Legislative Assembly, has told the local Press of Bombay that the so-called Desai-Liaqat Pact cannot be published as I desired that it should remain confidential As such a statement by Mr Desai is bound to create misunderstanding, I feel I must place all the facts before the public in this connection.

Mr. Desai met me after the last autumn session of the Central Legislative Assembly and we informally discussed the prevailing distressing conditions in the country, economic and otherwise, and the terrible hardships and plight of the people due to the situation that was created on account of the war. The war in Europe was raging in its full fury and there was no indication as to when it would end, and it was the opinion of everyone that it would take at least two years after the termination of hostilities in Europe to bring the war to a successful conclusion against Japan. India was to be the main base of the Allies for military operations in the East against Japan, which meant greater sacrifices by the people of India and much greater hardship and privations than what they had been facing in the past

It was recognised all round that the Government of India, with its present composition, was incapable of dealing effectively with the various problems which had arisen and were bound to arise in the future.

Mr Desai, during the course of the conversations, asked me about the attitude of the Muslim League with regard to some interim arrangement at the Centre and temporary reconstitution of the Governor-General's Executive Council in a manner which would secure for it the confidence of all the peoples, so that it may be able to help them in their present plight and deal more effectively than what had been done in the past with the serious situation that was bound to arise in the future on account of the prolongation of the war. I explained to him the position in the light of the resolutions that were passed from time to time by the Muslim League in this connection and told him that my personal view was that if any proposals were made to ease the situation, the Muslim League was bound to give its very careful consideration to them, as it had always done in the past, because the Muslim League had always been anxious to come to the rescue of the people and assist them in their sad plight and help the country in tiding over the difficult period ahead. Mr. Desai saw me again in Delhi in the beginning of January this year just as I was leaving on a tour of the Madras Presidency and showed me some proposals which had been drafted for the formation of an interim Government at the Centre, a copy of which he was good enough to give me and which was to

be treated as strictly private and confidential, and on the basis of which he told me he was going to make an effort to bring about a change in the composition of the Government of India.

He told me his plan was to meet the Viceroy and Mr Jinnah in this connection I told him that in my personal opinion the proposals were such that they could be made a basis for discussion, but I did not see any prospect of his making any headway unless he could either get Mr. Gandhi to move in the matter personally, or get his definite approval and open support for the move that he was making, as Mr. Gandhi was the only person who could deliver the goods on behalf of the Congress in the absence of the Working Committee. During my talks with Mr. Desai, which were purely of a personal nature I made it absolutely clear to him that whatever I had said was my individual view and I was not speaking either on behalf of the Muslim League or anyone else If and when Mr. Desai felt that he could speak with authority on behalf of the Congress, he would have to approach the President of the All India Muslim League, who was the proper authority to entertain any proposals on behalf of the Muslim League.

This is the history of these proposals which have been described in the Press by various names, such as Desai-Liaqat Formula, Desai Liaqat Pact and so on. I have scrupulously respected the wishes of Mr. Desai and have treated the draft proposals as strictly private and confidential and have not shown them to anyone, but in view of the statement of Mr. Desai and the confusion that is being created I felt that these proposals should be published Hence I am releasing them to the Press

THE FORMULA

The following is the text of the proposals, which are headed "Proposals for formation of Interim Government at the Centre".

The Congress and the League agree that they will join in forming an interim Government in the Centre The composition of such Government will be on the following lines.

(A) Equal number of persons nominated by the Congress and the League in the Central Executive. Persons nominated need not be members of the Central Legislature.

(B) Representatives of minorities (in particular Scheduled Castes and the Sikhs)

(C) The Commander-in-Chief

The Government will be formed and function within the framework of the existing Government of India Act. It is, however, understood that if the Cabinet cannot get a particular measure passed by the Legislative Assembly, they will not enforce the same by resort to any of the reserve powers of the Governor-General or the Viceroy. This will make them sufficiently independent of the Governor-General.

It is agreed between the Congress and the League that if such interim Government is formed, their first step would be to release the Working Committee members of the Congress.

The steps by which efforts would be made to achieve this end are at present indicated to take the following course.

On the basis of the above understanding, some way should be found to get the Governor General to make a proposal or a suggestion that he desires an interim Government to be formed in the Centre on the agreement between the Congress and the League and when the Governor-General invites Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Desai either jointly or separately, the above proposals would be made, desiring that they are prepared to join in forming the Government.

The next step would be to get the withdrawal of Section 93 in the Provinces and to form as soon as possible Provincial Governments on the lines of a coalition

Mr. Bhulabhai's Statement

Interviewed on Nawabzada Liaqat Ali's statement about the Desai-Liaqat Pact, Mr *Bhulabhai Desai* said on the 16th September, 1945 -

On my return to Bombay my attention was drawn to the statement made by Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan regarding the Pact the text of which has been released to the Press I must say that the publication agreeably surprised me When I saw a press interview given by Gandhiji on July 28, in which he had suggested that the Pact should be made public, I immediately got into touch with the Nawabzada and suggested to him that the text be issued to the Press because the documents speaks for itself and reveals all the material facts about which I fear

the Nawabzada's statement contains inaccurate statements. Unfortunately the Nawabzada had then not found it possible to approve of the publication of the Pact I note now that he has thought fit to publish it himself without any further reference to me. The better course, perhaps, would have been for it to have been jointly issued by us with an agreed statement.

The statement he has issued along with the text of the Pact has given to the public a misleading picture. In the first place the statement fails to explain why inspite of the existence of the Pact, which is now specially admitted, the Nawabzada found it necessary during the past several months to repeatedly deny in public the existence of any sort of understanding between us. The public will realise now how embarrassing the situation was for me when the Nawabzada on the floor of the Assembly and in his other utterances was at pains to dispel the report that he and I had, however, provisionally agreed upon a joint course of action for resolving the political deadlock If I then forbore and declined to be drawn into public controversy, it was because I still clung to the hope of finding a satisfactory solution of our immediate problems.

The Nawabzada and I had several conversations in connection with the matter and during the course of these conversations I had asked him to mention the matter to Mr Jinnah and later on I gathered from him that he had done so after these conversations. I met Gandhiji on the 3rd and 4th January at Sewagram and mentioned to him the substance of the conversations, and on getting his general approval I went to Delhi, had further conversations with the Nawabzada, told him that I had Mahatmaji's support in these proposals and that I would reduce them to writing.

I prepared two copies of the document and met the Nawabzada on the 11th of January and both the documents were initialled by both of us He kept one of them and I have the other. At that time also, I had informed him that the substance of the proposals had been put by me before Gandhiji and he had approved of them.

The last but one paragraph runs as follow . "On the basis of the above understanding, some way should be found to get the Governor-General to make a proposal or a suggestion that he desires him interim Government to be formed in the Centre on the agreement between the Congress and the League and when the Governor General invites Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Desai, either jointly or separately, the above proposals would be made desiring that they are prepared to join in forming the Government."

This quotation from the Pact clearly bears out that the Nawabzada must have had conversation with Mr Jinnah, otherwise the assurance therein contained could not have found a place in the document initialled by him.

The matter has ceased to have any significance now on account of its repudiation by the Nawabzada as well as by the President of the League, and I have no desire to revive the controversy, but as I gather from your question that the true facts should be placed before the public, I have given this answer to remove any wrong impression which may have been created in the public mind.

Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan's Reply to Mr Desai

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan issued the following statement on the 18th September, 1945.

"It has taken Mr. Bhulabhai Desai fifteen days for his attention to be drawn to my press statement which was published on the 1st September regarding the 'proposal for the formation of an interim Government at the Centre, and that also after his attendance at the meetings of the Congress Working Committee at Poona where he was specially summoned. It is not very pleasant to enter into controversy publicly with regard to purely private and personal talks, but as there are certain inexactitudes in the statement of Mr. Desai, I am constrained to answer him

"Mr Desai always had the liberty to publish the proposals if he so wished, but he could not expect me to agree to their being published as a 'pact' between him and myself In his anxiety to show that these proposals were in fact a 'pact', he states that he had prepared two copies of the documents and both the documents were initialled by both of us. This is not so Mr Desai initialled one copy and handed it to me and took my initial on the other. The copy that I had with me bears only Mr. Desai's initials and is not initialled by both of us as stated by him. It seemed rather unnecessary at the time to be so formal about it, but in the light of what has happened subsequently, I am glad that it was so.

Mr. Desai states that in my statement I have not explained why I denied publicly the existence of a pact between him and myself. The explanation is very simple, because it was incorrect to say that there was a 'pact' Mr. Desai knows full well that there is no 'pact' and mere proposals, which were only a basis for discussion, were being given the status of a 'pact' for reasons best known to him. The same afternoon as Mr Desai had brought the typed copies of the proposals to me, I left on a tour of Madras and when I arrived there, press reports were shown to me that a 'pact' had been arrived at between Mr Desai and myself I immediately contradicted the report Mr Desai neither contradicted my statement in the press nor did he ever tell me privately that what I had stated was incorrect.

"In the course of the debate of the Finance Bill during the last session of the Central Legislative Assembly, a reference was made by a member of the Government to the reported existence of a Pact between Mr Desai and myself I denied this on the floor of the House, and in the presence of Mr Desai in very clear and unambiguous terms. Mr Desai who spoke after me in the Assembly, did not utter a word about it. The reason that Mr. Desai has now given for his remaining silent is that he 'still clung to the hope of finding a satisfactory solution of our immediate problems'. In other words, he depended on the existence of the so called 'pact' for a satisfactory solution, but how could it be of any help when one of the parties was openly publicly denying it, it is difficult to understand The real reason for Mr Desai's remaining silent was that he knew that there was no such thing as a 'pact' and he did not even privately ever tell me that I was wrong in my interpretation of the position with regard to these proposals.

"I am afraid, Mr. Desai's memory has not served him well when he says that he gathered from the conversations that he had with me that I had consulted Mr. Jinnah about the proposals I never gave him that impression On the contrary on every occasion that Mr Desai had talks with me, I made it plain to him that whatever I said was my personal view and that I had no occasion to consult with Mr Jinnah about the matter Mr Desai quotes a paragraph from the proposals and concludes that as Mr. Jinnah's name appears in it, therefore he must have been consulted about these proposals This is strange logic indeed. It would mean that if a person's or party's name is mentioned in the text of some proposals, the pre-consent of that person or party to such proposals must be presumed If that were so, would Mr Desai be pleased to state who had given him the authority to negotiate on behalf of the Congress and come to an agreement with the Muslim League and arrive at a settlement with the British Government on the basis of terms which were opposed to the declared policy of the Congress and its considered decision because the Congress is definitely mentioned as a party in these proposals? Had Mr Gandhi, who had told Mr Jinnah in September, 1944, that he had no representative capacity and has repeatedly stated that it is only the Congress Working Committee that can speak on behalf of the Congress, clothed Mr Desai with authority to negotiate and settle on behalf of the Congress? Or, had the Members of the Working Committee of the Congress who were detained in the Ahmednagar Fort given him the necessary authority when he visited that place 'on purely professional business'? An answer to these questions, I think, will be illuminating and of real interest to the public at large"

The Simla Conference & After

Simla—14th. July 1945

Viceroy's Appeal to Party Leaders

The official announcement of the failure of the Leaders' Conference was made by *Lord Wavell* when the Conference resumed its sitting for the last time at Simla on the 14th. July 1945 The Conference,at which all the delegates were present, ended at 12-30 p m.

The Viceroy indicated that although the Conference was being dissolved efforts would continue to be made, presumably by other means, to achieve the objectives of the Conference.

No list of the proposed Executive Council was placed before the Conference nor was the question of elections considered The question of restoration of Ministries in the provinces was raised but no discussion or decision followed.

The Viceroy made the following statement to the Conference:

'I must give the Conference an account of what has happened since we adjourned on June 29 As you know, my original intention was that the Conference should agree upon the strength and composition of the proposed Executive Council, and that thereafter parties should send me lists of names To these lists I would, if necessary, have added names of my own, and attempted to form on paper an Executive Council which might be acceptable to HMG, myself, and the Conference I intended to discuss my selections with the leaders and finally to put them to the Conference.

"Unfortunately, the Conference was unable to aree about the strength and composition of the Exeutive Council, and on June 29, I undertook, with the approval of the Conference, to endeavour to produce a solution not based on any formula agreed upon in advance I asked the parties to let me have lists of names, and said I would do what I could to produce a solution acceptable to the leaders and to the Conference.

"I received lists from all parties represented here except the European group who decided not to send a list, and the Muslim League I was, however, determined that the Conference should not fail until I had made every possible effort to bring it to a successful ending I, therefore, made my provisional selections, including certain Muslim League names, and I have every reason to believe that if these selections had been acceptable here, they would have been acceptable to HMG

"My selections would, I think, have given a balanced and efficient Executive Council, whose composition would have been personally fair to all parties

"I did not find it possible, however, to accept the claims of any party in full When I explained my solution to Mr Jinnah, he told me that it was not acceptable to the Muslim League and he was so decided that I felt it would be useless to continue the discussion

"In the circumstances I did not show my selection as a whole to Mr Jinnah and there was no object in showing them to the other leaders The conference has, therefore, failed

"Nobody can regret this more than I do myself. I wish to make it clear that the responsibility for the failure is mine. The main idea underlying the Conference was mine. If it had succeeded, its success could have been attributed to me that I can place the blame for its failure upon any of the parties.

"I ask the party leaders to accept this view and to do all they can to ensure that there are no recriminations

"It is of the utmost importance that this effort to secure agreement between the parties and communities should not result in a worsening of communal feeling I ask you all to exercise the greatest possible restraint.

"I have now to consider the next steps I must remind you that whatever happens the first two or three tasks mentioned in my broadcast—the prosecution of the war against Japan, and the carrying on of the administration and preparation of post-war development—must be performed by the Government of India for the time being in office

"It will be my duty to see that these tasks are performed with the greatest energy that I can impose, and I cannot permit any hindrance to them.

"I propose to take a little time to consider in what way I can best help India after the failure of the Conference You can help best by refraining from recrimi-

nation. The war against Japan must be carried on, and law and order must be maintained; and until I see my way more clearly than I do now, it may be difficult, perhaps impossible, to suggest any new move. No Government can carry on under the daily prospect of change or dissolution I have to secure the stability and day to-day efficiency of my Government, and it would be impossible to enter upon continuous or even frequent political discussions of this kind. Whatever decisions HMG may take in the near future must, therefore, in all probability hold good for some little time.

"I thank you all for the help you have given me and for the restrained patience and understanding you have shown Do not any of you be discouraged by this setback We shall overcome our difficulties in the end. The future greatness of India is not in doubt"

Leaders' Statements

After the Viceroy's statement, leaders of the various parties made their individual statement

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, said that he very much appreciated Lord Wavell's effort for the solution of the political deadlock It was courageous of the Viceroy to have taken upon himself the responsibility for the failure. But the responsibility was really not the Viceroy's but of others When the question of strength and composition of the interim Government came up before the Conference, Lord Wavell rightly adjourned the conference to enable parties to come to terms, but the Muslim League claimed the sole right to nominate all the Muslim representatives on the new Executive Council. This claim was untenable and unsustainable, and the Congress could not accept this position. The Congress was not a Hindu body. It could not wipe out its history of 60 years.

"I as a Muslim" declared Maulana Azad, "would not tolerate the Congress becoming a purely Hindu body" The Congress had a right to claim a share for the welfare and responsibility of Muslims He regretted that Lord Wavell's efforts to bring about an interim arrangement did not succeed.

Maulana Azad added that the Viceroy had said repeatedly that the Muslim League's claim to represent all Muslims could not be accepted in its entirety It was, therefore, clear who was responsible for the failure of the Conference. The communal question had taken the upper hand and had become a stumbling block in the path of the progress of India.

The Viceroy had to take as much responsibility in solving the communal question as the Indian parties themselves, because the British Government could not absolve itself of its responsibility for the position that had arisen The existence of the third party was greatly responsible for the present position A firm attitude on the part of the Viceroy, said Maulana Azad which was logical and based on the principle of justice and fair play alone could bring about a settlement of the communal problem The Viceroy's present wavering and vacillating attitude was neither correct nor helpful. Hesitation and weakness could not bring about a solution. The Congress President declared that he was still optimistic and not pessimistic He assured the Viceroy that the Congress would continue the same spirit of co-operation which it had brought to bear during the Conference

Whatever the result of the Conference Lord Wavell had made the attempt in all sincerity Difficulties had cropped up, but Maulana Azad urged the Viceroy not to be baffled by them.

The *Viceroy* at this stage, is understood to have said that he appreciated the Congress President's observations He was still not without hope of bringing about a solution He knew that they all wanted a just and fair solution, but they should all bear in mind that expediency could not be excluded. He would continue his efforts to bring about compromise and adjustment.

Mr. *C. Rajagopalachari*, former Premier of Madras, urged that negative attitude on the part of any one party should not have debarred the formation of an interim Government contemplated under the Wavell Plan

Mr. *M A Jinnah*, President of the Muslim League, is understood to have said that it was unnecessary for him to reply to points raised by other delegates regarding responsibility for the failure of the Conference He endorsed the Viceroy's observation that the difficulty of arriving at an agreement should not be made worse.

The League and the Congress approached the problem from two opposite angles. Pakistan and United India were diametrically opposed to each other. The Muslim League had offered its hand of co-operation to the British Government. The Muslims of India were determined to have Pakistan

The League was willing to consider proposals for the formation of an interim

Government if a declaration was made guaranteeing to the Muslims the right of self-determination in accordance with the Lahore resolution of the League and if the League was accorded equality of representation with all other parties on the new Government. The Viceroy had stated that the interim arrangement would be without prejudice to the question of Pakistan, but Mr. Amery had declared that the British Government had always in mind the goal of Dominion Status for India.

The provisional arrangement proposed by Lord Wavell, if accepted, would continue indefinitely to the detriment of Indian Muslims. Instead of equality, they would get one-third representation in the new Executive Council.

Mr. Jinnah said that he wanted every minority to be fully represented. The minorities did not accept the Muslim League goal of Pakistan. They were with the Congress in this matter. Their ideology and objectives were the same as those of the Congress. Muslims, therefore, had no safety in the proposed arrangement.

The Viceroy had, of course, the power of veto, but that was not enough. The essence of the Viceroy's proposals was the communal parity under which Muslims must choose their own men.

If Master Tara Singh and others could choose their own men, the Muslim League was right in insisting on its right to choose all the Muslim representatives.

The Muslim conception of a nation was different from that of others. As the Muslim League had to bear responsibility for matters affecting the Muslims, it should have the full choice of its representatives. He, therefore, objected to the panel system. But the more substantial objection was to accepting any non-League Muslim. From the Viceroy's point of view this might be a small point but the League regarded the point as a fundamental one. Mr Rajagopalachari had suggested an interim arrangement which, if accepted, would enable the Congress to have the majority and impede and strangulate the Muslim goal of Pakistan.

Dr. *Banerjee*, Leader of the Nationalist Party in the Central Assembly, expressed his appreciation of the Viceroy's effort. Complete agreement, as declared by the Viceroy, he said, could be had nowhere in the world. In no country had there ever been complete agreement. The Viceroy's method of approach was thoroughly wrong. No single party should be enabled to stop the progress of the country. Having failed in his effort to bring about complete agreement, the Viceroy should now proceed to have the largest measure of agreement. Dr. Banerjee suggested that the task of forming an interim Government should be entrusted to such members of the legislature as were prepared to shoulder the responsibility.

Sir Henry Richardson, Leader of the European group in the Central Assembly, said his party took a detached view, and assured the Conference that they would give all help in solving the political dead-lock.

Malik Khizr Hyat Khan Tiwana, Premier of the Punjab, is reported to have said that he agreed with Maulana Azad that the responsibility for the failure of the Conference was not the Viceroy's. The Viceroy had asked for agreement among the major parties and such agreement was not forthcoming. The Viceroy had clearly stated that issues of the future, like Pakistan, were not to be prejudiced by the proposed arrangement. This declaration had been accepted by Mr Jinnah.

As regards Mr Jinnah's claim that the League alone could nominate Muslim members the Punjab Premier contended that no one single party should be allowed to exclude other schools of thought. It would amount to giving the Muslim League the sole right of nomination and disenfranchising of other sections of Muslims.

Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, suggested the method of arbitration to settle the differences. The question of Pakistan vitally concerned the Sikhs. If the principle of Pakistan was accepted, the establishment of a Sikh State was inevitable. If Mr. Jinnah admitted this, he was prepared to concede him Pakistan.

Rao Bahadur Shivaraj, President of the Scheduled Castes' Federation, said that expediency had its place in politics, but it held good only in so far as it was in consonance with justice and fairplay. Lord Wavell's approach to the problem was entirely wrong. He had asked only two parties (Congress and Muslim League) to settle things between themselves. If Muslims were a major party because their population was 80 million, he would point out that Scheduled Castes numbered 60 million. Therefore, the Scheduled Castes' representation should be in proportion to their number. Mr Jinnah's claim had come as a bombshell to the Scheduled Castes. If Muslims got equality with Hindus, then Scheduled Castes, between them and the Hindus, would be thrown to the wolves and would be kept out everywhere.

Congress stand at the talks

Maulana Azad's Review

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, at a press conference at Simla on the **14th July 1945,** gave a detaild review of the Congress stand *vis-a-vis* the Wavell plan. The manner in which the Conference had been concluded to day was now before the world and world opinion could easily judge at whose doors the responsibility for the failure should be laid, he said So far as the Congress was concerned they had repeatedly made it clear that Congress was prepared to take up the responsibility of administration.

If the British Government was really serious to settle the issue, the Maulana said, they should have foreseen and realised the communal and other difficulties and should have been prepared to meet them They should not have given the right of veto to any particular group to hold up the progress of the country. "Those who are prepared to go forward," he said "should be allowed to go forward and those who wished to keep out should be left out', he said

Maulana Azad prefaced his remarks by expressing his firm hope in an ultimate settlement He said he had given expression not only to his personal opinion but also that of the Congress

"WE ARE VERY NEAR OUR GOAL"

The Congress President explained the reasons for the Congress participation in the Conference "The proposals were presented to us suddenly On June 15, I and my colleagues were released and we had to take a decision straightway on the plan You can realise our difficulties We were thrown into a new world and despite the difficulties the Working Committee decided to participate in the Conference. We realised that vast changes had taken place in the international sphere and those changes had undoubtedly repercussions on the Indian problem The inevitable result of those changes has been to bring to the forefront the question of Indian freedom and that of the freedom of the Asiatic countries We are very near our goal and the next stage is the goal itself It does not matter at all what the intentions of the British Government are"

"CONGRESS ESSENTIALLY A NATIONAL ORGANISATION"

The Maulana continued "While fully bearing in mind the fact that the present arrangement is purely temporary and interim, and should not possibly be regarded as a precedent for the permanent arrangement of the future, I should like to emphasise and make it perfectly clear that the Congress is essentially a national organisation, and it cannot possibly be a party to any arrangement, howsoever interim and temporary it may be, that prejudices its national character, tends to impair the growth of nationalism or reduces it directly or indirectly to a communal body"

During the course of his interviews with the Viceroy the Maulana emphasised the national character of the Congress organisation and said that he attached considerable importance to the declaration that the provisional plan was intended as a preliminary step towards the achievement of the cherished goal of Independence of India He had also made it plain to His Excellency that the Congress Working Committee wished to co-operate in every reasonable way to help resolve the present deadlock, and the Congress had accordingly, inspite of adverse circumstances, come to Simla to participate in the Conference. But whatever decision the Working Committee might take, it would require to be confirmed and ratified by the All-India Congress Committee The fact that the A. I. C C and other Congress Committees were still under ban and a large number of Congressmen were in internment, detention or imprisonment was creating serious obstacles in their way

ISSUES RAISED BY CONGRESS

The Congress President explained the various issues on which he had sought clarification from His Excellency and said 'I can say that the replies received from the Viceroy were satisfactory." The issues on which he sought further light were:

(A) The scope and function of the proposed External Affairs Department,

(B) Every possible effort should be made to give a national character to the Indian Army and to bring about cordiality between the National Army, the National Government and the people. The present barriers isolating them will of course have to go

(C) After the present war in South-East Asia, it must be clearly understood

that the Indian Government cannot support any policy aimed at the continuation of imperialist control of any of the countries of S.-E. Asia, nor can it allow the use of Indian resources for the deprivation of freedom of any of these countries.

(D) In regard to the Indian States, while recognising that during the interim period the power of the Crown Representative will continue, it is clear that the National Government will have to deal with many matters which overlap and have concern with the States in regard to trade, industry, labour, etc., The barriers between the States peoples the Princes and members of the National Government and their associates should be removed so as to help in mutual discussions, consultations and consideration of common problems and their solution.

NO RESTORATION OF STATUS QUO IN S. E. ASIA.

Amplifying his observation on the South-East Asia countries, the Congress President said that as far as the present situation was concerned, if the new arrangement had been successfully reached, the war against Japan would have become not Britain's war against Japan but India's war against Japan. There could not be two opinions as regards the question of liberating countries in South East Asia It would be the duty of the new Government of India to carry on the war against Japan ceaselessly till those countries were liberated, but if it was the desire and intention of the Powers that those countries should be restored to the *status quo* before the war then surely the new Indian Government would not be a party to it. They would not permit a single Indian soldier or the expenditure of a single pie for the restoration of the *status quo* in the South-East Asia Countries

ATTITUDE TO PARITY PROPOSAL

On the question of Caste Hindu-Muslim parity which formed the basis of the new proposals, the Maulana said that he had impressed on the Viceroy that in the constitution of the new Government the criterion should be the political views held by parties and not religious belief. The Congress did not wish to attach undue importance to the fact of a few more Muslims being in the Government or there being a few less Hindus. "I raised all these issues at the Conference itself and I must say the replies His Excellency gave were to my mind reassuring."

After the settlement of those fundamental issues the Conference came to consider the strength and composition of the new Executive Council The Conference was adjourned to enable private and informal talks to be carried on amongst the parties for a settlement 'You know the conversation led to no results" the Maulana Saheb said He added. 'In the course of those informal talks, the position taken up by Mr. Jinnah was that the Muslim League on behalf of the Muslims should nominate Muslim members in the new Executive Council. The Congress found that such a position would be inconsistent with its basic national character. You must remember that as far as we are concerned it is not merely a question of seats, but one affecting a fundamental principle We were prepared to accommodate the Muslim League, but Mr Jinnah took up an uncompromising attitude."

Continuing, the Congress President said that the Viceroy asked the various groups to submit lists of names from which His Excellency would choose after consultation with party leaders. Mr. Jinnah refused to submit names "In the interview I had with His Excellency on July 12, he told me that so far as the Muslim seats were concerned, he had endeavoured to prepare a list and seek Mr. Jinnah's approval. The Viceroy further told me that he did his best, but failed to persuade Mr. Jinnah, who insisted that the Muslim nominees should be nominated by the League Working Committee The Viceroy was unable to agree to it and felt it was not profitable to proceed with the proposals at present."

"Two points arise out of the present", the Congress President said. "The first is that the attitude of the Muslim League has been responsible for the failure of the Conference The second point which emerges from the refusal of the Muslim League is that it is for Lord Wavell to decide whether to go forward or not. His Excellency has decided not to proceed for the present. In this connection, I must say what I said at the Conference The British Government could not absolve themselves of the responsibility for the communal problem here. So long as the third party remains in India these difficulties will remain as pawns on a chess-board and will continue to move in this fashion Whether it is to-day or to-morrow they must take up a firm stand on a just and fair basis. There is no other alternative but to do that. And once a decision is taken, we must move forward. Those who are prepared to go forward must be allowed to go forward and those who wish to be kept out should be left out Without determination nothing could be done. Wavering minds and faltering steps will never carry us

forward in the path of progress. We must think before we take a step. And once we decide, hesitation is no virtue but a sign of definite weakness. There is nothing new in this so-called communal problem."

CORRESPONDENCE WITH VICEROY

"I have no regrets whatsoever for the Congress stand in this Conference" the Maulana emphasised. Besides what he had told there was certain correspondence which he had exchanged with the Viceroy. He was not at liberty just now to reveal them, but the country must know all about it to have a correct picture of the situation. He had written to His Excellency for their release and he hoped that these might be published shortly.

The Congress President was asked how in view of the fact that the broadcast and the White Paper referred to an agreement amongst parties for the success of the plan could the Government be blamed for the failure of the Conference.

The Maulana replied "That is true. We accepted the invitation, knowing full well the position. But that certainly does not mean that any group should be given the right to veto or that any group should be allowed to impede the progress of the country. It should be seen that no party takes up a stand which is obviously wrong. There could never be perfect unanimity."

In reply to another question the Congress President contested the claim that the Muslim League was the sole representative and authoritative organisation of the Muslims of India. In the provinces where Muslims were in a majority, there was no League Ministry. There was a Congress Ministry in the Frontier Province. In the Punjab it was a Unionist Ministry. In Sind Sir Ghulam Hussein depended on Congress support and the same position prevailed in Assam. It could not, therefore, be claimed that the Muslim League represented all the Muslims who had nothing to do with the League.

Pandit Nehru's Analysis

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, speaking to press correspondents, gave his reactions to the present situation arising from the failure of the Simla Conference and said. "I am naturally disappointed that all this effort should have ended in this way. But having become, through many experiences, a somewhat hard-boiled politician, I am not terribly dejected about anything.

"What really distresses one is not just the result or want of result of this Conference, but the background in which our problems are usually considered, that is to say, that they somehow resolve themselves into some aspect of the communal problem.

"Fundamentally the communal problem as well as many other problems, if you analyse them, become a kind of conflict between the mediaevalism and modernism, between the mediaeval outlook and the modern outlook. Obviously, it is not a question of a seat or a job here and there.

"The Congress represents more than any other group the modern outlook, politically and economically, and if I may say so, nationally and internationally. The Muslim League or any other communal organisation inevitably not only represents the particular claims of a group but represents them in a mediaeval context.

"Politics considered in terms of religious communities is wholly inconsistent with both democracy and any modern conception of politics or economics. There lies the real rub. To give in to this mediaeval conception is to throw back the whole course of development in India, political and economic, and try to build a structure which does not fit in with the realities of to-day in any department of life. You can never ignore realities for long and if you try to do so, you do so at your peril.

"That is the essence of the communal problem so far as I am concerned, and not a question of services or jobs or anything else, and India will have to decide not to-day, but to-morrow or the day after, whether it is going to be a democratic modern country or an undemocratic mediaeval country. The latter choice is really ruled out because it just cannot be done by any country to-day.

"CONFLICT OF IMPERSONAL FORCES"

"The normal choice for countries to-day is not between mediaevalism and democracy, but what might be called just political democracy also, which means Socialism in some form or other.

"At the back of all these superficial conflicts which are sometimes represented by individuals are, of course, impersonal forces at work. Lord Wavell, for instance,

occupied a leading position as Viceroy and no doubt his personality counts Gandhiji and the Congress President also occupy leading positions and what they may say or do counts. So also Mr. Jinnah. But behind all these individuals are those impersonal forces which both control and push on those individuals Lord Wavell ultimately must function within the limits of British policy Congressmen must function within the limits of Indian Nationalism and Indian independence. What Mr. Jinnah's urges and limitations are, I am not competent to say. So, it is not a question really of individual *bona fides* in the matter, but the conflict of impersonal forces, primarily the British power in India and Indian Nationalism and secondarily certain mediaeval urges in India plus various fear complexes and modern progressive tendencies."

BRITISH POLICY IN INDIA

A Canadian Correspondent asked if Pandit Nehru's point was that the basic British policy in India was to hang on to power in India at any cost, and that if there was a conflict, British policy must be in opposition to Indian nationalism

Pandit Nehru replied there was a fundamental conflict between British imperialism and Indian nationalism but circumstances and many new factors changed that policy. "I do not think that the world situation as it is to-day and as it will be to-morrow are exercising a powerful pressure on British policy to come to some terms with the Indian people These terms they would like to be as favourable as possible to British interests in India This is natural, but I think they must realise that the old order in India cannot possibly continue, even though Mr Churchill would like it to continue"

"I do not mean", Pandit Nehru went on, in reply to a further question, "the average member of the Muslim League is mediaeval I think there are many progressive people in the Muslim League who once the lid of mediaevalism is removed, would become political radicals"

BASIC ISSUES COMMON TO ALL COMMUNITIES

"It happens in the circumstances of to-day that certain questions have been made to cover up and obscure all the really important political and economic issues in the country. That happens sometimes What are the important issues, after all? The first issue in India is the agrarian problem Allied to it is the industrial problem You cannot solve the land problem without solving the industrial problem. They are locked and interlocked into each other These are fundamental questions which apply to the Hindu and Muslim alike The misfortune is they get covered up by those complexes and prejudices, which however superficial they may be, become formidable obstacles at the moment.

"The so-called communal problem in India has no deep roots. By that I do not deny its importance at the present stage It is very important, but it has nevertheless no deep roots and, therefore, I do not think that a solution of it will take a long time once it gets going, because immediately the mediaeval lid is removed, the real problems of the day come up, and they have no application to Hindu or Muslim as such."

MISCHIEF OF SEPARATE ELECTORATES

Pandit Nehru referred to the attitude of the people in the Middle East countries and said although these people had sympathy on religious grounds with their co-religionists in India or elsewhere, there was no appreciation or understanding of this conversion of politics into a chequer board of religious communities He also invited foreign correspondents, in particular, to suppose what would happen if America for instance was divided into electoral constituencies for Catholics, Methodists, Jews and various other Christian and other sects 'You cannot imagine any democratic system being based on such a thing. Yet, that is what is happening in India to-day. Inevitably you produce conditions in which each community with its separate electorates thinks in terms of its special group interests. If you have separate electorates in any country under the sun, I guarantee you will have problems worse than the communal problem in India.

Replying to the Muslim League claim that Muslims were a separate nation, Pandit Nehru said "I will admit that circumstances may produce not a separate nation but a group which is as anti-national that it may be considered a separate nation. Such a thing may develop But the real thing is, to-day it is beside the point to talk about nations as such. The modern tendency is for the idea of a nation not to be confused with the idea of a State The biggest countries to-day are multi-national. If it pleases Mr. Jinnah to consider himself as belonging to a separate nation, there the matter ends. He can call himself that. But it does not

solve any problem Even supposing there are two, three or five nations in India, the problem is how are they to get along together ?"

MUSLIM FEAR OF DOMINATION FANTASTIC

How were the fears of the Muslims to be disarmed asked a correspondent.

"You cannot disarm fears", Pandit Nehru replied "Fear is a complex for which you require psycho-analytical treatment It is an odd thing that it has been said by some prominent members of the Muslim League though not by Mr. Jinnah himself, that the Muslims are far stronger and more powerful and if British rule was not there, they could dominate others On the other hand, they talked of fear of being dominated by the majority. It is absurd to talk of anyone dominating eighty or ninety millions of people The whole idea is fantastic My plane of thinking is entirely different from Mr. Jinnah's It may be lower but it is different"

"THIRD PARTY MUST RETIRE FROM THE SCENE"

"What is the way out ?", was the next question asked 'There may be many ways out", Pandit Nehru replied "Obviously, one way out which for the moment is not available, is for the third party to retire from the scene, either actually or theoretically, that is, there should be no question of the third party imposing its will, and other parties should realise that they have to face the issues themselves without that third party. Then, they will face realities In the alternative—obviously, a very desirable alternative—other parties should pull together

"The other possible courses really depend on the growth of almost overwhelming strength on the part of one or more groups which pull together so that their influence might be felt by all the remaining parties concerned

"Lastly, there might well be owing to the deterioration of the economic situation, a complete collapse leading partly to chaos and partly to revolt and revolution in various parts of the country India is fairly on the verge of it, considering the economic situation, in spite of much money having been made at the top"

Master Tara Singh Blames Leaders

Addressing pressmen at Simla on the 15th July 1945 *Master Tara Singh*, the Akali leader, who represented the Sikhs at the Leaders Conference, said

I was not surprised at the failure of the Conference in view of the attitude which some of the delegates adopted from the very start of the Conference But a wave of frustration and despair may spread throughout the country on account of this colossal failure of the leaders at this critical juncture, as the country expected a good deal to come out of this Conference The opportunity which is lost will not return and nobody can predict what may be the repercussions of this failure of big men on a small issue.

The situation boiled down to this The League insisted upon the recognition of its right to nominate all the Muslim members of the Executive Council, as the sole representative body of the Muslims. But the Congress refused to admit this position and insisted upon its own national character and consequently upon its right of nominating at least one of the Muslim members of the Executive Council So the dispute was for one seat only which resulted in this gigantic failure. Both sides considered it to be a point of principle So there appears to be no way out

APPEAL TO LEADERS

It appears that the deadlock will continue for years unless the parties modify their claims What a pity ? I suggested at the last moment that the disputes may be referred to arbitration and I repeat it now. After all it is an interim arrangement, each party may stick to its principle, but may agree, without prejudice to its claims and rights to abide by the award of an arbitrator for the interim period By this stratagem, we can by-pass for the time being this difference which has been made a matter of principle Why should this small matter stand in the way of our getting power from the hands of the British ? One seat in the Executive Council is not a big issue over which the far more important issue of wresting power from the English should founder. I appeal to the big leaders not to become small and make themselves liable to the odium of our future generations

I refrain from apportioning blame, for it can serve no useful purpose The Viceroy's statement throws enough light over the situation.

But if the leaders stick to their positions as rigidly as they are doing now, the coming settlement must be taken out of their hands and those of the Viceroy as

well. The people are the final judges of the opposing claims. If the leaders fail to arrive at a settlement, the issue, in due course, will be decided in the democratic way by the electorate

The Viceroy in his broadcast and the Secretary of State in his statement made it abundantly clear that there would be no change in the present administrative machinery without the main elements in the country coming together. The Wavell proposal was a fair solution of our present difficulties and if all parties had joined to work it, it would have proved a stepping stone to our final goal of Independence

Pakistan—A Sikh-Muslim Issue

It is satisfactory to note that the Sikhs are recognised as one of the four main elements of Indian national life whose consent is necessary for framing the constitution of India This has made Pakistan a impossibility unless the Sikhs agree to this. Pakistan is not an issue between the Congress and the Muslim League, as it has hitherto been wrongly considered. It is mainly a Sikh-Muslim question for the Sikhs are mainly affected by it. So the Muslims must recognise that just as they cannot submit to Hindu domination, the Sikhs cannot submit to Muslim domination for the same, if not better reasons. The Sikhs are groaning under even the present Muslim domination in the Punjab and they have to make efforts to get rid of it as soon as an opportunity offers to itself at the termination of the war.

Claim for Sikh State if Pakistan is Conceded

Replying to questions, Master Tara Singh said that while he was fundamentally opposed to Pakistan, he would demand the establishment of an independent Sikh State if the rest of India conceded Pakistan to the Muslims. The proposed Sikh State would be established in the Central Punjab, including the Lahore and Amritsar districts, where the Sikhs had their holy places.

When a pressman drew his attention to the fact that the Sikhs were not in a majority in the Central Punjab, Master Tara Singh said that he was basing his demand on the analogy of Palestine, which had been declared a Jewish National Home even though the Jews formed only ten per cent of the population

Punjab Premier's Reply to Mr. Jinnah

Irreconcilable differences between the Congress and Mr Jinnah and not the allotment of a seat to a Punjabi Mussalman—as was sought to be made out by Mr Jinnah —were the real cause of the failure of the Simla Conference, said *Malik Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana*, Premier of the Punjab, in the course of a statement to the Press at Simla on the 15th July 1945 "Mr Jinnah" said *Malik Khizar Hayat*, "seems to desire to divert attention from his differences with the Congress and to concentrate upon me"

The following is the text of the statement

"I am reluctant to add to the number of statements which are being issued by the leaders who attended the Simla Conference to explain the unfortunate failure and to justify their attitude. But I find myself compelled to take public notice of the statement made by Mr Jinnah at a press conference on July 14 It is regrettable to note that in spite of Lord Wavell's appeal to all leaders to ensure that there are no recriminations, Mr Jinnah has lost no time in indulging in unjust and unwarranted vituperations.

"In the course of his statement he accuses me of disrupting the Punjab Muslims and attributes the failure of the Conference largely to the Viceroy's insistence on including a Punjabi Muslim in his Executive Council. What are the real facts? Many years ago that great Muslim, Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, united the Punjab Muslims in the Unionist Party. They remained united under him throughout the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform period and under Sikander Hyat Khan, and in 1937 this group of united Muslims of the Punjab followed their leader when he entered into the Sikander Jinnah Pact. So long as Mr Jinnah respected that Pact, *the Muslims of the Punjab were united. Last year Mr Jinnah, for reasons best known to himself, decided to break the fact to endeavour to change the basis upon which the Punjab Muslims had united* I was compelled to stand by my pledges and in doing so I have been supported by an overwhelming majority of Punjabi Muslims. No one regrets more than I do the present differences between sections of the Punjabi Muslims, but it was Mr. Jinnah and not I who disrupted them by breaking a solemn pact.

"As to Mr Jinnah's complaint that I claimed the inclusion of a Punjabi Muslim, the facts are that H. E. the Viceroy invited me to suggest names representing the party of which I have the honour to be the leader: from these name the

Viceroy was to make his own selection. I acted accordingly and I think I would have been wrong if I had failed to do so

A BASELESS INSINUATION

"I do not regret my action. It appeared to me that the Punjab had the strongest claim to be given at least one Muslim representative The Punjab has played a leading part in the war, its soldiers and its people should not be allowed to go unvoiced Moreover, the Punjab is the only Province which has maintained a popular Government consistently since the beginning of the provincial autonomy and that too a Government representative of all the main communities of the province. And the Punjab, so far as I know, has had almost continuously a Punjab Muslim representative in the Executive Council since 1910. The insinuation that I was acting under any official influence is quite untrue I acted in what I considered to be the best interests of the Punjab, and the Punjab Muslims.

MR. JINNAH'S SOMERSAULT

"Everyone who has read Mr Jinnah's statement must be struck by the inconsistency of his arguments He starts by declaring that the Wavell Plan was snare, that it was completely unacceptable because it did not meet the fundamental conditions upon which the Muslim League had always insisted The first part of Mr. Jinnah's statement clearly means that the League could not and never would accept Lord Wavell's plan. Then Mr. Jinnah performs an abrupt somersault and says that the League broke with the plan because one seat on the Executive Council was to be given to a Punjabi.

"Mr Jinnah is obviously ill at ease about his position. He knows that the Conference failed on issues more basic than the allotment of a single seat It is clear from his own statement and those made by the Congress leaders that there were irreconcilable differences between them and Mr Jinnah and these were the fundamental causes of the failure of the Conference. Because of his failure to reach a settlement with the Congress leaders, Mr. Jinnah refused to submit a panel of names to the Viceroy

CONGRESS-LEAGUE DIFFERENCES

"There is nothing to show that the Congress has abandoned its claim to represent a section of Indian Muslims or its demand that some of the Muslim representation must go to its nominees. Lord Wavell has made it clear that he never showed his complete tentative list of nominations to any one of the leaders. Thus the Conferences never reached the stage at which I had to press my demand for the inclusion of a Punjabi Muslim, nor did it break down on that account. Mr. Jinnah seems to desire to divert attention from his differences with Congress and to concentrate it upon me I do not propose here to discuss the merits of the League and the Congress cases But I must repeat that the differences between them were the cause of the failure of the Conference—not the allotment of a seat to a Punjabi Muslim The present negotiations failed on account of certain fundamental differences between Mr Jinnah and the Congress—differences which have been evident during the Cripps negotiations and again during the Gandhi Jinnah talks - and therefore the failure can in no way be attributed to the claim for the inclusion of a Punjabi Muslim in the Executive Council

"Before the Simla Conference I had made it clear that I would yield to none in pressing the claims of the Muslims in an all-India settlement, nor during the Conference did I do so in regard to the question of Muslim Representation But the question of the distribution of Muslim seats is distinct from this. Mr. Jinnah's totalitarian claim to monopolise Muslim seats so that Muslims who do not belong to the League go unrepresented, cannot be accepted without reserve I can safely assert that a Punjabi Muslim would be not a whit behind a Muslim drawn from any other source in maintaining the rights and claims of Indian Muslims".

Mr. Jinnah's Defence

Mr Jinnah at a Press conference at Simla, on July 14 said

"On a final examination and analysis of the Wavell Plan, we found that it was a snare There was the combination consisting of the Gandhi Hindu Congress who stand for India's Hindu National Independence as one India and the latest exponent of geographical unity, Lord Wavell and Glancy Khizr, who are bent upon creating disruption among the Musalmans in the Punjab We are sought to be pushed into this arrangement, which, if we had agreed to, as proposed by Lord Wavell, we should have signed our death warrant

"Let us honestly examine the Wavell Plan. Our stand has been, and we have

repeatedly made it clear to the British Government, times out of number since 1940, that we cannot consider or enter into any provisional Interim Government unless a declaration is made by the British Government guaranteeing the right of self-determination of Muslims and pledging that, after the war, or so soon as it may be possible, the British Government would establish Pakistan, having regard to the basic principles laid down in the Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League, passed in March 1940 This was the first condition precedent to our considering any provisional arrangement Condition two was that we are not a minority, but a nation, and we can only enter into a provisional arrangement, having regard to the necessities and exigencies of the moment created by the war and fully co operate in the prosecution of the war and that in any arrangement, we claimed an equal number in the proposed Executive

"PUTTING PAKISTAN IN COLD STORAGE"

"The Wavell proposals set at nought both these conditions and called upon us to make the severest sacrifice I know, in his broadcast, he said that these proposals are without prejudice to any future constitution or constitutions of India. While in one breath it is impressed upon us that these proposals are without prejudice to and do not prejudge the Pakistan issue, yet, the plan, in fact, contradicts this in the next breath by its very terms It is obvious to any intelligent man that, if we accept this arrangement, the Pakistan issue will be shelved and put in cold storage indefinitely, whereas, the Congress will have secured under this arrangement what they want, namely, a clear road for their advance towards securing Hindu national independence of India because the future Executive will work as a unitary Government of India, and we know that this interim or provisional arrangement will have a way of setting down for an unlimited period and all the forces in the proposed Executive plus the known policy of the British Government and Lord Wavell's strong inclination for a United India, would completely jeopardise us I will quote Mr Amery, who has tried his best, but in the result, has given us cold comfort His statement is a very clear indication and a pointer to the British policy Speaking in the House of Commons, where he presented the White Paper, he said as follows "The ideal to which we have always looked is that of an All-India Union in which the States would play their full part At the same time, we have also recognised the possibility that agreement between Hindus and Muslims on any form of Indian unity may be unattainable Any interim advice, therefore, must in no way prejudge the question whether the ultimate settlement is based on a united or divided India"

"Next, in the proposed Executive, we would be reduced to a minority of one third All the other minorities, such as the Scheduled Castes, Sikhs and Christians have the same goal as the Congress They have their grievances as minorities, but their goal and ideology is and cannot be different from or otherwise than that of a United India, Ethnically and culturally, they are very closely knitted to Hindu society

"I am not against full justice being done to all the minorities and they should be fully safeguarded and protected as such, wherever they may be. But in actual working and practice, invariably their vote will be against us, and there is no safeguard for us except the Viceroy's veto, which, it is well known to any constitutionalist, cannot be exercised lightly as every-day business against majority decisions with regard to the policy and the principles that will have to be laid down and measures adopted, both administrative and legislative

VICEROY'S INSISTENCE ON INCLUSION OF UNIONIST

"On top of this, came the last straw on the camel's back, that even about the five members of the Muslim bloc allotted to us communalwise, which is the essence of the Wavell proposals, we were told that the Muslim League was not entitled to nominate all the Muslim representatives as our chosen spokesmen, and there were two claimants -the Congress claimed two, and Glancy-Khizr on behalf of the Punjab claimed one This move on the part of these two went at the very root and the very existence of the Muslim League regarding its position, character and status. But finally we broke as Lord Wavell insisted upon his having one non-Leaguer nominee of Malik Khizr Hyat representing the Punjab Muslims. As I have said it is only the blind who cannot see that the All-India Muslim League is the only authoritative representative organisation of the Mussalmans If we had accepted the position as presented to us by Lord Wavell, we would have emerged out of this conference minus everything, and we would have entirely betrayed our people. It would have been an abject surrender on our part of all we stand for,

and it would have been a death-knell to the Muslim League This was the position which faced us and we found that it was impossible for us to accept this arrangement."

The Viceroy—Jinnah Letters

The Viceroy on July 9 made it clear to Mr Jinnah that he could not give any guarantee that all the Muslim members of the proposed new Council would necessarily be members of the Muslim League His Excellency further made it clear that he could not commit himself to give a similar guarantee to any other party. This was brought out in the correspondence, which was released on the 15th July 1945, between Mr Jinnah and the Viceroy. The following is the text of the correspondence

Viceroy's Proposal to Mr Jinnah

Letter from the Secretary to the Governor General to Mr Jinnah, dated Simla, 29th June, 1945.

Dear Mr Jinnah,

The following is the action which His Excellency would like you to take, if, after consultation with your Working Committee, you are able to accept the suggestion he made at this morning's meeting of the Conference

(1) To prepare and send him a list giving the name of members of the Muslim League who, in your opinion, could suitably be included in the proposed Executive Council The number of names in this list should be not less than eight or more than twelve

(2) If you think you can usefully suggest, for possible inclusion in the Executive Council, the names of persons of any community who are not members of the Muslim League, you are at liberty to add them to your list, keeping them distinct from the names of Muslim League members

His Excellency's intention is to scrutinise the lists sent to him and to see whether from them and possibly from additional names of his own, he can on paper, form an Executive Council likely to be acceptable to the parties and to His Majesty's Government If so, he will consult leaders, including yourself, and thereafter decide whether it is worth while making definite proposals to the Conference.

Mr Jinnah's Reply

Letter from Mr Jinnah to Lord Wavell, dated the [illegible] July, 1945

Dear Lord Wavell

I placed before my Working Committee the suggestion made by Your Excellency at the last meeting of the Conference and communicated to me by your Private Secretary in his letter dated the [illegible]th June, 1945 The Working Committee, after careful consideration, desire me to convey to you their views which are:

(1) With regard to your suggestion for submitting a panel of names of the members of the Muslim League for inclusion in the proposed Executive Council, the Working Committee desires to point out that when a similar proposal was made by Your Excellency's predecessor, Lord Linlithgow, in connection with his offer of August, 1940, the Working Committee opposed it and, when its objections were brought to the notice of Lord Linlithgow, he dropped the proposal and suggested another alternative in his letter dated the 25th of September, 1940, addressed to the President of the All-India Muslim League, an extract from which is given below

I appreciate however, the difficulties which, you made it clear to me, confronted you in connection with the formation of the panel which I had earlier suggested to you, and in the light of our discussion I am content that the selection of representatives, while resting with the Governor-General should be based in the case of the Muslim League (and, should they so desire, of the other parties to be represented in my Council) not on a panel formally submitted, but on confidential discussion between the Leader of the party concerned and myself

This alternative was acceptable to the Muslim League. The Working Committee is of the opinion that the procedure settled on the previous occasion should be followed in the present case so far as the Muslim League is concerned

(2) Further the Working Committee is emphatically of the opinion **that all the Muslim members of the proposed Executive Council should be chosen from the Muslim League, subject to a confidential discussion between Your Excellency and the President of the Muslim League, before they are finally recommended by you to the Crown for appointment The Working Committee feels very strongly on this point and regards it as one of the fundamental principles.**

(3) Besides the foregoing, certain other points were also discussed in the Working Committee, particularly the question of providing an effective safeguard against unfair decisions of the majority. While the Committee appreciated the remarks in the statement of the Secretary of State in the House of Commons that the power of veto will be exercised by the Viceroy to protect the minority interests, it was felt that some other effective safeguards would be necessary in the interest of smooth working of the interim arrangement. It was, however, thought that this question could be settled after the strength and the composition of the Executive Council was decided upon.

I have given in the above paragraphs the unanimous opinion of my Working Committee and I am ready and willing, if you so desire, to meet you and explain the reasons and the grounds for the decision arrived at by the Working Committee.

Letter from Sir Evan Jenkins to Mr. Jinnah, dated the 9th July, 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,—His Excellency asks me to thank you for your letter of 7th July, and to say that he will be glad to see you at 4 p. m. this afternoon, or later this afternoon if that is more convenient to you. Perhaps you would be kind enough to ask your Secretary to ring me up and confirm the time.

Viceroy's Reply to League Demands

Letter from Lord Wavell to Mr. Jinnah, dated the 9th July, 1945

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

At the end of our talk yesterday evening you said that I could make your problem easier if I replied in writing to your letter of 7th July. I do not think you expect any comment now on the first and third points in that letter. Our talk was concerned mainly with the second point, "that all the Muslim members of the proposed Executive Council should be chosen from the Muslim League .. before they are finally recommended to the Crown for appointment".

I fully appreciated your difficulties, but regret that I am unable to give you the guarantee you wish i.e. that all the Muslim members of the proposed new Council shall necessarily be members of the Muslim League. As explained to you, I cannot commit myself to give similar guarantee to any other party. I have to attempt to form an Executive Council representative, competent and generally acceptable. But, of course, I cannot compel any person or any party to co-operate in my own solution if they do not wish to do so.

It will help me greatly if you will let me have names from the Muslim League and I sincerely hope you will do so. I asked for eight, but will certainly accept five if you do not wish to send more. You can consider later whether any solution I put forward is acceptable to you.

During the next two or three years decisions of great importance will have to be taken by the Government of India whatever its composition may be. These decisions—on demobilisation, economic development, taxation, trade and so on—cannot wait, and it is the hope of H. M. G. that the Executive Council responsible for them will be one in which the major political parties are represented. It will be, of course, my political duty to see fair-play between all parties not only in the composition of the proposed Council but in its working.

I need the active help of your colleagues and yourself and I am sure you will give it to me. I have no objection to your showing this letter to your colleagues but it is not intended for publication.

Mr Jinnah Declines to submit Panel

Letter from Mr. Jinnah to Lord Wavell dated the 9th July 1945

Dear Lord Wavell,

I thank you for your letter of the 9th July, which I placed before my Working Committee. The Committee, after giving its very careful consideration to the matter, desire me to state that it regrets very much to note that Your Excellency is not able to give the assurance that all the Muslim members of the proposed Executive Council will be selected from the Muslim League. In my letter of the 7th July I mentioned that the Committee considers this as one of the fundamental principles, and in the circumstances, I regret, I am not in a position to send the names on behalf of the Muslim League for inclusion in the proposed Executive Council, as desired by you.

I should like to assure Your Excellency that it has been the earnest desire of the Committee and myself to assist you in every reasonable way, but it is not possible for us to depart from our fundamental principle.

I need not, therefore, at present say anything more with regard to the other points raised

Letter from the Secretary to the Governor-General to Mr. Jinnah, dated the 10th July, 1945 :

Dear Mr Jinnah, His Excellency asked me to thank you for your letter of 9th July He will have to take two or three days to consider the position and will write to you when he has decided what to do.

Mahasabha President's Statement

The President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha Dr *Shyama Prasad Mookerjee*, in a statement on the failure of the Simla Conference, says

"Of all the political organizations, it fell upon the Hindu Mahasabha alone to point out unreservedly the obnoxious features of the Wavell Plan It has carried out an intensive campaign throughout India during the last one month demanding its withdrawal It stands completely vindicated today, and our workers throughout the country feel inspired by the support extended to the Mahasabha cause

"There should be no attempt at self-deception as regards the origin and failure of the proposal The conference has broken down not on account of the grave injustice done to the Hindus who were to have been reduced to a permanent minority in the government of a country where they have more than 72% of the population Hindus as such had no place in the conference

"The conference has not broken down because the transfer of power was too little and to satisfy the minimum aspirations of the Indian people

"The voice of protest of those who attended the conference on these two fundamental issues was almost inaudible and certainly ineffective

"Let there be no mistake that any future proposal which does not fairly deal with these two major issues will be doomed to failure again

"The conference broke down because Mr Jinnah's increasing demand were unacceptable to others and the Viceroy was not prepared to have an interim settlement without the co-operation and consent of the Muslim League

"The artificial strength now attributed to the Muslim League has been due to two main factors The British Government has always treated the League as a convenient cloak for depriving India of her legitimate rights But it is not the British Government alone which for its own obvious purpose has utilized the League as a weapon to cripple Indian solidarity and nationalism The Congress also has gone out of its way repeatedly to appease the Muslim League and at every step has been out manceuvred by the tactics of the League Leader

"There are many who thought that the British Government would this time settle with India without the League, if necessary I have always maintained that this can only happen if and when the British Government makes up its mind to quit India and transfer power to Indian hands

Today the stock-plea of the British Government is that the political advance in India is not possible because of Hindu Muslim differences If once Mr Jinnah is by-passed and a settlement even of an interim character is made with other parties, Hindu, Muslim and others, there will be no further excuse available to the British Government to delay a final settlement with India based on the recognition of her independent status

"The fact that the British Government transferred the Viceroy's veto to Mr Jinnah for the time being shows up the real motive of the Government Although it transferred no power to India, it was widely advertised all over the world during the psychological period of the British Election as a veritable boon conferred on India, and the pity is that large sections of Indians themselves were made to dance to this tune The Congress was made to eat humble pie, the goal of Indian freedom was lowered, a sordid communal basis for the Indian political structure was forced upon the country, Hindu rights were trampled upon All this humiliation was deliberately poured upon India The only organization that fearlessly exposed the dangerous game that was being played was the Hindu Mahasabha.

"We have to learn the bitter lesson of the Simla Conference We have to retrace our steps and regain our field There need be no sadness or disappointment at the failure of the conference Let us have the courage to say that the Wavell Plan gave us nothing and it was doomed to failure in any event. A composite government consisting of men and parties whose ideologies were poles asunder working under a Dictator-Viceroy was the worst possible machinery to serve India during her present economic and political crisis

"The Congress should revise the policy of appeasement, should unequivocally

declare itself against Pakistan and parity. Its demand should be based on democratic ideals, with full safeguards for all minorities It should stand for a free and united India where every person, irrespective of caste, creed or community, would receive equal political status. That also is the ideology of the Hindu Mahasabha

British Press on Breakdown of the Conference

The failure of the Simla Conference was widely commented on by the British Press **on the 16th July 1945** Most papers agreed in placing the chief responsibility on Mr Jinnah and the Muslim League for the breakdown, but on all sides the view was expressed that this setback will not affect British determination to secure a satisfactory settlement

The *Times* writes "There will be natural disposition, in spite of Lord Wavell's counsel, to place the blame for the failure on Mr Jinnah and the Muslim League The part of wisdom is rather to understand the ground of their attitude which derive from long-standing uneasiness for the fate of the Muslim community under any system of government by an arithmetical majority such as seems at present to be postulated by the Congress for the democratic India of the future

"No useful purpose would be served by denying the reality of these fears It is in any event clear that until it is possible to allay the apprehensions of that influential body of Muslim opinion for which the League even by the admission of opponents, must be deemed to stand, there will be no prospect of accommodation between the Congress and the League The task will not be easy But it is the indispensable foundation for the future progress of India

"The statesmanship now required for the Congress Party by the course of events should not be beyond the range of the leaders who have gone so far to make the Conference a success They have agreed to co-operate in a reformed Government on the terms suggested, including full participation in the war effort, in the same cordial spirit in which it was put forward, frankly recognizing it as a new deal requiring a wholly fresh attitude on their own part

"They would be more than human if they did not resent what must appear to them as a rejection of their proffered co-operation at a mere dictate of the League They will be tempted to ask why the Viceroy, with nominees of all the parties save the Muslim League at his disposal, did not proceed to construct his new Government from material so representative The conclusive answer to this question is that an imposed settlement of such a kind would violate the assurance accepted by the Conference as the basis of its terms of reference It would not have assembled unless its members had known that its purpose was to assist India to arrive at an agreement rather than to pave the way for another act of state on the part of Britain To override the apprehensions of the League with the support of the Congress and the minorities would have been both morally indefensible and politically inexpedient

"India now ranks among the most important bases of the war against Japan, and the preservation of her tranquility is a major interest of the Allied belligerents as well as of the British The administration of the country must be carried on far reaching schemes of social and economic progress must be inaugurated, and the foundation of its future international position must be securely laid Not one of the essentials could be achieved by a Government so constituted as to convince one of the major communities that the apprehensions of its largest and most representative political organisation had been overruled by the British at the behest of the other

"While the breakdown of the Simla Conference has shown that the main obstacle to progress in India is the Muslim apprehension of a majority rule, and this can be allayed not by any assurances from this country but only by a supreme effort on the part of the Congress leaders, it remains true to say that Britain can make a contribution to this essential talk

"By focussing attention upon the real principles at issue between the Congress and the League, and by preserving in the endeavours to bring their leaders together round the same table for economic and social as well as for political objectives, representatives of Britain may do much Lord Wavell is no readier to admit final defeat in the task of political reconstruction than on a field of battle, and he may be trusted to examine every expedient which offers hope of progress.

"Careful reflection will be required before the next step can be taken. The effects of such experiments as the Simla Conference upon the operation of the ordinary machinery of the Indian Government are profound. But opinion in

Britain and in India is united in demanding a solution of the political deadlock by one means or another, and looks to the Viceroy to try again when he thinks that the time is ripe

"Meanwhile the Cripps offer stands in its entirety The determination of the British people to assist the Indian people to achieve complete self-Government remains unchanged by this the latest of a long series of setbacks"

The *Daily Telegraph* "As on previous occasions the cause of the dead-lock has been the ancient hostility between the Muslims and the Hindus Though the Viceroy laboured tirelessly to produce a more accommodating spirit, Mr Jinnah would not agree even to submit a list of names unless the exclusive right of the Muslim League to speak for the Muslims was accepted in advance

'With the progress of Allied operations in the Far East, it should be possible before very long to hold elections in India Whatever their results may be as long as there exists among Indian leaders the same spirit of narrow sectarianism which frustrated Lord Wavell's attempt at settlement so long will the realization of Dominion Status in India be held up

"The breakdown has not destroyed hope in London of further steps in some other direction in the not distant future towards a solution of India's problems Two such steps, it is said, would be the restoration of provincial Government in those provinces now under Governor's rule and the appointment of a British High Commissioner in India'

The *News Chronicle* writes "The responsibility for the failure of the Simla Conference was not Lord Wavell's It was Mr Jinnah's and Mr Jinnah's alone The Muslim League is no more completely representative of Muslim India than the Congress is completely representative of Hindu India It is more than probable that if Mr Jinnah had been concerned only with the technical issue the Conference would not have broken down The real issue at stake was the whole future of Pakistan

'Muslim and Hindu India are mixed together and any attempt at artificial separation would create endless hardships and difficulties"

The *Daily Mail* writes "Mr Gandhi wrecked the Cripps proposals and Simla was Mr Jinnah's turn As the leader of the Muslim League he duly wrecked the Wavell proposals Once again the terrible jealousies and mistrust which divide Indian political parties have ruined a promising scheme The world has witnessed a deplorable exhibition of political irresponsibility

Further attempts will be made to secure an agreement for the British are indefatigable when it comes to securing their own abdication from power in India But we are still entrusted with the destinies of a vast mass of Indians so magnificently represented by their fighting armies That is a responsibility we can never lay down until we are assured that they will receive fair dealing and good government from their own people"

The diplomatic correspondent of the *Daily Herald* writes that Lord Wavell in consultation with the Government at in London is considering two possible new steps First the formation of a new Central Government filling five Muslim seats by the Viceroy's own nominees, with an intimation to the Congress and the Muslim League that they can appoint their own men as soon as they can agree, secondly the retention of the present system for the time in the hope that a realization of what they have lost will bring the two bodies to think seriously whether it is worth losing for the sake of disagreement as to which shall nominate a single minister

He adds that the immediate cause of the breakdown is only a symptom of a deeper division over the Muslim League claim for partition and the Congress objective of a single indivisible India.

"The tragic fact is that it seems beyond ingenuity at the moment to devise a method of persuading the two great factions to co-operate in self government."

All the papers emphatically absolve Lord Wavell from responsibility for the failure, but though all regard the uncompromising stand of the Muslim League as the main stumbling block, there is no unanimity in condemning the attitude of Mr Jinnah, the League's President

The keynote of the comments is struck forcefully by the *Sunday Express* in a streamer headline across the whole page "India has hopes of a new Wavell Plan in a year"

In its editorial the same paper declares that the Simla Conference came 'so

near to success that it cannot be negative. Lord Wavell will try again He does not know how to spell the word "defeat"

The *Observer*, which "front-pages" the Simla news next to the Big Three Conference, asserts that the real problem in India now "is not how much freedom Britain can be driven to grant, but how much common responsibility—which must involve tolerance and compromise—Indians can be persuaded to accept"

While stating that "more obvious blame" falls on Mr Jinnah, the paper contends: "Although the Congress leaders are now pluming themselves on their co-operative attitude, their past treatment of Muslim minorities has contributed to Mr Jinnah's intransigence

"Behind these communal suspicions lies the habitual reluctance of Indians to commit themselves to hard and fast decision in weighty affairs To portray the British as tyrants is so much easier than to take over their governing job"

The *Manchester Guardian*, in an editorial written before the Viceroy's announcement, writes "We are in no position to be impatient with any country whose major parties cannot agree to form a coalition but the breakdown of the Viceroy's efforts would be so damaging that it must be asked whether the Muslim veto can be allowed to stand

"At the time of the Cripps offer Mr Churchill referred to alternative dangers either that the resistance of a powerful minority might impose an indefinite veto upon the wishes of the majority, or that a majority decision might be taken which would be resisted to a point destructive to internal harmony and fatal to the setting up of a new constitution With every sympathy for the anxieties of the Muslim League, one cannot fail to see that we shall sooner or later have to tackle that veto"

The *Sunday Express* says that the Conference, though it failed "technically" came so near to success that it cannot be negative Lord Wavell will try again

The *Sunday Times* writes "In most great reform movements there are 'failures' which history records as milestones of progress Lord Wavell's valiant efforts are conditions of triumphs he foresees—and we know he will try again when circumstances appear to be favourable"

Cripps on Failure of Simla Talks

Sir *Stafford Cripps*, in a statement in London on the **15th July 1945**, said that he was very distressed to hear of the breakdown in the Simla negotiations and had great sympathy with all those, especially Lord Wavell, who had tried so hard to bring them to a successful conclusion

"The obvious cause of the breakdown," Sir Stafford said, "is not so much the constitution of an interim government as the influence any temporary arrangement is likely to have upon more permanent decisions which will have to be made for full and free self-government of India

"Behind the demand of the Muslim League that they alone should represent Muslim India is the fear of Hindu domination and the Muslims becoming a perpetual political minority It would not seem possible to get any agreement on a temporary measure of advance, as was suggested by Lord Wavell, since the Muslim League feels compelled to insist upon its acceptance as the sole organization of Muslim opinion in India and in the light of the fact that no agreement has yet been arrived at upon the Pakistan issue

"In view of the pledge given by the Viceroy and the Government that the scheme to a new Executive would not be forced through in face of opposition of any of the major communities it is obviously impossible for him to proceed with the formation of a new government

"One thing that is essential is that we should not slip back again into a sense of frustration and inability to achieve any advance. That certainly would be the worst possible result. For that reason I am very glad to hear the Viceroy's excellent statement at the concluding session of the Conference.

"We should, I believe, have decided to skip the temporary readjustment of the Central Government which has become impossible owing to the view and fear of the Muslim League and go straight ahead with permanent solution"

Sir Stafford Cripps added: "The Japanese have now been driven far enough back from India for it to be possible to hold new elections and as soon as they are completed a Constituent Assembly should be set up either on the basis put forward in the British Government's proposals of 1942 or on any other basis that

could be agreed between the major parties Knowledge that a Constituent Assembly would be formed out of those elected would make the question as to the future constitution the major issue of election It would be all to the good.

"It is to be hoped that some compromise solution of the Pakistan issue could be arrived at in a Constituent Assembly, but if not, there must be a clear decision before hand, and those provinces in which there was a Muslim majority would not be forced against their will into a united India under a constitution which they did not approve It would seem that in the present circumstances emphasis has shifted once again from transitional arrangements to a permanent settlement

"If this be so, then it is obviously desirable not to waste further time trying to arrive at a temporary arrangement which is mixed up inexplicably with problems of permanent settlement, especially with that of the unity of British India It is far better to expedite means of arriving at a permanent settlement in which the question of Pakistan must form a major issue

"It would not be right to allow any minority however large and important, to hold up the attainment of self government in India, any more than it would be right to force the Muslim majority provinces into a new constitutional arrangement to which they took fundamental objection

"I would urge, therefore that the immediate outcome of the present failure should be to hold new elections in India and to form from the representatives so elected a Constituent Assembly to work out a new free self government constitution for British India or such part of it as was ready to consent to such a constitution"

Lord Wavell's Next Move

Governors' Conference— New Delhi—1st & 2nd August 1945

Lord Wavell however did not allow grass grow under his feet He called a meeting of Governors at New Delhi on the 1st August with the object of reviewing the Indian situation once again and deciding how the future could be made secure and bright

While nothing was known regarding its deliberations, it was generally believed that the Viceroy summoned the Governors with a view to consulting them regarding the next step His Excellency should take to restore [illegible] conditions in India and resolve the deadlock Two important questions on which the opinion of the Governors was expected to be sought were the restoration of provincial autonomy in Section 93 provinces and the holding of general elections [illegible] with these questions, the question of the release of political prisoners and the removal of the ban on Congress organisations will have to be considered For, normal conditions could not be restored in India so long as political workers were in jail and Congress organisations were under an official ban

Soon after the conference was summoned by the Viceroy the political conditions in Britain became quite different The Labour Party was returned in an absolute and substantial majority to Parliament without any other party's help

Personnel of the New Labour Cabinet

Prime Minister *Clement Attlee*, after an audience of the King at Buckingham Palace, London on the 3rd August 1945 announced the following appointments in the new Labour Government

Home Secretary Mr Chuter Ede
Dominions Secretary Lord Addison
Secretary for India Mr Pethick Lawrence
Colonial Secretary Mr. G H Hall
First Lord of Admiralty Mr A V Alexander
Secretary for War Mr J J Lawson
Secretary for Air Viscount Stansgate
Secretary for Scotland Mr Joseph Westwood
Minister of Labour and National Service Mr G A Isaacs
Minister of Education Miss Ellen Wilkinson
Minister of Health Mr Aneurin Bevan

Minister of Supply and Aircraft Production Mr. John Wilmot.
Minister of War Transport. Mr. Alfred Barnes.
Minister of Fuel: Mr. Emanuel Shinwell.
Minister of State: Mr. P. J Noel Baker.
Minister of Pensions: Mr. Wilfred Paling
Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury. Mr. William Whiteley.

Mr Pethick-Lawrence will go to the House of Lords and the King has approved a barony for him. The King has also approved that Mr Isaacs, Mr Aneurin Bevan, Mr John Wilmot, Mr. Alfred Barnes and Mr Shinwell be made Privy Councillors.

Lord Addison will be the Leader of the House of Lords

The new Home Secretary, Mr Chuter Ede (63), Member of Parliament for South Shields was Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Education in the Coalition Government

The new Secretary for War, Mr J. J. Lawson (61) is a miner and has represented Chester le Street since 1919 He was the Financial Secretary to the War Office in 1924 and the Secretary to the Minister of Labour from 1921 to 1931

Mr A. V. Alexander (60) returns to the Admiralty where he was the first Lord in the Coalition Government and also in the second Labour administration

The new Minister of Agriculture Mr Tom Williams (57), was Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture in the Coalition Government He has represented Don Valley since 1922

Mr Emanuel Shinwell (61) the Minister of Fuel and Power, who has been a Member of Parliament for the Seaham Division of Durham since 1935, was Parliamentary Secretary to the Department of Mines in 1924 and from 1930 to 1931

Mr Joseph Westwood (61), who becomes the Secretary for Scotland, was Under Secretary for the same in the Coalition Government

Sir Ben Smith (66), the Minister of Food, was the Minister Resident in Washington during the Coalition Government He had previously served as Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Aircraft Production

Miss Ellen Wilkinson, former Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of of Home Security, returns to the Government as the Minister of Education

The new Minister of Health, Mr Aneurin Bevan (Ebbw Vale) since 1929 has made his mark as a fiery orator in Parliament and as a persistent critic of Mr Churchill

Mr Pethick Lawrence (73), the new Secretary for India, was a member of the Indian Round Table Conference in 1931 His elevation to the peerage will cause a by-election at Edinburgh East which he represented since 1935

The Minister of Pensions, Mr Wilfred Paling (62), was the Parliamentary Secretary to the same department in the Coalition

Mr. John Wilmot (50), the new Minister of Supply and Aircraft Production, was formerly the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Supply

Mr. George Hall (63), who becomes the Colonial Secretary, was Under-Secretary to the Foreign Office in the Coalition Government

The Dominions Secretary, Lord Addison (67), has been the Leader of the Labour Party in the House of Lords since 1940

The Minister of War Transport, Mr Alfred Barnes (58), is a prominent worker in Britain's co operative movement

Mr P J Noel Baker (56) the new Minister of State, was the Parliamentry Secretary to the Ministry of War Transport, in the National Government and is considered as one of the Labour Party's experts on foreign affairs

Viscount Stansgate, formerly Mr William Wedgwood Benn (68), who was Secretary of State for India in the Labour Government (1929 31), has been the Director of Public Relations at the Air Ministry lately, of which he now becomes the departmental head

Mr George Isaacs (62), Minister of Labour and National Service, was Parliamentary Private Secretary to Mr A V. Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty during the Coalition Government

The Under Secretary of State for India and Burma, is 52 year-old Major Arthur Henderson son of the late Arthur Henderson, former British Foreign Secretary Major Henderson was Financial Secretary to the War Office in the Coalition Government After serving as Joint Under-Secretary for War, he has been a member for Kingswinford in Staffordshire Division since 1935, and earlier represented South Cardiff

Prime Minister Attlee's selection for Under Secretary of State for Colonies is the much-travelled 54-year old Mr Arthur Creech Jones, member for Shipley

Division, Yorkshire. Mr. Jones is an authority on Colonial affairs and has always been in the forefront of any discussion on the subject in the House of Commons.

The Under-Secretary of State for the Dominions is Mr John Parker, who at 39 is one of the youngest members of Parliament in the new Government. He was elected for Dagenham with a substantial majority after representing Romford division earlier. Last January he was one of the Parliamentary delegates who visited Soviet Russia.

The 38 year-old Earl of Listowel, earlier tipped as possible Secretary of State for India, has been appointed Postmaster General

The democratic touch in the new appointments was seen at its best in the selection of a former naval stoker as Civil Lord of the Admiralty He is Mr W J Edwards, Labour member for Whitechapel East London who was serving as a naval stoker when he was returned unopposed at a by-election in 1940 He was the first man from the lower deck of the Royal Navy to become member of Parliament

The Prime Minister Mr Attlee's new Cabinet will have 20 members, compared with 16 in Mr Churchill's "Caretaker' Government and the much smaller War Cabinets" throughout the war

Lord Wavell's Visit to England

India Secretary's Statement—London—21st Aug 1945

The Viceroy's decision to hold general elections and to accept His Majesty's Government's invitation to visit London once again within ten weeks of his earlier visit was announced at New Delhi on the 21st August, 1945 after a special urgent meeting of the Executive Council

The initiative for the Viceroy's forthcoming visit came from His Majesty's Government

The decision to invite Lord Wavell to London for fresh discussions on India was welcomed in political quarters as an evidence of the Labour Government's declared intention to grapple with the India problem as early as circumstances permit It can now be revealed that, during his last interview to Mahatma Gandhi, two days previous to the announcement of the failure of the Simla Conference, the Viceroy had asked Mahatma Gandhi to do his utmost to continue the cordial atmosphere created during the Simla negotiations and the Viceroy, on his part, had assured Mahatma Gandhi that he would do his utmost to review the situation after further consultations with His Majesty's Government as soon as the election results were known In fact, the Viceroy has asked for two months' time This was the reason why Mahatma Gandhi did not make any public pronouncement on the failure of the Simla Conference This was also the reason for the non-publication of the correspondence between Lord Wavell and the Congress President Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

Cheers greeted the announcement of the Secretary of State for India Lord Pethick Lawrence in the House of Lords to-day that the Viceroy Lord Wavell, was returning to London for consultation Lord Pethick Lawrence's statement reads

"I should like to take this opportunity of making an announcement with which, I am sure, the House will be in accord My colleagues and I feel that with a new Government in office in this country and with the changed circumstances brought about by the surrender of the Japanese, it is desirable that we should, at the earliest moment, review with Lord Wavell the whole field of the problems with which India is confronted Your Lordships will rightly appreciate the complexity of the political and economic issues involved and the need of a searching examination of them from every aspect

"If the counsel of Lord Wavell is to be utilised to the full extent it is essential to have direct personal discussion with him, and he has informed me that that is also his own view Accordingly with the full concurrence of His Majesty's Government, I have invited the Viceroy to come home for consultation and he will be here in the immediate future

Lord Pethick Lawrence made this announcement immediately after being introduced to the House of Lords with the usual colourful ceremony and taking the oath and his seat His sponsors were Lord [illegible] and Lord [illegible]

After making his announcement about Lord Wavell's return, Lord Pethick-Lawrence moved that the House should approve the continuance in force of the proclamation issued under Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935 by the

Governor of Bengal on 31st March, 1945 The facts were, he said, that there was a breakdown in the Ministry of Bengal in early Spring this year and the Governor issued his proclamation in the ordinary form. This proclamation would expire on 30th September next unless there had previously been carried a resolution in both the House of Parliament that it should continue to have force.

The India Secretary added The Governor, at the present moment, is not satisfied that in the early future a stable representative Government can be formed In view, therefore, of the prospective adjournment of the British Parliament, it is necessary to pass this resolution to prevent the possibility of a hiatus The passage of this resolution does not bind the Governor to make use of his extensive power and, if contrary to expectation a stable Government was at any time in view, he would be quite free to surrender his extended power." (cheers)

The motion was agreed to without discussion.

FRANCHISE BILL

Lord Pethick Lawrence then moved the second reading of the Indian Franchise Bill which, he said, was a very humble little measure and did not make any substantial change in the law The Bill was described as intended "to make temporary provision for inclusion in the electoral rolls in India of persons returned from war service, to relax residence qualification for those persons and to extend certain Indian franchise qualifications which depend on service in His Majesty's forces or on award of pension "

Lord Pethick Lawrence said that the main object of the Bill was to secure that the absence of any person by reason of war service, whether in the armed forces or otherwise, should not impair his residential qualification so as to prevent his right to vote when the exercise of right became practical.

The second object of the Bill was to secure that the term "military service" in the existing franchise provisions should be extended to members of any branch of His Majesty's armed forces– Naval, Military or Air.

When the schedule of the Act 1935 was drawn up, it was decided to use the word "military", but a great expansion had taken place in the Indian Navy and Air Force and it would be anomalous that a person serving in the army should be singled out for enfranchisement and that enfranchisement should not be extended to those in the Navy and the Air Force

The India Secretary added "A statement, I understand, has already been made in India to-day that there will be provincial election in the course of the coming cold weather in India and, therefore, the passage of the Bill, at this juncture is of importance in order that proper steps may be taken in India to put right the very small anomalies it is the object of this Bill to remedy " (cheers)

The Bil was read a second time without discussion.

FUTURE OF INDIA OFFICE

The Prime Minister, Mr. Clement Attlee, stated in the House of Commons to-day that the question of the India Office will be matter to be considered as part of the Government's policy towards the Indian problem He had no statement to make at present Mr Attlee made his reply to a question by Major Wyatt (labour) who had asked when he proposed the India Office would close down

Viceroy's Broadcast From New Delhi

After his return from London, His Excellency the Viceroy in a broadcast from New Delhi on the 19th September 1945 said

After my recent discussions with His Majesty's Government in London, they have authorised me to make the following announcement

As stated in the gracious speech from the Throne at the opening of Parliament His Majesty's Government are determined to do their utmost to promote in conjunction with the leaders of Indian opinion, the early realization of full Self-Government in India During my visit to London, they have discussed with me the steps to be taken

An announcement has already been made that elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures, so long postponed owing to the war, are to be held during the coming cold weather Therefore, His Majesty's Government earnestly hope that Ministerial responsibility will be accepted by political leaders in all provinces

"It is the intention of His Majesty's Government to convene as soon as possible a constitution-making body and as a preliminary step, they have authorised me to undertake immediately after the elections discussions with representatives of the Legislative Assemblies in the Provinces, to ascertain whether the proposals

contained in the 1942 Declaration are acceptable or whether some alternative or modified scheme is preferable Discussions will be undertaken with the representives of the Indian States with a view to ascertaining in what way they can best take their part in the constitution-making body.

"His Majesty's Government are proceeding to the consideration of the content of the treaty which will require to be concluded between Great Britain and India

"During these preparatory stages, the Government of India must be carried on and urgent economic and social problems must be dealt with Furthermore, India has to play her full part in working out the new world order His Majesty's Government have therefore, further authorised me, as soon as the results of the Provincial Elections are published to take steps to bring into being an Executive Council which will have the support of the main Indian parties"

"BRITISH GOVT RESOLVED TO GO AHEAD"

That is the end of the announcement which His Majesty's Government have authorised me to make. It means a great deal It means that His Majesty's Government are determined to go ahead with the task of bringing India to Self-Government at the earliest possible date They have, as you can well imagine, a great number of most important and urgent problems on their hands but despite all their preoccupations, they have taken time, almost in their first days of office, to give attention to the Indian problem, as one of the first and most important That fact is a measure of the earnest resolve of His Majesty's Government to help India to achieve early Self-Government

"MAJOR FRANCHISE ALTERATION NOT POSSIBLE"

The task of making and implementing a new constitution for India is a complex one, which will require goodwill, co-operation and patience on the part of all concerned We must first hold election so that the will of Indian electorate may be known. It is not possible to undertake any major alteration of the franchise system This would delay matters for at least two years But we are doing our best to revise the existing electoral rolls efficiently.

After the elections I propose to hold discussions with the representatives of those elected, and of the Indian States to determine the form which the constitution-making body should take, its powers and procedure The draft declaration of 1942 proposed a method of setting up a constitution making body, but His Majesty's Government recognise that, in view of the great issues involved and the delicacy of the minority problems, consultation with the people's representatives is necessary before the form of constitution-making body is finally determined

"DETERMINED TO OVERCOME DIFFICULTIES

The above procedure seems to His Majesty's Government and myself the best way open to us to give India the opportunity of deciding her destiny We are well aware of the difficulties to be overcome, but are determined to overcome them. I can certainly assure you that the Government and all sections of the British people are anxious to help India which has given us so much help in winning this war. I, for my part, will do my best in the service of the people of India, to help arrive at their goal, and I firmly believe that it can be done

It is now for Indians to show that they have the wisdom, faith and courage to determine in what way they can reconcile their differences and how their country can be governed by Indians for Indians

Attlee's Broadcast from London

Prime Minister Attlee, in a broadcast on India from London on the 19th September 1945 said:

The King's speech at the opening of the new Parliament contained this passage, "In accordance with the promises already made to my Indian peoples, my Government will do their utmost to promote in conjunction with the leaders of Indian opinion, early realization of full Self-Government in India" Immediately after assuming office, Government turned its attention to Indian affairs, and invited the Viceroy to come home in order to review with him the whole situation, economic and political These discussions have now concluded, and the Viceroy has returned to India and has made an announcement of policy.

"ACTING IN ACCORDANCE WITH SPIRIT OF CRIPPS OFFER"

You will remember that in 1942, the Coalition Government made a draft declaration for discussion with the Indian leaders, commonly known as the Cripps Offer. It was proposed that, immediately upon cessation of hostilities, steps should be

taken to set up, in India, an elected body charged with the task of framing a new constitution for India Sir Stafford Cripps took that offer to India, but it was unfortunately not accepted by leaders of Indian political parties; the Government is, however, acting in accordance with its spirit and intention.

ELECTIONS IN INDIA

The first step necessary is to get, as soon as may be, as democratic a representation of the Indian peoples as possible. War has in India, as in this country, prevented elections being held for a long time, and the Central and Provincial Legislatures must now be renewed. Therefore, as has already been announced, elections will be held in India in the coming cold weather. Electoral rolls are being revised as completely as time permits, and everything possible will be done to ensure free and fair elections. The Viceroy has to-day made known our intention to follow the elections by positive steps to set up a Constituent Assembly of Indian elected representatives, charged with the task of framing a new constitution. Government has authorised Lord Wavell to undertake preliminary discussions with representatives of the new Provincial Legislatures, as soon as they are elected, to ascertain whether the proposals of the Cripps Offer are acceptable as they stand, or whether some alternative or modified scheme should be preferable. Discussions will also take place with the representatives of Indian States.

Government has further authorised the Viceroy, as an interim measure, to take steps, after the elections, to bring into being an Executive Council, having the support of the main Indian parties, in order that India may deal herself with her own social and economic problems, and may take her full part in the working out of a new world order

NEGOTIATION OF A TREATY WITH INDIA

The broad definition of British policy towards India, contained in the declaration of 1942, which had the support of all parties in this country, stands in all its fullness and purpose. This declaration envisaged the negotiation of a treaty between the British Government and the Constitution-making body Government is giving immediate consideration to the contents of such a treaty It can be said here that in that treaty, we shall not seek to provide for anything incompatible with the interests of India No one who has any acquaintance with Indian affairs will underestimate the difficulties which will have to be surmounted in the setting up and smooth operation of a Constitution-making Body Still greater is the difficulty which will face the elected representatives of the Indian people in seeking to frame a constitution for a great continent containing more than 400,000,000 human beings

During the war, Indian fighting men have in Europe, Africa and Asia played a splendid part in defeating the forces of tyranny and aggression. India has shared to the full, with the rest of the United Nations, the task of saving freedom and democracy Victory came through unity and through the readiness of all to sink their differences in order to attain the supreme object, victory I would ask all Indians to follow this great example, and to join together in a united effort to work out a constitution which the majority and minority communities will accept as a just and fair constitution, in which both the States and the Provinces can find their place The British Government will do their utmost to give every assistance in their power, and India can be assured of the sympathy of the British people "

Parliamentary Delegation to India

Statement in Lords--4th December, '45

A British Parliamentary delegation is to leave for India as soon as possible to meet leading Indian political personalities and learn their own views at first hand Announcing this in the House of Lords on the 4th December 1945 the the Secretary for India, *Lord Pethick Lawrence* said · "I desire to make it plain that His Majesty's Government regard the setting up of a constitution-making body by which Indians will decide their own future as a matter of the greatest urgency" Lord Pethick Lawrence made the following statement in the Lords —

"The statement made by the Viceroy after his return to India contemplates steps which his Majesty's Government propose should be taken to promote early realisation of full self government in India The full significance of these proposals does not seem to have been properly appreciated in India Since it is the firm conviction of His Majesty's Government that it is by, and in consultation with directly elected representatives of the Indian people that decisions as to the future

governance of British India should be taken, it was a necessary preliminary that elections should be held to the Provincial Legislatures and the Central Assembly in India. It was announced that after the elections in India preparatory discussions would be held with the elected representatives of British India and with the Indian States in order to secure the widest measure of agreement as to the method of framing the constitution

"Unjustified suggestions have gained wide currency in India that these discussions would be a fruitful source of delay I desire to make it plain that His Majesty's Government regard the setting up of a constitution-making body, by which Indians will decide their own future, and also other proposals embodied in the announcement as a matter of the greatest urgency

"This misunderstanding has led His Majesty's Government to consider whether opportunities of personal contact between this country and India which have been greatly interrupted during recent years, cannot now be increased

PURPOSE OF M. P.'s MISSION

"They regard it as a matter of importance that members of our own Parliament should have an opportunity to meet leading political Indian personalities to learn their own views at first hand They would also be able to convey in person the general wish and desire of the people of this country that India should speedily attain her full and rightful position as an independent partner State in the British Commonwealth and the desire of Parliament to do everything within our power to promote speedy attainment of that objective

"His Majesty's Government are, therefore, arranging for a Parliamentary delegation to go to India under the auspices of the Empire Parliamentary Association, The intention is that this party should leave this country as soon as possible In view of the difficulties of transport, it will be limited in size The delegation will be selected by the Association in consultation with Parliamentary representatives of the chief political parties in this country

"During the transition towards complete self government, India will be passing through difficult times. No greater disservice could be done to the future Indian Government and to the cause of democracy than to permit the foundations of the State to be weakened and the loyalty of its servants to those who are in authority to be undermined before that new Government comes into being.

OBLIGATION TO MAINTAIN LAW AND ORDER

"Therefore the Government of India cannot divest itself of the responsibility, which rests upon it and upon all Provincial Governments in preserving law and order and of resisting any attempt to resolve the constitutional issue by force Realisation of full self-government can only come by orderly and peaceful transfer of control of the machinery of State to purely Indian authority

"His Majesty's Government could not permit any attempt to be made to break down the loyalty of the administrative services or of the Indian armed forces, and they will give full support to the Government of India in securing that their servants are protected in the performance of their duty and that the future constitution of India shall not be called into being by force or threat of force

RECONSTRUCTION SCHEMES

"In addition the great need of India whatever Governments are in power, is to raise the standard of life, of education and of health of the masses of people Boldly conceived plans to meet this are already in being and His Majesty's Government are giving every encouragement to proceed with them so that improving social conditions may go forward simultaneously with the institution of self-Government "

The *Earl of Munster* (Conservative), former Under-Secretary for India, thanking Lord Pethick-Lawrence for the statement, said, "We should like, if we may, to examine his statement with the care and consideration due to it in order that we may, if necessary, put down a motion to suit his convenience to discuss it properly I am glad to know that His Majesty's Government do not propose to yield to tyranny or force Perhaps I might ask whether this delegation under the auspices of the Empire Parliamentary Association, who are to proceed to India, will be accompanied by the Under-Secretary or any other Minister and whether it is quite clear that no one in this delegation can commit His Majesty's Government or the Government of India in anything they may say or do during the period of their tour."

Lord Pethick Lawrence: "The question whether the Under-Secretary will go will be a matter for consideration by the Empire Parliamentary Association in

deciding upon the names of the delegation. This visit follows upon lines of similar visits made to India and other parts of His Majesty's Dominions and Empire, and it is not the practice, and it is not the intention of His Majesty's Government in the present case, that the delegation should be given any powers to commit His Majesty's Government to any special policy, though, of course, the policy to which His Majesty's Government have already given expression does, no doubt, form the background and atmosphere in which the delegation will proceed

Statement in House of Commons

Later, Mr *Herbert Morrison* Lord President of the Council, made a statement identical to Lord Pethick Lawrence's in the House of Commons

Mr *Anthony Eden* (Conservative) said that his party would like to look at the statement before commenting upon, but he wished at once to put a question or two on a point that was not quite clear He asked "What are to be the functions of this Parliamentary delegation? As the Lord President will be aware there have been many such delegations at different times to the Dominions and the Colonies of the British Empire but all those delegations, I think, have been entirely official Is this delegation to be on the same lines? I presume that it is Is it to differ, in any way, from those other delegations that have gone out from here before? If so, how is it to differ? Is it to make report and to whom? Those things ought to be cleared up so that there should be no danger of any misunderstanding in India about the function of the delegation "I wholly endorse what the Lord President said at the conclusion of his statement that no force or threat of force can ever be possible basis for the development of self government in India, and also I endorse the statement about the standard of living and the need for the improvement in that respect"

Mr *Morrison* "With regard to the first part of his question, this is an Empire Parliamentary Association delegation Nevertheless, I think it would be in a rather special category As I conceive it one of its purposes would be to convey the goodwill of the British Parliament and also to make contacts and get information to assist the situation" Mr Morrison added "I would hope upon their return, the Speaker might give them an opportunity of conferring with His Majesty's Government in order to express their views and impressions and we might consider what further action should be taken In that respect, I think it is rather special We would wish to have the views and impressions of the delegation on their return"

Mr *James Maxton* (Independent Labour Party) "Is this not conferring on the Empire Parliamentary Association a status somewhat different from what it has held in the past? After all it is only a voluntary situation"

Mr *Morrison*. "That is perfectly true On the other hand, there is an active branch of the Empire Parliamentary Association in India The Association has a good many contacts and we thought it was a convenient arrangement That is the only reason why we thought the Parliamentary Association would provide suitable auspices"

Mr *Eden* "Would Mr Morrison give further consideration to the point raised by Mr Maxton? I think this is a complete departure I think if Government look into the matter of other visits, they will find that they have been made in response to an invitation by the Dominion concerned If the Government's object is nothing more than a goodwill mission, as it appears to be then it might be wiser to send out a mission representative of all parties in the House under the auspices of the Government rather than stretch the Empire Parliamentary Association into a new role which it has never had before"

Mr *Morrison* That will of course not affect the composition of the delegation because it was proposed in any case, that it should be chosen after consultation with the principal Parliamentary parties Therefore it comes in the sense to the same thing If there is a general and wide feeling in the House that they would like the Government to confer through the usual channels, on the status of the delegation I would be willing to receive representations on the point"

Mr *Eden* While thanking Mr Morrison for that, may I ask him also to bear in mind that there is also the position in India to be considered, and it is important we should not raise false hopes as to the functions of this delegation in India, If it goes under Government auspices it could have terms of reference approved by the House

Mr. *Morrison* I think it would be foreign to the traditions of the House and to the spirit of the whole thing if we were to draw this delegation from the

Majority party in the House only. Here, at any rate, we must have some thing like principles of proportionate representation.

Sir Walter Smiles (Conservative) I should like to call the attention of the Lord President to the fact that in many previous missions the north east corner of India, Assam and Bengal, were not visited and I hope this delegation will visit that north east corner this time and especially get in touch with the Muslim leaders of Bengal and Assam

Mr. *Morrison*. Well, sir, we had not got as far as the itinerary I will certainly undertake that that point will be kept in hand

Major Wyatt (Labour) Would the Lord President make it quite clear that if the ultimate wish of the Indian people is that they do not wish to remain a partner of the British Commonwealth, they may be allowed to make that decision and also that there will not again be any further mention of Dominion Status in connection with India

Mr *Morrison* 'I do not think there need be any misapprehension about that The offer of 1942 included provision for a treaty contemplated between a new self-governing India and His Majesty's Government which would not impose any restriction upon the power of India to decide her further relationship with the remainder of the British Commonwealth. His Majesty's Government stand by the position, though it is naturally our hope that India will remain of her own free will within the British Government"

Sir Stanley Reed (Conservative). Will the Lord President give careful consideration to the point raised that this parliamentary delegation is going out under wholly exceptional conditions and that a Parliamentary delegation is bound to be regarded in India as an official delegation and therefore, would it not be better to consider very carefully the proposal made to him ?

Mr *Morrison* I have undertaken to consider the considerations put to me.

Sir Ralph Glynn (Conservative) Will the Lord President bear in mind that there was a standing Joint Committee on Indian Affairs empowered to visit India and other places, and will consider whether that would be a solution ?

Mr *Morrison* My memory is not too clear, but I should doubt whether it would be a suitable way out

Mr *Peter Freeman* (Labour) asked whether in the past there had been failure to appreciate India in this country and lack of understanding between the two countries and whether Mr Morrison would indicate what steps he proposed to take to remove that understanding

Mr. *Morrison* The answer is this step

Wing-Commander Millington (Common wealth) asked whether in view of the impending changes in the status of India Government would defer the trial of 300 arrested men of the Indian National Army so that they might be tried by a competent Indian Court.

Mr *Morrison* I gather Mr Millington's figure is a very great exaggeration but I do not think it would be right for me to deal with that matter as a by-product of the statement I have just made

Mr. *William Gallacher* (Communist) Would it not have been better to leave out the threatening part of the statement, and is it the case that after the election the Indian National Congress and the Mahomedan League will be consulted in every stage of the negotiations

Mr *Morrison* I do not profess to be as strong a believer in firm and ruthless government as Mr Gallacher is. Really I did not detect in this statement any threat I merely said that the Government of India had responsibilities of government and it must govern. The fact is that there have been certain indications of threats the other way

Mr *Godfrey Nicholson* (Conservative) The Lord President will have seen that this proposal for India met with mixed feelings and mixed suggestions in many parts of the House and I hope his consideration will take the form of consultations with all sections of opinion in the House Otherwise it is quite possible he may go wrong

Mr *Morrison* I am much obliged for the friendly warning I did not gather that the main idea was challenged, but I gathered there was some disagreement about the form of the delegation and I will certainly reconsider that in a friendly spirit

Mr *Evelyn Walkden* (Labour) Having regard to the growing strength of the trade union movement in India, will the Minister bear in mind that equals can talk with equals and that some strong trade union representative might be included in the delegation ?

Mr. *Morrison* There is no reason why those who are consulted should not keep that point in mind. Perhaps, I should not say anything which might prejudice the issue at this stage.

A Conservative member asked Mr Morrison to bear in mind the fact that those who went to India should know something about India

There was no reply

Asked by a Labour member about the possibility of a debate, Mr Morrison said that quite apart from the time factor, in which they were in considerable difficulties, he was a little doubtful whether they would be advantageous

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The Political Conferences

The All India Hindu Mahasabha

All India Committee—New Delhi—18th —19th, August 1945

Prominent leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha decided to renounce their titles in protest against what they described as "the Government's increasingly hostile attitude towards the legitimate rights of Hindus' Their decision was in accordance with a resolution passed by the Working Committee and the All-India Committee of the Mahasabha at New Delhi on the 18th August 1945

Opening the session of the Committee to-day, Dr *Shyama Prasad Mookherjee*, President said that, since the last meeting of the Mahasabha at Bilaspur, a new situation had been created by the Wavell Offer. Lord Wavell had not invited the Hindu Mahasabha to the Simla Conference, because, said Dr. Mookherjee, the Viceroy feared opposition from the Mahasabha The Mahasabha, Dr Mookherjee went on, not only opposed the offer, but also charged the British Government with unwillingness to part with real power

Referring to Mr. Jinnah Dr Mookherjee said that the League leader had now changed his demand from parity with Hindus to that of parity with the rest of India Dr Mookerjee claimed that the Mahasabha was the only national organisation and challenged any one to prove that the policy and programme of the Mahasabha was inconsistent with national aspirations. He strongly demanded that the future of India should be based on unity and drew support from the speeches of Pandit Nehru.

Communal Award Must Go

Mr V. C. *Chatterjee* Vice-President, moved the main political resolution, which was as follows

"On the termination of the world war causing untold misery and suffering to millions of people in India and other countries both in the East and the West, we call upon His Majesty's Government to redeem the pledge of liberation of oppressed humanity from both political and economic fetters. Hindusthan was bled white and made great sacrifices both in men and materials in fighting the forces of aggression and sacrificed millions of her sons due to famine and pestilence caused by the conditions created by the war, In view of the glorious achievements in the theatres of war, particularly of the Hindus, who formed about 70 per cent of the combatants and won as many as 27 Victoria Crosses out of 31 won by Indian soldiers, the United Nations should stand by India's demand for justice and fair-play, and see that no injustice is done to the Hindus in this crisis If democracy has any meaning, no power on earth can deny, with impunity, the united demand of the vast majority of the Indian masses for Independence. By the Independence of India and other countries in bondage will the United Nations now be judged.

"To make agreement between political parties and communities a condition precedent to the freedom of India is a pretext for imperialism to cling to power The present constitution is based on the so-called Communal Award which is a negation of democracy and makes impossible the real verdict of the Indian people to be expressed constitutionally We call upon the British Government immediately to revoke the Communal Award, which is unfair, undemocratic and anti national. The Hindu Mahasabha has all along rejected the Communal Award.

The Hindu Mahasabha is opposed to the pernicious principle of parity

between Hindus and Muslims. It is inherently unjust to reduce a majority of three-fourths to the same position as a minority of one-fourth. This unfair reduction of 25 crores to the same level as that occupied by a minority of 8½ crores is undemocratic and will not solve the communal problem. The British Government has made impossible any agreement between communities and parties, because it has conferred practically a veto in the hand of the communalist, who has been given unfair weightage and excessive representation. The Hindu Mahasabha is of opinion that the Wavell Plan, which envisaged no real transfer of power to Indian hands, was foredoomed to failure because it was based on the inherently unjust proposals of parity and the denial of representation to the Hindus as such, while conceding recognition to the Muslim League.

"His Majesty's Government, if it is genuinely desirous of solving the Indian deadlock, can call for the co-operation of all nationalist elements, Hindus and Muslims, who are willing to shoulder responsibility for the triple issues of integrity of India, opposition to parity and complete Independence without weakening or crippling the Hindus. On these issues, His Majesty's Government should make an unequivocal declaration, and the Hindu Mahasabha confidently calls upon the people to create sanctions for the effective enforcement of their just demands."

Sir *Gokul Chand Narang*, seconding the resolution, condemned separate electorates and declared that, if under joint electorates all the candidates returned were Muslims, he would not feel sorry.

Mr. *Ananga Mohan Dam*, M.L.A. (Central) asserted that the Congress was dead. It no longer represented Hindus, and he called upon them not to cast their votes for the Congress.

Mr. *Bhojraj Ajwani* (Sind) moved an amendment to the effect that, if Government did not accept the Mahasabha demand, the Mahasabha should resort to direct action.

Lala Hardyal (Punjab), supporting the amendment, said that if the Mahasabha launched direct action, the Congress would lose its popularity.

Mr. *N. C. Chatterjee*, mover of the resolution, opposed the amendment and explained that it was useless to decide on direct action without making sure whether the Mahasabha had adequate resource.

Mr. *Ashutosh Lahiri*, General Secretary, Hindu Mahasabha, speaking in support of Mr. Chatterjee, said that the time was not ripe for direct action.

Mr. *S. P. Parikh* (Lucknow) declared that Mahasabha workers were prepared for direct action to assert their rights.

Mr. *Debendra Nath Mukerji*, Mayor of Calcutta, said that if the Committee approved the proposal for direct action, he would be glad to enrol himself for the purpose of launching it, but the question was whether they had considered their position fully. His tour of the U. P. and Lahore, he said showed that they did not have sufficient support. Their first requirement was to organise the people and establish mass contact.

Prof. Deshpande moved an amendment, stating that if the Government failed to make a satisfactory declaration by November 1945, the Hindu Mahasabha shall have to launch a movement against the British Government for national liberation and vindication of Hindu rights.

Further consideration of the resolution and the amendments was postponed till the next day.

RESOLUTION ON TITLES

The Committee took up the resolution on titles moved by Mr. B. G. Khaparde. The resolution read: "As a mark of protest against the increasing hostile attitude of the Government towards the legitimate rights of the Hindus the Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha calls upon all Government title-holders, who are office-bearers or who are members of the Council or Committees of or provincial or district Sabhas to relinquish their titles. No Government title-holders shall therefore be eligible for any elective offices in the Hindu Mahasabha."

Lala Narain Dutt (Delhi) seconding the resolution said that title-holders would never come out in the open and criticise the Government and could not therefore properly serve the interests of the Mahasabha.

The resolution was passed unanimously.

SIR GOKULCHAND'S ANNOUNCEMENT

Dr. *Sir Gokulchand Narang* was loudly cheered when he rose to announce that he was giving up his Knighthood. He said that it had been observed that people ran after titles, but when the time came for some kind of action or

taking up a firm attitude against the Government, they backed out. As for himself, Sir Gokulchand made it clear, that he made no efforts whatsoever to get the title It came to him as a matter of course, as he had served as a Minister for six and half years He never thought he would be knighted and when honours were announced, he was away in the United Provinces. Sir Gokulchand added that he was always opposed to the Government and had served a term of imprisonment during the Martial Law days The title had not stood in his ways of expressing his views freely and frankly Even in his talks with Governors and Viceroys he never minced matters because he was a title holder When he was a Minister, he had occasion to recommend many names for titles, but not once had he entertained the wish to get a title for himself During the last eight years, Sir Gokulchand said, he had not voted once with the Government. He had never worn the decorations, and had not even bought the medal which cost only about Rs 40 or Rs 45 Amidst cheers of "Gokul Chand Zindabad", Dr Narang declared that a letter from the President would have sufficed for him to relinquish his title

Earlier the Committee passed condolence resolutions on the deaths of Sir N N Sircar, Raja Narendranath and Mr. D G, Savarkar The Committee adjourned.

Resolutions—2nd Day—New Delhi—19th August 1945

The All-India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha concluded its two-day session to-day after adopting their main political resolution without any amendment The resolution declared that a Constituent Assembly based on separate electorates was unacceptable, that the parity principle in the Wavell formula was 'pernicious' The Committee also passed a number of resolutions condemning the continuance of Section 93 in Bengal, assuring the Mahasabha's support to the Arya Samaj for any movement that is launched against the banning of the *Satyarth Prakash* and expressing concern at the "impending unemployment of millions of Indian men and women due to demobilisation"

The All-India Committee urged the provincial sabhas to appoint boards to watch the interests of demobilised men and to see that their claims were considered in the first instance in all post war reconstruction schemes The Committee requested all Hindu capitalists and industrialists to find employment for such persons as far as possible in their concerns

The Committee passed a further resolution giving its views on the disposal of Sterling Balances and opposing "the dumping of foreign consumers' goods in India"

At the outset, Dr Shyama Prasad Mukherjee made a speech in which he requested Mr Deshpande, the mover of the amendment to the main political resolution, to withdraw his amendment, which fixed a date "to launch a movement against British Government" if the Mahasabha's demands were not conceded Dr. Shyama Prasad agreed with the principle of the amendment, but did not consider it would be correct to adopt it now.

It was indeed his conviction that India could not be free without a struggle, nor could the Hindus once again establish their legitimate rights without launching a struggle He said that if there was no agreement with the Government, then the Mahasabha, as the political organisation of the Hindus, must launch a movement. The initiative for that must come from the President of the Sabha and if he was worth his salt, he will do the needful, he said According to him, the first big task that faced the Hindus was to organise themselves and establish branches of the Mahasabha in all parts of the country.

HINDI VERSUS HINDUSTANI

Apart from the main political problem, there were so many other issues on which the Mahasabha was prepared to take up the challenge immediately said the Sabha President In Bihar, the question of Hindi versus Hindustani was agitating all Hindustani was being forced upon all Hindu children in schools and colleges. The Mahasabha had already told the Provincial Government that by August 31 the imposition of Hindustani should be given up

Dr. *Shyama Prasad Mukherjee* said that some sort of movement by way of direct action would be taken in September. This was not merely a movement against the Government, but against the Congress as well who initiated the policy of Hindustani He said he had no doubt that young men would rally under the banner of the Mahasabha and give a good account of themselves.

The second question was that of the *Satyarth Prakash.* He had no doubt that the Arya Samajists would launch a movement and "the Hindu Mahasabha will plunge itself into that struggle."

There was again, Dr. Shyama Prasad said, a movement impending in Bengal

where Section 93 was in operation. He claimed that there was a majority of members in that Bengal Assembly who could form a stable ministry. There were at least 50 Muslim members, besides Scheduled Caste and Congress members, who were prepared to support a new non-League Ministry. The position of the Governor appeared to be that, either there should be a Muslim League Ministry in power or no Ministry at all. If any movement was launched in Bengal, it would not be on a communal issue, but a national issue in which everyone could join.

Dr. Shyama Prasad denied that the Hindu Mahasabha was running away from action. They were now prepared to take up the challenge on certain specific issues. On the main political problem, a struggle was bound to come. But there must be ample preparation in the country for that, and the President must be given a free hand.

Mr. Deshpande withdrew his amendment, and the resolution was declared passed.

STERLING BALANCES

Sir Gokulchand Narang moved a resolution on Sterling Balances. The resolution read: "The All-India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha will strongly oppose any attempts which may be made in interested quarters to absorb India's sterling balances into the British Exchequer by dumping foreign consumer goods in India, and thereby sapping the very foundations of the industrialisation of India. This Committee is firmly of the opinion that no real expansion of the Indian industries can be brought about except in terms of the resolution passed at the Bilaspur session of the Hindu Mahasabha regarding the basic principles of the industrial and agricultural development of India in the post-war schemes of reconstruction. This committtee strongly urges the British Government to remove all restrictions on dollar exchange in order to enable India to secure from the United States such capital goods as Great Britain is unable to supply."

The resolution was seconded by Mr. *L. B. Bhopatkar* and was passed unanimously.

DEMOBILISATION PROBLEM

The resolution on demobilisation was moved by Mr. *N. C. Chatterjee* and was supported by *Capt. Kishan Chandra* and Prof. *H. C. Ghosh*. The resolution said: "The All India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha views with concern the impending unemployment of millions of Indian men and women due to their demobilisation, and calls upon the Government to provide suitable employment for the people who served the Allied cause in the days of crisis. The Committee calls upon all the Provincial Hindu Sabhas to appoint boards in their provinces with a view to put themselves in touch with such demobilised persons and to see that they are not unfairly treated and that their claims are considered in the first instance in all postwar reconstruction schemes and other avenues of employment. This Committee requests all Hindu capitalists and industrialists to find employment for such persons as far as possible, in their concerns."

SECTION 93 IN BENGAL

The resolution on Bengal was moved by *Rai Bahadur Harischandra*. The resolution reads: "This Committee condemns the unconstitutional action of the Governor of Bengal in maintaining autocratic rule under Section 93 of the Government of India Act when the majority of the members of the legislature were and are willing to shoulder responsibility and to work the constitution. In view of the findings of the Famine Commission that the horrors of famine were accentuated by the absence of an all-party Ministry and the unsatisfactory prospects of the main crop in some parts of Bengal, this Committee condemns the continuation of an autocratic regime and the appointment of panchayat of non Indian I. C. S. officers as Advisers. It is regrettable that such an autocratic and unconstitutional act is being countenanced by the Labour Cabinet which should reconsider the matter and direct the Governor to act according to the constitution and the Instrument of Instructions."

'SATYARTH PRAKASH'

On the question of *Satyarth Prakash* the Committee passed the following resolution: "The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha hereby resolves that the recent order of the Sind Government regarding the *Satyarth Prakash* is entirely unsatisfactory and reiterates that the Hindu Mahasabha will be with the Arya Samaj regarding any movement that may be launched against the banning of the *Satyarth Prakash* in Sind and to vindicate the legitimate rights of the Arya Samajists throughout Hindustan".

Mr Chandkaran Sarda, Lala Narain Dutt and Mr Bhojraj spoke in support of the resolution

Forced Labour for Bhils

The Committee also adopted a resolution moved by Mr. Indra Prakash requesting the Rulers of Jhabua, Banswara, Ratlam, Sailana and Kushalgarh and other States to exempt the Hindu Bhils from forced labour as they had exempted the the Christian Bhils The resolution also protested against the externment of Baleshwar Dayal by the Indore Government.

The All-India Muslim League

Mr Jinnah's Bombay Speech—6th August 1945

The view that India should strive for a final constitutional settlement rather than grope for an interim agreement now that the war in Europe is over and the war against Japan is drawing to a close, was expressed by Mr *M A. Jinnah*, President of the All-India Muslim League, addressing at Bombay on the 6th. August 1945 a meeting convened to present a purse on him

Mr. Jinnah analysed the Simla Conference and said "The first question is why did Mr Gandhi as one of the leaders of the recognised parties go to Simla? Having gone there, why did he not attend the Conference? The reason is simple It was to play the role of a wire-puller. He was not merely content with being an adviser to the Congress and its Working Committee but he constituted himself as an adviser to the Viceroy and through him, the British nation Mornings and evenings, the Working Committee meetings took place and he was the guiding spirit behind"

"When it suits Mr. Gandhi," Mr Jinnah added, "he represents nobody, he can talk only in his individual capacity, he is not even a four-anna member of the Congress, he undertakes a fast to decide the political issue, he reduces himself to zero and consults his inner voice Yet, when it suits him again, he is the supreme dictator of the Congress. He thinks he represents the whole of India. Gandhi is an enigma How can we come to a settlement with him?"

Tirade Against Congress

Mr Jinnah added, "There was so much venom and bitterness against the Muslims and Muslim League that the Congress were prepared to go to any length with two objectives First, to hammer down, humiliate and discourage the Muslim League and every method was adopted to bully us, coerce us and threaten us to surrender The second was to see that the Muslim League was ignored and by-passed and for that purpose, they stooped to the lowest point that they threw all their principles to the winds The Congress leaders who champion "Quit India" and 'complete independence and of which they make every year declarations went to Simla defeated, frustrated and scared and threw themselves at the feet of Lord Wavell to secure certain portfolios, because there was no question of self government within the framework of the present constitution.

"In order to be on the right side of Lord Wavell, they tried to beat down and humiliate the Muslim League and so work the Viceroy up as to get him to bypass the League through a short-sighted and miscalculated policy adopted at Simla This proved a complete failure. Now, they accuse Lord Wavell of breach of faith and allege that he had given an assurance to ignore and by pass the League I do not believe it Even if the Viceroy wanted it, he could not have done it

"There are only two major parties in this country and Lord Wavell's broadcast was based on that very conception Invitations issued to Mr Gandhi and myself were on the basis that Mr Gandhi was the recognised leader of one of the parties and myself the leader of the other The British called them parties, but in fact they are two major nations. There is no doubt that other minorities must be assured of safeguards, but that is not the case with the ten crores of Muslims who happen to be a majority in the north-western and north eastern zones where they want to establish Pakistan

"No Question of Veto"

"Just because the British turned down the Congress proposals at Simla, the latter accuse the British Government of having given the veto These people do not know the meaning of veto or they try to misrepresent the League There is no question of veto The proposal was for an interim government under the present constitution I have already given my reasons that it was unjust and unreasonable The Congress cannot expect us to agree to what they want, however detrimental to our interests that may be What does the Congress want? They want to establish

a Hindu Raj. While the League wishes Hindustan god speed and freedom for Hindustan, at the same time we want to establish Pakistan in two zones where we are in a majority Unless Mr Gandhi and the Congress give up their demands of establishing Hindu Raj and by hook or crook bringing the Muslims into it, for which they have been determinedly working, they cannot expect us to transfer ourselves from the British Government to a Hindu Raj"

PAKISTAN ISSUE MUST BE DECIDED

Mr Jinnah went on "People say the Conference was a failure I would say the Conference is wound up for all time In 1940, because of the war we offered our hand of co-operation to Britain for the defence of the country and prosecution of the war We did not want any aggression either from Hitler or from the Mikado. In our own interests, therefore, we were ready to co-operate For, what would we have gained otherwise? Our homes and hearths would have been bombarded both in the north eastern and the north-western zones where the Muslims are in a majority If Hitler had succeeded, we would have been thrown from the frying pan into the fire Therefore it was a war emergency which called for an interim settlement for the successful prosecution of the war When Lord Wavell went to England the war in Europe had not finished But now remember the war in Europe is over, and the war in the Far East is almost coming to an end Japan is concentrating in her own homelands hundreds of miles away There is no use of talking of interim settlements now Let us go ahead with measures of a permanent constitutional settlement. Pakistan must be decided if the issue of freedom and independence of India is decided We will never surrender on the issue of Pakistan to anybody as our claim is a just and religious one and is the only solution for India

'We want to fight the election so that they may once [illegible] convince those who doubt our representative character It [illegible] proofs, and with the support of the people, we will sweep the polls The [illegible] of the League is resounding throughout the world and the Muslims have now awakened to a new consciousness of nationhood If the Simla conference had succeeded in by-passing the Muslim League, I would not have asked you for money to fight the elections, but more than that, I would have asked you for complete sacrifice for the realisation of our goal of Pakistan'

Mr Jinnah's Bombay Speech – 12th August 1945

Mr *M. A. Jinnah*, President of the All India Muslim League, at Bombay on the 12th August 1945 categorically refuted the two charges made against him by the Congress Mr Jinnah was addressing a large gathering of Muslims assembled to present a purse and donations to him for the Muslim League election fund

Characterising the charges as the Congress [illegible], Mr Jinnah dealt with the first, namely that the British Government had given him the veto the second, that his attitude was intransigent and that he was obstructing the achievement of India's freedom as he was "playing the game of British Imperialism" and [illegible] insinuating that he was "carrying out the wishes of Britain"

"All this is false" asserted Mr Jinnah "and those who talk like this know it and they [illegible] realise [illegible] it is [illegible] on [illegible] false propaganda They know that all their manoeuvres and machinations are to force the Muslim Provinces into an interim or permanent all India Union by hook or crook and when [illegible], they look to the British bayonets to perform the task for them and hence they resort to alternating and varying methods [illegible] and [illegible] abuse [illegible] and [illegible] threats to the British Government

"We are determined", added Mr Jinnah, "not to submit to any scheme of an All India Union, interim or otherwise and we will resist any attempt to impose such a union upon us [illegible] game [illegible] this resistance on our part an exercise of 'veto' by me is on the face of it absurd and those who talk like this know that it is so To say that our attitude is to obstruct the achievement of freedom for Hindus and Muslims is utterly false for we want both Hindu India and Muslim India to be free but we cannot agree to any arrangement which means freedom for Hindus and establishment of 'Hindu Raj' and slavery for the Muslims—transfer of Muslim India from British Raj to Hindu Raj That is the real issue"

CRIPPS STATEMENT RECALLED

Mr Jinnah recalled the recent statement of Sir Stafford Cripps to *Reuters* on July [illegible] Sir Stafford had said "It is far better to extend the means of arriving at a permanent settlement in which, the question of Pakistan must form a major issue. It would not be right to allow any minority, however large and important, to hold

up the attainment of Self-Government in India any more than it would be right to force the Muslim majority provinces into a new constitutional arrangement to which they took fundamental objection."

"What the Congress wants", Mr. Jinnah continued, "is to force the Muslim majority provinces into an All-India Union to which we not only take fundamental objection but we shall resist it with all our might if it is imposed upon us. I hope that the saner elements of the Hindus will at least realise that it is futile to look up to the British Government to throw Muslim India at the mercy of the Hindu Raj or to force a constitution of the Hindu conception upon Muslim India and then maintain it with British bayonets. Therefore, the just and the only solution of India's constitutional problem lies in the establishment of Pakistan and Hindusthan as we have been urging and explaining to peoples both in India and abroad. It is, therfore, the Congress that is obstructing the freedom of all the peoples of India and is really responsible for the deadlock, for it wants all or nothing—which is a dream that will never materialise."

After thanking the various associations and members of the Muslim community for the generous donations to the election fund, Mr. Jinnah gave what he called a short account of the main issues facing the community. "Pandit Jawharlal Nehru", he said, "has been summoning the so-called Muslim leaders. According to reports he is conferring with them. You must not therefore think that the Congress is not going to give you the greatest possible havoc. You have again Mr. Gandhi's Constructive Programme. He uses a word the meaning of which is quite different. You must remember that the Congress has got not only lakhs of rupees, but the figure can be calculated in crores. When Mr. Gandhi means a destructive programme for Muslims, they will do their best to disrupt the Muslims, to divide, to corrupt mislead and misguide and bamboozle them. They will resort to every means and device possible. But, I think, unless my judgment of Muslims is wrong and I have known them sufficiently intimately for the last nearly seven years, that all these efforts of the Congress and our enemies are foredoomed to failure. I wish that the large amount of money which is at their disposal can be utilised for a better purpose than causing disruption among the Muslims. But I am doubtful whether the leopard can change its spots. There it is that we have got to face facts and I hope that with your co-operation and wisdom we will come out of it with success."

APPEAL FOR FUNDS

Mr. Jinnah said that the assembly of various sections of the Muslim community in Bombay on the occasion showed that they had gathered there as Muslims. "I see it is clear to-day that, Shias and Sunnis, Bohras, Khojas and Momins are one. There is no question of any kind of difference.

"If you have understood and if my words can reach Muslim India, you will realise that the enemy is at the gate. We cannot afford to indulge in our differences at this moment. We must close our ranks and stand solidly and united as one nation. When you will vindicate not only your national character but your national claim."

In this connection, Mr. Jinnah explained the sufferings of the British nation during the Blitz' and how they came out of the war successfully, because of their unity although they were only 35 millions. "You are ten crores that means nearly three times that number with your past history and glory. We shall have time to quarrel among ourselves and we shall have time when these differences will have to be settled, when wrongs and injuries will have to be remedied. We shall have time for domestic programmes and policies, but first get the Government. This is a nation without any territory or any Government."

The All Parties Shia Conference

Presidential Address—Lucknow—14th October 1945

Mr *Hoosembhoy A. Laljee*, in his presidential address to the All Parties' Shia Conference, which opened in Lucknow on the 14th October 1945, stressed the urgent need for organisation and sustained agitation on the part of the Shias to secure their legitimate rights as a minority. Mr. Hoosseinboy briefly narrated how other minorities in the country, the Sikhs, the Indian Christians, the Anglo-Indians and the depressed classes organised their communities and ultimately forced the Government to recognise their separate representation in services and legislatures. The Shias numbered 30 millions and in spite of 2 per cent of them being literate, they had no right to elect their own representaives nor had they any reserved

seats to be filled either by election or by nomination in the local bodies, the Provincial Legislatures, the Central Legislature, the Viceroy's Executive Council or the ministries in the provinces Mr Hosseinbhoy observed that all demands of other minorities had been agreed to in principle, not only by the British Government but also by the Congress and the Muslim League The League had declared in unequivocal terms that it was willing to concede to the Sikhs their demands as a minority It was important to note, added Mr Hosseinbhoy, that the population of Sikhs had been put down at about 6 millions and therefore, was much less than that of the Shias Mr Hosseinbhoy continued "No body can dispute that there exists amongst the Shia Muslims, the same feeling and desire as exist among other minorities for proper representation of their interests and legitimate rights

Shias' Share In Freedom Struggle

Mr Hosseinbhoy referred to the services of the Shia community in the cause of national freedom and said "The records of the Indian National Congress will show that Shia Muslims were in the forefront when that great institution was founded and for many years they held a position of great influence in that body The Shia community has provided eminent members as President of the Congress as well as important personages in that institution, in addition to a large number of Shias who have been from time to time selected as Congress delegates Similarly, when the All-India Muslim League was founded in 1906 the Shia Muslims have been from the beginning in the forefront as much as in the Congress "When the great Khilafat movement was started in 1919", added the President, "the whole Shia community plunged itself wholeheartedly into the struggle for the protection of the population of Muslim States of the Middle East and did not spare any sacrifices for obtaining redress of the Khilafat wrongs, Referring to the success of the second World War, Mr Hosseinbhoy said Indian Muslims had not fought as mercenary soldiers, sailors and airmen, they had not fought for establishing the rule of brute force over the Muslims or any Muslim State and particularly Muslim Holy places like Palestine, Hedaj and Iraq dominated by non-Muslims

Grievance Against Congress

The President strongly felt that the Indian National Congress had not taken them into its fullest confidence and contrary to expectations, it had not done justice to the Shias The Shias would not forget what took place in the United Provinces when the Congress Ministry was in power The majority can never be the loser if it is in the right path for conceding minority rights The minority will have to come to the majority if it wants anything tangible He said the Shias did not want favours, but protection of their legitimate rights Mr Hosseinbhoy expressed disappointment at the American policy in regard to the Jewish immigration into Palestine. He asked if the Americans felt so much for the Jewish people, why did they not provide space for the Jews in their vast country ? Mr Hosseinbhoy ridiculed the slogan 'Islam in danger' and said Islam had never been in danger and would never be in danger Concluding the President put before the Conference some proposals which he said, must be discussed as they materially affected [illegible] of the Shias The Shias would not join any organisation unconditionally and without a categorical assurance that their interests would be properly [illegible]

Resolutions—2nd Day—15th October 1945

The Conference adopted to-day a long resolution demanding protection of the rights of Shias in the future constitution

The resolution stated *inter alia* that serious misgivings and misapprehension have been created in the minds of the Shias about their future status in the country. It had therefore become absolutely necessary that adequate steps should be taken to allay these fears and to remove these misapprehensions by providing such safeguards for the [illegible] protection of the Shia interests in future as may have permanent and statutory effect in relation to these interests

The resolution added "This conference fully realises the soundness of the proposition the pre-requisite for such safeguards and protection is a friendly understanding with the rest of the Mussalmans and other communities on the basis of co-operation in the struggle for achieving freedom for our country.

The resolution recommended the setting up of a Council of Action consisting of the prominent Shias from every province who are in agreement with the aims and objects of the conference and who are ready to work for the benefit and well-being of the Shia community Such members will be selected by the conference

and will carry out the task entrusted to them. The Council of Action is authorised, in co-ordination with the office of the All-India Shia Political Conference to reorganise the body on all India basis by (a) re-establishing its provincial, district, city and town branches; (b) enrolling more members; (c) framing a new and comprehensive constitution of the All-India Shia Political Conference to be passed at its annual session.

The Council of Action, continued the resolution, will take all necessary constitutional and legitimate steps to have effective safeguards in the matter of religion, culture, personal laws, social practices, education, fair share in the Public Services and adequate representation in the Legislatures incorporated in the future constitution of India and, in particular, will secure for the Shias, reservation of an adequate number of seats in the Ministries, Legislatures, Assemblies and all elected bodies generally as well as in all Public Services and an assurance that provision shall be made in the election rules to the effect that any anti-Shia sectarian propaganda resorted to in any election where a Shia happens to be a candidate will be considered sufficient to set aside the election at the instance of the unsuccessful Shia candidate irrespective of the consideration that such propaganda has or has not affected the result of the election

REPRESENTATION IN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

In order to secure the constitutional and statutory safeguards continued the resolution, the Council of Action shall have the authority to obtain recognition by statute of the Shia community as an important and separate minority and shall carry on continuous agitation for proper representation for Shias in the Constituent Assembly which has been promised by the Government

The Conference formed a Council of Action of 80 members which was authorised to obtain recognition by status of the Shia community as an important and separate minority

The Council it was resolved, shall choose not less than three and not more than five of its members to form a deputation to proceed to England and to other countries to secure its objectives.

Mr Hoseinbhoy Laljee was elected President of the Council of Action which was constituted by the Conference from among the delegates from the various provinces

Council of Action—Poona—25th. December 1945

SHIAS OPPOSE PAKISTAN

A resolution stating that the Shias could not support the Muslim League demand for Pakistan was adopted to-day at the meeting of the Council of Action of the All Parties Shia Conference Mr Hasseinbhoy Laljee presided

The Council feared that the establishment of Pakistan would ostensibly result in the establishment of the Hanafi Shariat in that area, a Shariat which was fundamentally different from the Shariat Jaffri or Imamia law which was followed by the Shias The Lahore resolution of the Muslim League wherein it was stated that provision would be made in the constitution for adequate and effective protection of the religious, cultural, economic and political rights of the minorities, did not make clear whether the Shia community would be recognised as a minority in the constitution On the contrary, the attitude of the Muslim League High Command, refusing to recognise the Shias as a separate important Muslim minority to be governed by its own Shariat, made the Shias sceptical of the demand of the Muslim League for Pakistan and the Council thought that it was not possible for the Shias to support the Muslim League demand.

CO-OPERATION WITH OTHER PARTIES

After referring to its fruitless efforts to come to an agreement with the Muslim League, the Council authorised its President to approach other political organisations to secure their co-operation for the recognition of the rights of the Shias as a distinct and important minority in the future constitution of India. The Council decided that the Shias should then work shoulder to shoulder with those organisations for the independence of India

The Council called upon Shias to abstain from exercising their right of franchise in the forthcoming elections as a protest against their not getting adequate representation in the Legislatures, political and civic bodies in proportion to their political importance and numerical strength of three crores and the indifference shown by the Muslim League towards their demands The resolution, however, added that the Shias should support in a body any Shia candidate who stands for

election after filing a declaration with the President of the Council that he was in agreement with its policy or any Muslim candidate standing on a ticket of a party supporting the policy of the All-Parties Shia Conference

The Council also decided to arrange for a deputation to be sent to the Secretary of State and the Viceroy to represent their case and also place before the Parliamentary Delegation their claims and demands The personnel of the deputation will be selected by the President, Mr Laljee

The Council deplored the interference of Foreign Powers in the National Shia Government of Iran and demanded that the three Allies should withdraw their military forces without any further delay from Iran and should stop interfering in the internal affairs of that Shia State It asked all the Shia organisations in the country to hold meetings or arrange processions on or before the "Chehlum" day to protest against the policy followed by the Allies in Iran and support the demand of the Council.

The meeting also put on record its deep sense of indignation at the hooliganism exhibited by the Muslim Leaguers on the occasion of the elections to the Central Assembly from the Bombay City constituency It felicitated its President, Mr Laljee, on the bold stand taken by him on the occasion and considered his defeat as a good augury for the success of the Shia cause

The All India Ahrar Conference

Resolutions—Amritsar—20th & 21st October 1945

The two-day Ahrar Conference held in Golbagh, Amritsar under the presidentship of *Kazi Ahsar Ahmad Shujabadi*, concluded on the 21st October 1945 The Conference passed a number of resolutions condemning the activities of the Muslim Leaguers in making wanton and cowardly attacks on Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madni Alama Mashraqi and other nationalist leaders, condemning the attitude of the British and American Governments in letting Jews make an encroachment upon the rights of the Arabs in Palestine and considering this interference by these Governments as a challenge to the Islamic world calling upon the Government to grant immediate permission to the Ahrars to start their own English weekly and Urdu daily papers, especially in view of the fact that the Muslim Leaguers, Unionists and other organisations have their own organs, calling upon the Muslim League to refrain from accommodating the Kadianis simply for the sake of gaining prestige, otherwise the Muslims would be right in saying that the claim of the Muslim League was only to hoodwink the Muslims, congratulating the nationalists of Java and Indo China in their struggle for independence

Agha Shoris Kashmiri, in a vigorous speech, criticised Mr Jinnah and his League and condemned the attacks made by his followers on the accredited nationalist leaders like Maulana Azad Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madni, Alama Mashruqi and others Referring to the situation in Palestine the speaker said it was the time for the Muslim India to unite and consider ways how to render assistance to their Muslim brothers fighting for their independence He deplored the existence of the Muslim League Ministry in Bengal where millions of people died of starvation and when this state of affairs was prevailing in Bengal Mr Jinnah was busy in getting his procession taken out in Karachi. Agha Shoris exhorted the Ahrar volunteers to carry on the constructive programme in seeing the masses, calling upon the Maulvies in the mosques and making them understand the true position of the Muslim League so that the Muslims might not be misled by their false slogans.

Mr *Mazhar Ali*, also in a forceful speech, called upon Mr Jinnah not to deceive the Muslim masses by raising false slogans of 'Islam in Danger. He made a suggestion to Mr. Jinnah that he should start a movement for getting Pakistan from the British Government and the speaker and the Ahrars would work jointly with him If he was not prepared for this then it would be considered that he was only playing in the hands of the Britishers to strengthen their hold on India He made a strong appeal to make use of their vote in a right way and give the same to those who are prepared to sacrifice themselves for their and country's cause

The Nationalist Muslim Conference

Resolutions—New Delhi—18th. September 1945

The decision to set up a Nationalist Muslim Parliamentary Board to select candidates and conduct the forthcoming general elections was taken by the

Nationalist Muslim leaders assembled at New Delhi on the 18th September The Board will consist of 21 members having 8 representatives of Jamiat-ul-Ulema and Muslim Majlis, 3 of Momin Conference and Krishak Proja Party each, 2 of Anjuman Watan and 5 of other parties *Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madeni* was elected Chairman of the Board

The Parliamentary Board has been entrusted with the task of preparing an election manifesto. The Board will avail itself of the advice and support of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad who is expected in Delhi by the end of this month

The meeting passed a resolution condemning the Government of India for having yielded to the Muslim League and holding the election so abruptly at a time when a number of Muslim patriots were in prison The resolution criticised the undemocratic nature of the franchise on which the elections to the Central Assembly will be fought. The resolution further stated "This convention of various Muslim organisations feel that under the present circumstances only the voters of the wealthy and the Zaminder classes can be registered and there is no possibility of Muslim masses recording their votes It is, therefore apparent that there is a clear danger of more reactionaries being returned But in spite of all these difficulties and handicaps this Convention considers it essential that the Azad Muslims should participate in all the elections of the Central Assembly as well in order to educate and guide the Muslim public opinion and protect the Indian Mussalmans from the ruinous policy of the Muslim League which is entirely a capitalist organisation and which has formed an alliance with the Imperialist Government to exploit the Mussalmans for their own selfish ends

As the immediate object of these elections is to ascertain correct public opinion, this Convention emphatically demands that these elections be held either on adult franchise basis or at least on the basis of present provincial electoral rolls"

The Sixth All India Akali Conference

Gujranwala—9th September, 1945

"The Sikh Panth will resist Pakistan to the last man" This declaration was made by Sardar Ishar Singh Majhail while unfurling the "Nishan Sahib"—the Sikh flag at the Ranjit Nagar on the occasion of the Akali Conference Over one lakh persons were present

S Ishar Singh Majhail said the Sikhs, who were born to end tyrannies would struggle to the last if the British Government, along with other powers would ever try to thrust Pakistan on the Sikhs.

Concluding, he exhorted the Sikhs to rally round the Panthic flag which was the emblem of sacrifice and freedom He appealed to the Sikh voters to vote for only those Sikh candidates who would stand on the ticket of the Panth

PRESIDENTIAL PROCESSION

The whole of Gujranwala town re-sounded with anti Pakistan slogans when Babu Labh Singh, President-elect of the Akali Conference was taken in a two-mile long procession on elephant back The whole route was lined by thousands of men and women More than 60 Akali Jathas, in their multi coloured dresses and turbans carrying swords and Sikh flags and spears, etc, participated, headed by five camel-swars and 101 on horse-back with naked swords in their hands The procession took 3 hours to reach the place where the conference took place.

"The opinion of the Sikhs about Pakistan is crystal clear The patriot Sikhs shall never tolerate a vivisection of their beloved country at any price The officers and soldiers of the Azad Hind Army should be treated as prisoners of war, and as the war has ended they should be released forthwith. If they are treated harshly, then there will rise in the whole of the country a wave of anger and indignation, the entire responsibility for which will lie on the shoulders of the Government.. The Shromani Akali Dal and the Ja has connected with it will not lag behind any other communities in the country's struggle for freedom in future just as they had always remained with the Congress in her fight for independence" These observations were made by Babu Labh Singh of Jullundur in his capacity as Jathedar of the Shromani Akali Dal while presiding over the sixth All-India Akali Conference.

Sardar Labh Singh discussed the relations of the Akalis with the Congress He related the sacrifices, which the Akali Dal had made for India's independence along with the Congress, and said "The Shromani Akali Dal has been with the Congress in every campaign against the British Government and has taken quite an active part in making sacrifices for the sake of the country"

He hoped that just as in the past the Shromani Akali Dal and its allied Jathas had always remained with the Congress, so they would not lag behind the other communities in the future struggle for freedom He appealed to all those congressmen, who were present at the Conference, not to ignore their sacrifices and to try to keep them with the Congress

COMMUNISTS CONDEMNED

After giving the verdict of the Panth that it was never going to tolerate any scheme of vivisection of the country at any price, Jathedar Labh Singh launched a vigorous attack against the communists in their attitude towards Pakistan In order to gain their selfish ends the communists were singing the hymns of Pakistan day and night. The Congress and the press both had disclosed the misdeeds of communists He warned the Sikh community against the false and baseless propaganda of the communists

The Jathedar then demanded the release of all internees and political prisoners including that of S Sardul Singh Caveeshar Sardars Mehar Singh Jabbowal, Ram Singh, Nirmal Singh, Harjap Singh, M L A Naranjan Singh Talib and several soldiers in the Indore Fort, as the war was now over

The question of the Indian National Army was also discussed at length He said that the Congress and the Shromani Akali Dal had set up Defence Committees to help the officers and soldiers of the Indian National Army in their trials

The Jathedar emphasized the need of character-building amongst the Sikhs and appealed to them to give up the habit of drink, lest they should be degraded in the eyes of other communities He was glad to announce that through the efforts of the Akali Jatha, Jullundur over 5,000 Sikhs had taken a vow not to drink and hoped that other districts would follow its example

Replying to questions as to how many Panths were there amongst the Sikhs, he said that there was only one Khalsa Panth which had never taken the help of anybody except its own Guru and which had truly loved its country The Shromani Akali Dal alone had the right to be called as Panth according to that definition.

He said that nearly 80 per cent of those present had made great sacrifices for the sake of the country and asked them if they still remembered their solemn promise for which they had given up their homes and children, and underwent all those sufferings. He appealed to them to carry the message of Guru Gobind Singh to every village This could be achieved only if they became true patriotic Sikhs. By rightly following that path of righteousness they could also win over their enemies They should have no fear of the minority communities He reminded them that the world was not being ruled by majority nations, but by strong ones He told them that if their confederacy was strong and high-charactered, then they could not be dominated by any majority community

The President praised the diplomacy and far-sightedness of the British Government, which had given them the toy of elections to play with at a time when many soldiers were going to be demobilized and others thrown out of employment, bringing with them problems of their own The Englishmen had cleverly shifted the burden of all the oncoming problems to the Indians Now when most of the political and communal organisations would be fighting the elections and fighting amongst themselves, the clever Englishman would laugh at them from a distance. The only clever move at the moment was to fight the elections with wisdom and courage He appealed to everybody to help the Shromani Akali Dal with his advice and guidance at this critical juncture

Earlier, Sardar Sant Singh, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his address welcomed the President delegates and visitors to Gujranwala on the occasion of this unique Panthic gathering of the Sikhs

The decision to fight the coming general elections to the provincial and Central Legislatures on the Panthic (religious order) ticket was taken at the emergent Panthic gathering of the Sikh community held at Gujranwala to-day

The conference, which was attended by nearly 900 delegates representing the various Sikh organisations in the Punjab and elsewhere, declared after a non-stop four-hour sitting that it considered the Pakistan movement and the activities of the Communists as a grave menace to the religious, social political and economic well-being of the Sikh community.

The only resolution adopted by the conference declared "This Panthic gathering wishes to declare in clear and unambiguous terms that the Sikhs will give their hearty and full co operation to all elements in the country which are prepared to sincerely serve and promote the freedom, unity, integrity, and welfare of our

beloved motherland and those who are prepared to treat us as equal partners in the Government of the country and not as sub-national groups"

The resolution stated: "In view of the fact that the Legislatures elected in coming general elections are to form the basis for the creation of a constitution-making body whose decisions are bound to have far-reaching effect on the future of the Panth, and further in view of the fact that the Pakistan movement and the activities of the communist Party are a grave menace to the religious, social, political and economic well-being of the Sikh community this representative Panthic gathering, especially called for the purpose of considering the present situation relating to the general elections and connected problems and for focussing the Sikh public opinion on these matters with a view to taking concerted Panthic action in this crisis, hereby resolves that Sikh representatives in the Provincial and Central Legislatures should be elected and returned on the Panthic ticket, for only members representative of the Sikhs and owing allegiance to the Panth, can while serving the interests of the country, truly safeguard the interests of the Panth"

The Panthic gathering authorised Master Tara Singh, the well-known 60 years old Akali leader and the Sikh representative on the Simla Conference, to constitute a Sikh Election Board in consultation with the leaders of all important groups in the community

The Panth appealed to all Sikhs to lend their full support to the candidates selected by this Board "as the issues involved in this election are vital and, therefore, it is essential that the Panth should speak with one voice and develop the maximum strength to cope with problems that are to arise in the near future."

Jathedar Mohan Singh, President S G P. C presided over the conference

Master Tara Singh, in his opening speech, explained the object of the conference and said that this was a most critical juncture in the history of the Panth when cry of Pakistan was being raised, when constitution of India was about to be framed It was essential at this time to maintain the separate existence of the Sikh Panth The Constituent Assembly, which was to be elected out of the elected members of the Legislatures were to express the opinion whether Pakistan should or should not be established in India The Communists, he said, were in favour of Pakistan. The Congress, though in its previous session had expressed some resentment against the Muslim League, stood committed to the principle of Pakistan The only body against the Pakistan was the Hindu Mahasbbha, but its opposition had no value He, therefore, had invited this conference to sound a note of warning to the Panth and said that they could not rely on any organisation

Concluding, Master Tara Singh appealed to the Panth to stick to the decisions of this conference and take its message to every home and giving proof of the unity and solidarity of the Panth return only those candidates to the Legislatures who stood on Panthic ticket Masterji said that the Sikhs would never allow Muslim Raj which was established for the last 8 years in the Punjab, to continue and would never permit Pakistan to be established.

There was a move, he said, for a compromise with Baba Kharak Singh. He was prepared to have a compromise in the interest of the Panth but was not prepared for bargaining for offices.

S Isher Singh Mujhail, speaking next, said that the Communists were arch-enemies of the country as well as the Sikh community Communists were in favour of Pakistan Sikhs should think twice before voting for a Communist. They should see that not a single Communist Sikh was returned to the Legislature It would be only then that the Sikhs could win victory over the enemies of the Sikh Panth and the country.

The Akalis, he said, had all along sided with the Congress so far as the fight for freedom of India was concerned but as elections were going to be fought on communal issue of Pakistan, the Sikhs were compelled to fight the elections on the Panthic ticket to maintain their existence

Sardar Santokh Singh M L A, said that there could be no two opinions about the Communists, who were going against the interests of the country and the Sikh community The need of the hour was that the Sikhs would fight under the baner of the Sikh Panth The Sikhs were always with the Congress so far as the fight for freedom was concerned.

There was no reason why the rights of the Sikhs should be trampled under foot If there could be an honourable compromise with the Congress it would be welcomed but if not, the Panth must fight elections to maintain its identity and existence It was the duty of every Sikh to unite at this critical juncture and strengthen the Panth.

The President then read the letter which was received from S. Gurbaksh Singh Saigal of Amritsar stating that Baba Kharak Singh had turned down their proposal for a compromise.

S. Amar Singh Dosanj said that the coming elections had unusual importance in the words of Sardar Patel as on these elections depended the framing of the future constitution of India. It had, therefore, special reference so far as the Sikh Panth was concerned. The elections were going to be fought on communal issues. The Muslim League's issue was Pakistan but the manifesto of the Sikhs in the words of Master Tara Singh should be "Panth Azad" and "Mulk Azad", meaning thereby that both the Panth and the country should be free.

Professor Ganga Singh speaking next also sounded a note of warning to the Sikhs to keep aloof from Communists who were opposed to religion and their British Imperialists who were bent on keeping them under subjection.

S. B. Sardar Ujjal Singh M.L.A., said that if the Sikhs wanted to maintain their political existence they must fight these elections fully united. The coming elections would decide the fate of India for all time to come. The Sikhs, he, therefore, appealed should organise themselves and fight as ordained by Sri Guru Gobind Singh for their religion and country. The Sikh Jathebandi had from the very beginning been the vanguards for the safety and defence of the religion and country. The Muslim League was opposed to the establishment of a nationalist Government at the centre while Sikhs were in its favour and wanted to see the country undivided. The Congress was always prepared to accept the demands of the Muslim League but in spite of the promise that they would never frame a constitution without the consent of the Sikhs, the Sikhs were ignored at the last Round Table Conference.

The Congress, he said, did not realise how Pakistan was going to affect the Sikhs in the Punjab. The Sikhs should fight for the liberty of India side by side with the Congress but so far as the Sikhs were concerned they must fight for their rights alone. He strongly appealed to the Sikhs to stand united under the banner of the Sikh Panth and win all Sikh seats to the Punjab Legislature.

Sir Jogendra Singh said that as long as separate electorates remain they had no alternative but to seek elections on Panthic ticket. They could declare, without any equivocation, that they were always ready to co-operate with any party that stands for a united India. They must not, therefore, disperse their strength by seeking other shrine than that of the Guru. It was as a united party that they could bring their full strength to promote the national cause. Above all, they must uphold the idea of unity and make a stand for strong and efficient services free from communal bias and corruption. They must co-operate in forming a Ministry which could promote the educational and economic, agricultural and industrial development of the province.

S. Udham Singh Nagoki said that they were to decide here whether they were in favour or against Pakistan. The Sikhs had fought for the freedom of India for the last 25 years, but there was no reason why they should depart from the procedure chalked out by the Shiromani Akali Dal.

S. Harnam Singh, Advocate, said that the Congress should not interfere with the Sikhs so far as the elections were concerned.

Giani Kartar Singh stressed that in 1929 the Congress had declared that they would not accept any constitution without the consent of the Sikhs. It was, therefore just and proper that the Congress should leave the Sikhs alone so far as the elections were concerned because the Congress was going to be a party to the framing of the constitution. They were in favour of united India and wanted that there should not be the majority of any one community. They did not like that the Sikhs in the Punjab should be under the rule of any one community.

The resolution was passed amidst slogans of Sat Sri Akal.

Resolutions—2nd. Day—Gujranwala—30th, September 1945

A demand for the immediate transfer of all political power from the British Parliament to the people of India was pressed through a resolution adopted unanimously by the Conference at an uninterrupted ten-hour sitting at its second day's session to-day.

The conference declared the Sikhs' opposition to Pakistan and described the Wavell proposals as halting and unsatisfactory and gave the assurance to the Indian National Congress that while safeguarding the interests of the Sikhs the Shromani Akali Dal would co-operate with it in its fight for freedom.

Thousands of Sikhs—men, women and children—were seen trekking their way through the countryside, all converging on the vast town of tents, that is, Ranjitnagar, the venue of the conference.

The overnight numbers were estimated to have swelled to well over a lakh by noon today The following is the full text of the main political resolution passed unanimously by the conference.

"This conference has carefully considered Lord Wavell's proposals and is of the opinion that the same are halting and unsatisfactory These are based upon the Cripps proposals which were rejected by the Sikhs and the other political parties.

"In the opinion of this conference nothing short of immediate transfer of all political power from the British Parliament to the people of India will satisfy Indian public opinion.

"In view of the fact that the Legislatures elected in the coming elections are to form the basis for the creation of the constitution making body whose decisions are bound to have far-reaching effect in the future of the community and further in view of the Pakistan movement and the activities of the Communist Party which are a grave menace to the religious, social, political and economic well-being of the Sikh community, this conference resolves that Sikh representatives in the provincial and Central Legislatures should be elected on the ticket of the Shromani Akali Dal But the selection of the candidates will be made by the Sikh Election Board to be appointed by Master Tara Singh as decided in the Panthic gathering for only such representatives can effectively safeguard the interests of the community and can also fight for the country's freedom

"This conference further declares in clear terms that the representatives of the Shromani Akali Dal which is safeguarding the interests of the Sikhs will always stand by the Congress in all political matters and will fully co-operate with the Congress in its fight for the country's freedom

"This conference hereby calls upon all Sikhs to lend their full and hearty support to the candidates put up by the Shromani Akali Dal in the coming elections"

The Conference unanimously passed a resolution expressing "grave concern over the fate of the officers and men of the Indian National Army who are now confined in Indian and foreign jails and are awaiting the decisions of the Government of India" and strongly urged upon H E the Commander-in-Chief and upon the Government of India to extend clemency and generosity to all officers and men of the I N A and release them forthwith" "As a matter of fact," the resolution added, "all ranks of the Indian National Army should have been treated as prisoners of war and should have been released as soon as the hostilities ceased"

S Sant Singh, Chairman of the Reception Committee read his address welcoming the delegates.

Baba Labh Singh, the President elect then read his address and appealed to the Sikh delegates who had come from far and near to take the message of the conference to the remotest corner of India Besides his written address he said that the question of States would be discussed in the Working Committee of the Shromani Akali Dal

After the Presidential address, Jathedar Pritam Singh, the outgoing President of the Shromani Akali Dal, presented a sword to Baba Labh Singh as token of handing over charge of the Presidentship of the Shromani Akali Dal

S Jaher Singh Mujhail moved a resolution expressing condolences on the deaths of B Madan Singh Gaga, S Mota Singh, Jathedar Sher Singh Matta Jathedar Waryam Singh and Jathedar Koyal Singh The resolution was duly passed.

A resolution was then passed urging release of S Sardul Singh Caveeshar, S Niranjan Singh, Talib and S. Harjap Singh and Master Kabul Singh, M L A S.

WAVELL PROPOSALS

S Mangal Singh, M L A. (Central), moved the main resolution on Wavell proposals.

In moving the resolution S Mangal Singh said that the Sikhs were confident that they would be able to safeguard their interests after the British had left India. Mr. Jinnah, on the other hand had objected to the 'Quit India' resolution of the Congress because he and his Muslim League wanted to establish Pakistan under the British bayonet before the British had quitted the country

Sardar Mangal Singh further said that the S G P C had decided to contest the elections because a new constitution had to be framed These elections were also important because of the issue of Pakistan The Sikhs, he said, were suspicious that the Indian National Congress would bow before the Muslim League and

concede the Pakistan Demand. The S G P C. had decided to resist Pakistan to the last man. The Congress, he said, should leave the Sikhs alone so far as the issue of Pakistan was concerned. If the Congress would concede Pakistan, it would do so by infringing its principles and ideals. The Indian National Congress, he said, was the national organisation of all Indians combined and it should not do so. It was on account of this fear of the Congress that the Shiromani Akali Dal had decided to fight the elections on the Panthic ticket. This ticket would involve a great sacrifice this time. Concluding S Mangal Singh appealed to the Sikhs to muster strong under the banner of the Shiromani Akali Dal, which had made tremendous sacrifices for the Sikhs.

The Sikhs lost the Punjab because of disruptions among them. It was the duty of the Sikhs and the Akali Dal now to drive the British out of the Punjab and establish freedom. He asked the Sikh community to organise themselves and be prepared for the coming fight for Pakistan if necessary.

WAVELL PROPOSALS OPPOSED

Professor Ganga Singh, in seconding the resolution, said that the need of the hour was to turn the British not only out of the Punjab but out of India. The new proposals of Lord Wavell which were based on Cripps proposals could not be accepted by the Sikh community. He asked the Sikhs to exercise their right of vote very carefully as this time their representatives to legislatures had to shape their destination. The British, he said, stood committed to freedom of India and would do so throught their henchmen. He asked the Sikhs to pledge before Guru Granth Sahib to-day to vote for the Akali candidates only. The Akalis alone could face the threats of the Muslim League. He appealed to the Congress to have the Akalis free to fight the elections assuring at the same time that the Sikhs were with the Congress as far as the fight for freedom of the country was concerned.

Jathedar Udham Singh Nagoki said that the Akalis were tried soldiers both inside and outside the country and as such the Congress should not have asked for any guarantee from them. He wanted the Congress to leave them alone to fight the forthcoming elections.

S Tota Singh of Peshawar assured of the support of the Frontier.

Giani Kartar Singh, supporting the resolution, said that out of 1,565 elected members of legislatures only 36 were Sikhs. According to this percentage the Sikhs would have only 4 members in the Constituent Assembly, which would be comprised of 159 members. It was therefore necessary that all the Sikh members should be elected on the ticket of the Shiromani Akali Dal.

S. BALDEV SINGH'S SPEECH

Sardar Baldev Singh, the Punjab Minister, said that even if the Muslim League promised to build houses of gold for the Sikhs in Pakistan they would refuse to live in it. The Sikh Panth had proclaimed to the world its opposition to Pakistan in unambiguous terms. The Sikhs would have nothing to do with the Muslim League so long as it stuck to the Pakistan scheme. No Sikh worth the name could ever think of co-operating with a party which was scheming to vivisect India.

He said that Muslim League leaders had several times appealed to the Sikhs to accept the principle of Pakistan and had made promises that the Sikhs would have a fair deal from the League. "But how could the Sikhs expect a fair deal from the League?" To them even the idea of Pakistan was abhorrent and obnoxious. They would never agree to live in the Pakistan of League description. The Sikhs would be ready to shed their last drop of blood to maintain the unity and integrity of their homeland if Pakistan is ever forced upon them.

Sardar Baldev Singh asked how could the Sikhs trust the word of the Muslim League when their leader, Mr. Jinnah, could not even tolerate the idea of being driven by a Sikh driver. "Let me make it absolutely clear" he said, "that we wish to live in the Punjab, our homeland, on equal terms with our sister communities and not as a sub-national group."

The Minister said that he was surprised why His Majesty's Government had not come out with his views on Pakistan as he felt that no sane man could entertain the idea of dividing India even from the defence point of view.

Appealing to the Sikhs to vote for the Akalis he said that any vote cast for the Communists would be a vote for Pakistan and the Muslim League. He said that the Sikhs should have a determined group of members in the Punjab Assem-

bly, united by common purpose and ideology, so that they could effectively serve both the country and the community.

S. Ajit Singh, ex-Minister, N.-W. F. P. and S. Basant Singh Mogha also supported the resolution which was passed unanimously.

"I.N.A." RESOLUTION

S. Jaher Singh Mujhail then moved the resolution on the Indian National Army and said that there was no reason why this Army should not be treated as the armies of Japan and other countries had been treated.

S. Harcharan Singh and Master Tara Singh supported the resolution which was passed unanimously.

The following resolutions were also passed:

"This conference welcomes the announcement by the Punjab Government to revise the electoral rolls of the Punjab Legislative Assembly but considers that the time allowed is too short and should be extended, by at least one week more. The requirement that every voter should apply on a stamped paper of 12 Annas each should be waived forthwith."

"This conference views with grave concern the havoc caused by heavy excessive and untimely rains in the Eastern Punjab which have damaged crops, cattle and houses and calls upon the Government and State Maharajas to remit land revenue and make provisions for rehabilitating and reconstructing the damaged buildings."

"This conference congratulates all patriots who suffered and made sacrifices for the cause of the country in pursuance of the Congress resolution of August, 1942 and condemns all those bodies and individuals who actively opposed the freedom movement of 1942."

The conference concluded after adopting a resolution on the Sikh rights in the Sikh States. The resolution demanded the appointment of the Sikh Premiers in Sikh States with a Sikh majority in their cabinets, establishment on representative legislative assemblies, giving 50 per cent representation to the Sikhs in Patiala State, which is the premier Sikh State, and where Sikhs pay 75 per cent of the State revenue. In the assemblies of the other Sikh States like Jind, Nabha, Kalsia and Kapurthala, the resolution demanded clear majority for the Sikhs. It was further demanded that Punjabi should be declared as court and official language in all Sikh States and those Sikh rulers who become apostate should be removed from the 'Gaddi'.

It was further urged that the Gurdwara Acts be introduced in all religious places through elected representatives.

The Central Akali Dal Conference

Presidential Address—Lahore—30th September 1945

"So long as even one Sikh child is alive Pakistan will not be allowed to be established and Hindustan will remain Akhand Hindustan," said Baba Kharak Singh, the veteran Sikh leader in the course of his speech at a conference convened by the Central Akali Dal at Lahore to-day, over which Baba Sahib presided. The conference was attended by about 200 Sikhs from various districts and included many Congress Sikhs.

Baba Kharak Singh declared that the Central Akali Dal and those with him had almost always sided with the Congress and they were even now prepared to side with those who were opposed to Pakistan and stood for independence of India. He wanted justice and fair deal for the Sikhs for whom he claimed equal status in the politics of the country with other communities.

Baba Kharak Singh made it clear that like all previous occasions he and those with him were prepared to stand by the Congress in the coming elections. But he added, that they were not prepared that in the coming elections while the Central Akali Dal would give their candidates, those candidates would contest elections on Congress ticket.

Earlier Sardar Amar Singh of the Sher-i-Punjab moved a resolution welcoming Master Mota Singh on his release.

Master Mota Singh, in the course of a speech, said that he was proud to have been born a Sikh and to have Guru Gobind Singh as his spiritual and political Guru. He had no doubt that the brave Sikhs would stand by those who have suffered for their country. The Congress, he said, was the only organisation to-day which deserved the support of every patriotic Indian to whichever community he might belong.

The Conference adopted a number of resolutions The main resolution, moved by S Amar Singh of the "Sher i-Punjab", condemned the repression during the last few years carried on by the Government to suppress Congress movement

The resolution further condemned those Sikh representatives in the Punjab Assembly who joined the Unionist Government in working its policy of repression and declared that they, having proved false to their promises, the Central Akali Dal should contest elections and put up candidates in co operation with the Congress.

The resolution as amended and adopted wanted the Congress to promise that it would support Akhand Hindustan and oppose Pakistan and accept it at no cost, help the Sikhs to get similar weightage as Muslim minorities have been given in the U P, C P and Madras or equal representation to all communities in the Provincial Legislatures, the Sikhs should be helped to get six per cent seats in the Central Government should always have a Sikh representative and the Sikhs should have the same right and religious freedom as other communities in India

The original resolution created some controversy and while it was supported by S Harbans Singh Sistani and others, Dr Autar Singh Daler and S Yoginder Singh Puri moved amendments to the resolution without which they said the resolution would in no way be different from the resolution of the Akalis The amendment was ultimately accepted by the mover and adopted

The general trend of speeches at the conference was that the Congress should be supported in the coming election Several speakers pointed out that even if the Congress had erred in the past the Sikhs should stand by the Congress in its present hour of trial and especially so after the unequivocal declaration made by Sardar Patel and Pt Nehru.

Sardar Uttam Singh Duggal, M L A and Tika Fateh Jang Singh, M L A also spoke and referred to the work done by them Tika Fateh Jang Singh thought that their only concern should be to see the Muslim League defeated

The conference decided to build a memorial to Baba Madan Singh Gaga who died recently

A resolution was passed regarding the Indian National Army and asking the Government not to punish the members of the I. N A

The Conference empowered Baba Kharak Singh and S. Amar Singh to constitute an election Board

The All India Scheduled Castes' Federation

Working Committee—Poona—3rd October 1945

Opposition to the reconstruction of the Central Government and the formation of a Constitution-making body envisaged in the recent proposals of His Majesty's Government to India is voiced in resolutions adopted by the Working Committee of the All-India Scheduled Castes' Federation at its meeting in Poona on the 3rd October 1945 *Rao Bahadur N Sivaraj* presided and Dr *B R Ambedkar* was present by special invitation

The first resolution runs as follows The Working Committee of the All-India Scheduled Castes' Federation has taken into full consideration the recent pronouncement of His Majesty's Government relating to the reconstruction of the Central Government In view of the fact that immediate steps are being taken to give Indians an opportunity to frame a constitution for a free India the Working Committee cannot accord its support to the proposal In the opinion of the Working Committee the Central Legislature is the most unrepresentative body in the world The electoral qualifications are so high that more than nine-tenths of the adult population of the country is excluded from the franchise The composition of the Central Legislature is such that the Scheduled Castes and the Indian Christians have no representation in it To hold elections to such a body is in the opinion of the Working Committee, an utter futility To reconstitute the Central Government on the basis of support from the Central Legislature appears to the Working Committee nothing short of handing over the powers of governance to the ruling classes of this country If however, His Majesty's Government proposes to persist in proceeding with such a project the Working Committee desires to warn His Majesty's Government that the Scheduled Castes will insist upon being given full representation which is legitimately due to them in the reconstituted Executive Council and will regard any attempt to brush their claim with mere token representation as a grave betrayal by His Majesty's Government

The second resolution adopted by the Committee states: The Working Committee of the All-India Scheduled Castes' Federation, while welcoming the proposals of His Majesty's Government that the constitution for a free India should be framed by Indians themselves, is opposed to the plan of a Constituent Assembly for the following reasons:

(1) The formation of a Constituent Assembly has no more than a sentimental value. It does not assure that those who will be elected to the Constituent Assembly will be competent in terms of knowledge or experience to deal with the questions that will come up before the Constituent Assembly.

(2) There is a grave danger of corruption being practised by moneyed interest to buy the members of the Constituent Assembly.

(3) A Constituent Assembly is both unnecessary and useless. For the decision of points relating to the constitution which are non-contentious, it is unnecessary to have so cumbersome a machinery as that of a Constituent Assembly. For decisions of points on which Indians are divided and they are mostly of a communal nature—the Constituent Assembly is quite useless for no minority community will ever agree to leave what are called communal problems to be decided by a majority of the Constituent Assembly.

REPRESENTATION IN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The following is the third resolution passed:—The Working Committee of the All-India Scheduled Castes' Federation is definitely of the opinion that His Majesty's Government in linking up elections to the Provincial Legislatures with the formation of a Constituent Assembly has fallen into a grave error. After full consideration of the matter, the Working Committee has come to the conclusion that a Constituent Assembly drawn from the Provincial Legislatures will not be competent to discharge the functions of a Constituent Assembly for the following reasons:

(1) The franchise for the Provincial Legislatures is a property qualification which excludes a very large part of the Scheduled Castes and the working classes. A Constituent Assembly in which such a large mass of the people have no say cannot have any moral authority to frame a constitution.

(2) If the election is fought on the issue of independence or Pakistan, a Constituent Assembly drawn from a Provincial Legislature elected on such issue can hardly be said to have a mandate on questions relating to the nature and form of the constitution. A constitution made by such a body cannot be accepted as a constitution made by the people and for the people.

(3) Those communities, such as the Scheduled Castes, who will not be able to return to the Constituent Assembly men in whom they have confidence and whom they regard as their true and trusted representatives by reason of joint electorates, will have no confidence in the Constituent Assembly and will not feel morally bound by the decisions of the Constituent Assembly.

The Working Committee regards it as absolutely essential that the elections to the Provincial Legislatures should be separated from the formation of the Constituent Assembly and the elections to the Constituent Assembly should be regulated on a different basis. The Working Committee is strongly of opinion that there is no meaning in the formation of a Constituent Assembly unless each party participating in the elections to the Constituent Assembly has notified in advance its plan for a constitution and that it is, therefore, necessary to make it obligatory on every party to set out its scheme of the constitution which shall include its solution of the communal problem and that in no event elections to the Constituent Assembly shall take place unless this requirement is fulfilled.

SCHEDULED CASTES AND ELECTIONS

The Working Committee called upon every person belonging to the Scheduled Castes to join the All-India Scheduled Castes' Federation and make it the sole representative body of the Scheduled Castes. It wanted them to realise that the coming elections were going to be the most crucial in the history of India and Scheduled Castes as the future constitution of India would be framed by members of a Constituent Assembly elected by the different Provincial Legislatures.

The Working Committee also adopted resolutions expressing deep concern over the demobilisation and the peace-time reorganisation of the Indian Army and their effects on the troops raised from the Scheduled Castes during the war. It urged the Government to maintain the present strength of the Scheduled Castes troops, provide facilities for qualified members of the Scheduled Castes to reach the higher ranks of the Army and make provision for proper representation of the

Scheduled Castes in the higher ranks of the organisation dealing with resettlement and rehabilitation

Dr Ambedkar's attack on Congress

Dr *B R Ambedkar*, Labour Member Government of India, speaking at Poona on the 3rd October said that the Congress had failed to solve many of the outstanding problems of the country because its leaders refused to study politics The cherished traditions of study and knowledge did not seem to appeal to the Congress organisation to-day under the leadership of Mr Gandhi This had led to many tragedies in the public life of the country and the Congress had not been able to solve many vital problems such as the communal question

Dr Ambedkar was speaking at the opening ceremony of the Dr Ambedkar School of Politics of which politically-minded Scheduled Castes students are members

Dr Ambedkar referred to the fact that the place where he was speaking was named after him and declared that he did not wish to found a school or creed of his own He should be sorry if such a school came into existence after his death He knew the tragedies caused by the creation of political creeds No institution which was not free to make such adjustments in its ideas as time and circumstances demanded could hope to survive It was also true that a society which had inherited a set of ideas and which it regarded as something sacred was not in a position to make adjustments and had ultimately to perish He wanted people to weigh his ideas before they decided to follow him He however commended the object with which the institution had been started namely, the study of politics

The Jammu & Kashmir National Conference

6th Annual Session—Sopore (Kashmir)—3rd August 1945

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

It is a fact known to all that in a country as big as India, as long as social, political and cultural revolution does not take place there can be no salvation for 40 crores of its inhabitants, observed *Sheikh Mohd Abdullah*, presiding over the annual session of All-Jammu and Kashmir National Conference at Sopore on the 3rd. August 1945

Sheikh Abdullah said, "It is a strange coincidence that six years ago when we converted the erst-while Muslim Conference, which we had founded in 1932, into a National Conference so that all oppressed may stand under one banner and organise themselves to seek salvation by ridding themselves of despotism and oppression the second world war began This developed into the biggest conflict in history between progress and reaction and its final stages were reached in the destruction of the Fascist States These were the years of test for the National Conference and the biggest task before it was to steer the boat of the movement and the organisation clear of shoals and eddies of the stormy war days Events bear testimony to the fact that the National Conference stood this test successfully This clearly proves that its leaders and workers are capable not only of making sacrifices, but also guide the movement through delicate and difficult times with wisdom and integrity They have also proved themselves comrades and servants of the people

Sheikh Abdullah referred to the political situation in India since 1939 and various efforts made to end the political deadlock He said "To-day Mr Amery and Mr. Churchill have been removed The general elections in England have brought Mr Attlee and his Labour colleagues into the power which gives them an opportunity to implement the promises of the past This brings in a ray of hope following the disappointment caused by the Simla Conference "

Sheikh Abdullah appealed to major political organisations of India namely, the Congress and the League, to find a way to agreement

Referring to the Indian States, Sheikh Abdullah thought that "our destinies and our final liberation are bound up with the freedom of India itself" He added "It is our natural wish that controversies of India may find a speedy solution and that organisations setting aside their conflicts and controversies may march forward in co-operation and comradeship"

Sheikh Abdullah strongly protested against further extension granted in the life of the State Assembly and pleaded for fresh election in 1946 on a new democratic basis. He demanded an elected National Assembly on the basis of adult franchise with a Cabinet responsible to the legislature. He said: "This is the only

type of Government which can command the confidence of the people It is lack of responsible Government which is responsible for inefficiency and corruption in the administration "

Concluding, Sheikh Abdullah referred to the appointment of two popular Ministers last year by His Highness and said "It was an experiment and we offered to the co operation in order to explore the possibilities of serving our people. We sent in Mirza Afzal Beg as our representative on behalf of the National Conference. At the very time of his appointment we have realised that it was only a half measure.

It was accepted as a gesture in response to the measure which His Highness had sought to imitate. Our experience of nearly ten months of this experiment has proved conclusively that partial responsibility is a thorny path and justifies and reinforces our demand for the immediate establishment of full responsible Government in order to be of value to the people

Resolutions—2nd Day—4th. August 1945

A demand for full responsible Government in Kashmir was made through a resolution adopted at the second day's session of the Conference to-day.

The resolution, while appreciating H H the Maharaja's action in appointing two members of the Legislative Assembly as Ministers in his Cabinet stated that the problems of hunger, unemployment and corruption, were of a nature that could not be served by mere 'tinkering with the constitution" These problems demanded a fundamental change in the structure of Government as a pre requisite for the all-round betterment of the people

The resolution added that the mere addition of two popular Ministers did not satisfy the Conference nor did in any way meet the pressing exigencies of the time

'After working the 1944 Reforms for a year the National Conference is convinced that unless far-reaching changes by which greater power and responsibility in Government is transferred to the hands of the people, no substantial good would come to the people Under the existing system and in spite of the 1944 Reforms the administration is as rotten as before, corruption is still rampant and deeply rooted and the primary needs of the people remain unsatisfied"

The Conference considered that it was its most immediate task to mobilise the people on the basis of the demand for full Responsible Government and urged H H the Maharaja and the Government to take a bold step and establish a genuinely democratic regime in the State

Immediate elections to the State Assembly on the basis of adult franchise, leading to the formation of a completely popular cabinet, the abolition of the nominated element and the submission of the Army Budget and jagir affairs to the Assembly vote were also demanded by the Conference

The Conference has directed all its district, tehsil and village committees to demand through mass meetings and by other political demonstrations the fulfilment of these demands and has appealed to all Kashmiris to make common cause for the achievement of this goal

PUNJAB GOVT.'S ACTION CRITICISED

The Conference passed a resolution condemning "the high-handed and provocative action of the Punjab Government in subjecting a leader of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's eminence to humiliating treatment"

The Conference demanded that officers who had been responsible for this action on their own initiative should be given exemplary punishment The resolution added that "this incident, regrettable in itself, has drawn India's attention and that in the presence of such happening the so-called popular Ministers in the Punjab cannot claim to represent the people" The Conference further demanded an unqualified apology from the Punjab Government

By another resolution, the Conference urged the appointment of a commission of experts and representatives of workers to investigate the causes which have rendered thousands of silk factory workers in Srinagar inactive for the major part of the year and finding out ways and means of providing work for them

PANDIT NEHRU'S SPEECH

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing the Conference to-day, urged Kashmiri pandits to rally round the Conference

He further said that even from the narrow view of selfish interest, it was advisable for them to join the Conference and not keep away from it In Kashmir

the majority of the people were Muslims, while other constituted ten per cent of the population. It was therefore absurd for any Hindu or Sikh to say that he could not join the National Conference because it consisted mostly of Muslims. Hindus and Sikhs of Kashmir must know they had to live in Kashmir. Their fate was bound up with it, and if they did not join the mass of the people of Kashmir who happened to be Muslims, it would be themselves who would suffer most.

Pandit Nehru said he had consistently held that in Indian States there must be full Responsible Government and of all the States, Kashmir was entitled to it at the earliest. He paid a tribute to the work of the Kashmir National Conference and its leader, Sheikh Abdullah, and said its foundation was sound, as its doors were open to all communities for the Kashmiris alone could build the edifice they aspire for. He said that only selfish men guided by the thought of temporary advantages offer conditions for joining the freedom movement. This is merely a pretext for keeping away from it. Essentially they have no interest in freedom. He asked Kashmiris to strengthen further the National Conference, for with India's freedom is bound up Kashmir's freedom too.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan addressing a huge gathering at the National Conference, referred to the ugly scenes at Wednesday's procession in Srinagar. He condemned those who threw stones and said that their action was against the spirit and tradition of Islam. He asked how such things could ever help Muslims or Islam.

Mr. Gaffar Khan said that as they were sailing in the river procession he saw policemen standing among disturbers who were throwing stones at the procession. At first he thought that the policemen were there to keep order and stop the disturbers but they passively looked on. It looked as though the policemen were there to protect the disturbers.

Referring to the trouble in Srinagar on August 1, he said that the authorities knew days in advance about the expected trouble but they did not take any action. The Kashmir State Government had a great responsibility in this matter. It was supposed to be an Indian Government and it must see to it that such things were not encouraged, Mr. Ghaffar Khan added.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan paid a glowing tribute to the work of the Kashmir National Conference during the past years under the guidance of Sheikh Abdullah. He said that when he came to Kashmir 20 years ago, things were different from today. The Kashmiris then were extremely fear-ridden. Now they were beginning to hold their heads high. This was a blessing bestowed by the National Conference under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah.

Referring to the fast-changing world conditions, he said the alliance between Britain, America and Russia was a strange one. Although both Britain and America were imperialist powers, there was misunderstanding even between these. But in Russia there was the government of workers and peasants. Even Hitler was not so dangerous for Britain and America.

He said it had been his long-held belief that God had sent war to this world to break the shackles of subjugated peoples by weakening cruel and dominating powers, through mutual war and destruction. He stood by that belief even now. He added, "we are living in a revolutionary age and the people should work for the coming revolution or they will be swept away as though by a flood." Revolution helped only those who were ever vigilant to take advantage of it.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan continued: "In the Frontier, from time to time, men from other parts come and say all manner of bad things which are hard for Khudai Khidmatgars to tolerate. If we like, we can make any such meeting impossible, but I have issued strict instructions to Khudai Khidmatgars not only not to create any disturbances but to see to it that such hostile meetings are conducted in peace. We actively believe in democracy and we concede willingly that right to others. Those who come from outside we regard as guests and treat them as such, however much they may abuse us."

Resolution—3rd Day—6th. August 1945

The Conference ended at dawn to-day after a night-long stormy debate over the resolution regarding the right of self-determination for nationalities. The resolution was carried by 150 votes to 8[illegible], the Opposition staging a walk-out.

The resolution suggested to the Congress to re-examine the Hindu-Muslim question in a spirit of self analysis and work out a concrete formula of its own which may "allay suspicions of majority domination."

The Conference expressed its belief as embodied in its New Kashmir programme in the right of self-determination for nationalities inhabiting specific areas and stated that only this approach to the communal question could cut through the frustration born out of arrested political development."

Khan Abdus Samad Khan, the Baluchistan leader, addressing the Conference said it was nationalist Muslims alone who had made sacrifices in the cause of the country's freedom. The communal organisations only cared for their narrow selfish interests, they never worked for the larger interests of the country. They were only the nuclei of powerful vested interests.

Mr. Abdus Samad Khan paid a tribute to the work of the National Conference and said the Kashmiris owed their political consciousness to it. He hoped that in the struggle for India's freedom, Kashmir would play a glorious part

The Conference condemned the action of "a handful of men" of the Srinagar Muslim Conference in throwing stones at the procession of Moulana Azad Pandit Nehru and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan on August 1, describing their deed as "shameful and degrading" It strongly criticised the State Government for failure to take timely action despite the knowledge of the expected trouble in advance by two weeks and for exploiting the situation The resolution charged the police and the magistracy with dereliction of duty

Sheikh Abdullah, President of the Conference, said if the Muslim League, its followers and its leader, Mr Jinnah, wanted to establish their supremacy by "sheer goondaism" they would not succeed in this, but would only undermine their organisation. Condemning the action of the Muslim Conference men Sheikh Abdullah said that by their mean tactics they had sounded the death knell of the League in Kashmir

Shaik Abdullah charged the State authorities with encouraging unseemly demonstrations against the national leaders He said there were also Kashmiri pandits who were involved in the conspiracy against Pandit Nehru who is a Kashmiri pandit himself He warned "those leaders from the Punjab who come to Kashmir for holiday and then hatch conspiracy against the National Conference and spread poison in Kashmir" He said they could come to Kashmir only as guests but if they interfered in our affairs their stay in Kashmir would be impossible"

The Sapru Committee Proposals

Bombay—27th December 1945.

'The Committee stands for a single Union of India including the whole of British India and all the Indian States, the claim for secession or non accession, by which individual Provinces or States can keep out of the Union is not accepted" says the Sapru Committee in its final report on constitutional proposals This report, which was compiled by the Rt Hon *Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru*, the *Rt Hon Mr M R. Jayakar, the Hon Sir N Gopalaswami Iyengar and Kunwar Sir Jagdish Prasad* was released to the Press on the 27th December 1945.

Embodying this principle in its proposals, the Committee recommends that the Constitution-making Body to be appointed after the elections should proceed on the basis of framing a constitution for a single State, and urges that the right of secession or non-accession given to individual State or Provinces in the Cripps proposals should be withdrawn

The Committee maintains that throughout it has endeavoured to make a constructive approach to the many knotty problems that confront the country, to investigate them from every angle, to appraise as dispassionately as they could every fact, circumstance or conceivable argument and to reach conclusions which in their estimation were calculated to promote the lasting interests of India and were likely to elicit the approbation of thinking Indians.

The report says. "It is the Committee's firm conviction that the future of India lies in adopting a democratic constitution. The ultimate sovereign in a democracy is the electorate, which chooses those who are to represent it in the Legislature and Executive. Adult franchise is therefore, recommended. Under existing conditions, it is excusable to give religious communities the right to a fair and adequate share of opportunities for service in the Legislature and Executive, but the aspirants for these opportunities should realise that they hold them in trust for the nation as a whole and should for that reason seek the support of all communities."

JOINT GENERAL ELECTORATES

The Committee has recommended that separate communal electorates should disappear and should be replaced by joint general electorates with reservation of seats In the opinion of the Committee, Parliamentary Government is not unsuited to India and can be worked even with communally composed Legislature and Executive. One of the cardinal features of the constitutional proposals made by the Committee is the provision of ample and effective safe-guards for minorities

Emphasising the importance of joint electorates, the Committee says. "No Government, which is not merely in power but accepts active responsibility for its decisions, can legitimately flinch from the task of righting a manifestly wrong decision (taken forty years ago, accepting separate electorate for Muslims), which has been so mischievous in its effects. We hope the present Labour Government in Britain, with its high democratic ideals and the enormous voting strength behind it, will not lack the courage to get this decision reversed with the support of Parliament. We have no doubt that such reversal would be to the lasting benefit of the Muslims themselves"

PARITY AT THE CENTRE

It is because the Committee attaches great importance to the abolition of separate electorates that it considers parity of representation in the Central Legislative Assembly between Muslims and Hindus other than Scheduled Castes, not too great a price to pay Hindu objections to this proposal are strong, because it means on a population basis one Muslim will be regarded as equal to two Hindus, other than Scheduled Castes also, fear that the British Government may accept the parity concession without implementing the important provision, that joint electorates must be introduced, is not unfounded in the light of past history Each special concession has, in the past been made the starting-point for fresh demands. But in the interests of communal harmony, which, abolition of separate electorates will bring about, the Committee has ventured on this proposal, but it insists that in its recommendation on parity the conditions and limitations it has laid down are equally important Parity, however, is confined to the Lower House of the Union Legislature and Union Executive, which are the final organs for determining all India policy, and it is important that such policy should have the substantial backing of the bulk of Hindus and Muslims The same considerations do not apply to the Provincial Legislatures or Executives, or to the Services, or to other fields of administration

Joint electorates, with reservation of seats are admittedly a far cry from democracy, but they are a necessary halfway house between separate electorates and general electorates without any limitation even as to candidature

CONCESSION SHOULD NOT EXTEND TO THE SERVICES

The Committee considers that it will be unjust and improper to extend the concession of parity to the services, civil or military. Government Services like any other service, must be based upon individual merit and fitness Neither does the Committee think that the Muslims are educationally backward, as they were thirty or forty years back As regards other communities, the present proportions are considered fair, but they may be revised by future Governments, so as to provide adequate representation for backward communities The Committee also expresses the view that it will be dangerous to extend the principle of parity to the Defence Services.

Maintaining that the Muslims are not a separate nation, the Committee in the chapter on Pakistan or partition of India says that the separate nationhood of Muslims cannot be established on grounds of race, language or culture If religion alone will have to be the basis of division, then many other communities can also claim separate nationhood.

Declaring that self-determination is not an absolute right and can only be applied with due regard to circumstances, the Committee examines the practicabilities of Pakistan in the context of Indian conditions and in the light of Indian opinion It says. "The position is that the scheme of Pakistan put forward by Mr. Jinnah is not acceptable either to the Hindus of the Punjab and Bengal or to the Sikhs or to the Congress or to the Hindu Mahasabha The C. R. Formula has been totally rejected by Mr. Jinnah and has been opposed by the Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab and Hindus of Bengal.

PAKISTAN NOT A PRACTICABLE PROPOSITION

It is thus clear that Pakistan, whether whole, according to Mr. Jinnah's ideals,

truncated according to the C R. Formula, cannot be established without the consent of parties and will meet with the strongest opposition. Arbitration has been ruled out and is out of place when the fate of the entire country is to be decided The only alternatives for enforcing Pakistan are either British enforcement of it or civil war."

After considering the problems of Defence of the sub-continent and the position of minorities after division, the report states the Committee's conclusion that Pakistan "solves no communal problems and only raises fresh ones' that on grounds of Defence, leaving apart other major considerations, the division of the country into two independent States will endanger the safety of both, and that there is no justification for the British Government to support such a revolutionary scheme if they have genuine faith in the unity of India which they themselves have built up and fostered "

The report characterises Prof. Coupland's regional scheme as "fantastic, unreal and academic

Rejecting all schemes of partition and division, the Committee concludes "We are convinced that the partition of India would be an outrage justified neither by history nor by political expediency. It is incompatible with the greatness, safety and economic development of the country and will lead either to constant internecine war or perpetual foreign domination It multiplies and complicates the problem of minorities without solving it and threatens to plunge India back into the dark and dismal days of the 18th century

The Committee feels certain that political unity can be maintained and Hindus and Muslims can live together amicably as they have done for a thousand years.

The report proceeds to consider the arrangements to be made by which India will remain united and at the same time, afford the communities sufficient scope for self-development One of the Committee's fundamental recommendations in this regard is the provision by which in the Union Assembly, excluding the seats given to special interests, Muslim representation from British India will be on a par with the representation given to Hindus excluding the Scheduled Castes. The offer of parity is subject to the condition that joint electorates with reservation of seats are introduced throughout, i e for all elective bodies in the country and the Committee adds that, should the Muslims not agree to this condition and insists on separate electorates, not only should the offer stand withdrawn, but the Hindu should be free to ask for a revision of the Communal Award

Provision for Adult Franchise

Another important recommendation is the provision for adult franchise If political power is to be transferred to an Indian Democracy, so as to prevent its concentration in the hands of a few, the risks of enfranchising the entire adult population should be taken, Political consciousness among the masses has awakened to a great extent and the last elections in 1937 were in themselves a great educative force The average man thinks more and more in terms of politics and, if his judgment is faulty, he is no better or no worse than the average voter in Europe, where adult franchise has been in existence for some time.

Before Pakistan came to occupy the field, Muslim opinion generally seemed to demand that the residuary powers should be lodged with the Provinces, in order that the latter might have the fullest freedom to legislate in matters which were not covered expressly by the provisions enumerating the distribution of powers Though the case for a strong Centre is strong, the Committee, as a matter of compromise and for the sake of peace and amity, recommended the vesting of the residuary powers in the Provinces, in accordance with the Muslim view. Mr P. R. Das and some other members disagree with this recommendation.

While the subjects allotted to the Centre are reduced to a minimum, it is provided that the Centre shall have powers to co-ordinate legislation and administration of different units when necessary as well as to ensure the maintenance of the political integrity and economic unity of India as a whole

Representation for Communities

The Committee recommends that the constitution should provide for representation of different communities in the Central Executive on the basis of their strength in the Legislature. The Cabinet will be a composite one only in the sense that communities will be represented on it, but in the interests of harmonious working "the Prime Minister's choice of his colleagues is not to be fettered' The Committee looks forward to the choice of members to whatever community they

may belong on the basis of their political affiliations The substitution of joint for separate electorate should, by compelling candidates to seek support from all communities, help the emergence of political parties each of which will contain members of different communities. It is on these considerations that "composite" instead of "coalition" Governments have been envisaged It is also provided that there should be collective responsibility to the Legislature The Committee prefers the British model, namely that the Prime Minister should choose his colleagues though a suggestion had been made that the Swiss model, under which the Central Legislature in joint session by single transferable vote elects the Cabinet and the Ministers hold office for the duration of the life of the Legislature, was made

INDIAN STATES AND FEDERATION

Dealing with the Indian States, the Committee says that provision should be made in the constitution for the accession from time to time of Indian States as units of a Federation on such terms as may be agreed upon but the establishment of the Indian Union should not be contingent on the accession to the Federation of any Indian State or of any minimum number of Indian States The Committee, therefore, contemplates that the Union need not be identical with Federation and it may include States which have not formally federated

The Committee says "Our recommendation is that the new constitution should continue at least the unity that now binds the States and British India, though the bond may not be Federal Federation, we recognise, is a closer and a more intimate and efficient bond and we earnestly hope that in due course and after the fullest consultation and investigation, all the States—a few individually but the great majority organised in groups and sub-federations—will have acceded as federated units of the Union The inherent difficulties of bringing about such a happy consummation and the experience of negotiations which Lord Linlithgow inaugurated and conducted between 1936 and 1939 do not encourage the hope that these consultations and investigations can be successfully concluded, except with the exercise of infinite patience and after lapse of several years To hang up the Federal Union of such units as are willing to federate until some States, or a minimum number of States, or the last hesitant State has agreed to accede, would be a policy which is calculated to postpone indefinitely the elimination of foreign rule and the achievement of full Self-Government, The Committee, therefore, insists that the Union of India should be established without any such waiting and that, while individual States might take their own time to make up their minds, as to whether they would accede as federated units all of them should, from the outset, be treated as in the Union, united with each other and with the rest of India through paramountcy at the Union Centre"

As regards paramountcy, the report says, British suzerainty which is the mainspring of paramountcy jurisdiction to day, will have to cease to exist and the new Union centre, that is, the Federal Cabinet, will come to exercise that jurisdiction over the unfederated States The Committee hopes that the Rulers of States will not object to this inevitable development

The Committee is also of the view that the Crown Representative as a separate office should disappear and the paramountcy jurisdiction now exercised by him should be transferred to the Union Cabinet It is suggested that the Minister of the Union Cabinet should be in charge of the States affairs, assisted by a reformed Political Department. The Minister should also have a body of Indian Advisers to help him in administering paramountcy jurisdiction over the unfederated States.

"HEAD OF STATE'

On the question of 'Head of the State", the Committee says All parties are agreed that the constitution should be based on Indian Independence and, therefore, in law and in fact the indefeasible sovereignty of the people of India from whom alone all powers of legislation and administration should be derived, should be recognised. No foreign power should be allowed to exercise any jurisdiction over the Indian Union and therefore the existing practice by which all residuary powers are exercised by the United Kingdom Parliament on the theory of 'the indestructible sovereignty of the King in Parliament over the land throughout the King's dominions" will not be acceptable to any school of Indian political opinion. The Head of the State under the new constitution should replace the present chief Executive with his dual role as Viceroy and Crown Representative He will have such powers as are given to him under the constitution, as also such other powers as are now vested in his Majesty the King, including powers connected with the

exercise of the functions of the Crown in relation to Indian States. The Head of the State cannot act arbitrarily but only on the advice of the Ministry His term of office may be for five years and ordinarily one person may not hold it for more than one term.

MINORITY RIGHTS

Dealing with the right of the Scheduled Castes and other minorities, the Committee has provided that these communities will in future be accorded by statute a place on the Executive and will share in the responsibilities of administration. They will have adequate voice in framing the constitution with safeguards against hasty changes. They will have likewise the benefit of the fundamental right with power to have more important ones enforced by the highest tribunal in the country. The Minorities Commission will keep a jealous watch over their welfare and will obtain relief when they are injured. The Committee hopes that with their rights ensured and protected, the minorities will not lose sight of their obligations to the sub-sections which exist in their midst

As regards the Scheduled Castes, the Committee recommends the continuation of the method of election prescribed in the Poona Pact.

INDIANISATION OF ARMED FORCES

Dealing with the question of Indianisation of armed forces the Committee says. "Under any system of real Self-Government, these must be in the charge of a member of a responsible ministry. The disciplinary head of the armed forces, the Commander-in-Chief, has to work under the orders of the Ministry and on the Dominion analogy, the supreme command of the armed forces has to be vested in the Head of the State; Indian statute law will make provision for the government of the armed forces, the application of the British Army Act and any other enactment of a similar nature to the Indian Army being done away with."

The Committee lays great stress on the creation and rapid development of a National Army.

SECESSION

Dealing with the question of secession, the Committee takes strong exception to the provision contained in the Cripps offer in regard to secession. In the opinion of the Committee such a provision amounts to the recognition of a revolt from and repudiate the constitution. It is, in essence, an extra constitutional act and commonsense is against the constitution recognising it as a legal right to be unilaterally exercised at the option of the unit

In the opinion of the Committee, the Constitution making Body should proceed on the basis of framing a constitution for a single State. As a safeguard for minorities, it is provided that no decision of the constitution-making body will be valid unless it is supported by three fourths of the members present and voting. Valid decisions of the Constituent Assembly must be binding on the British Government. The Committee says that a stage has been reached when the British Government can no longer evade responsibility Therefore they should not allow things to drift, and the situation to deteriorate.

INTERIM GOVERNMENT

In conclusion the Committee makes an earnest appeal to all communities and parties in the country to accept the principles underlying its recommendations. In the event of there being no agreement, the Committee calls upon His Majesty's Government to set up an interim Government at the Centre and proceed to establish a suitable machinery for framing a new constitution, substantially on the principles enunciated by it and to have it put into operation at the earliest possible date by handing over all the power now vested in them to the authorities established thereunder.

The All India Women's Conference

18th Session—Hyderabad (Sind)—28th. December 1945

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The eighteenth session of the All-India Women's Conference began this evening amidst colourful scenes in a gaily decorated pandal. The proceedings began with a message from Mahatma Gandhi conveyed through *Rajkumari Amrit Kaur* saying that women should throw themselves into the constructive programme, the main activity of which is the spinning wheel.

Pandit Nehru in a message to the Conference hopes that "with the women of India leading in, we shall march to freedom for all."

A feature of this year's Conference was the presence of a large number of delegates from various countries bearing messages of greeting to the women of India. The shamiana, which was tastefully decorated, was packed with a mixed audience of prominent men and women, apart from over 200 delegates.

Mrs. *Hansa Mehta's* presidential address lasted over an hour and she was loudly cheered when she referred to the Charter for women.

The promulgation of a Women's Charter defining the position of woman, her rights and her responsibilities, to enable them to play their part in political, social and economic spheres of the post-war reconstruction programme was demanded by Mrs *Hansa Mehta* in her presidential address.

Mrs. Mehta said that freedom of woman and her equality with man must form the basis of the Charter. There should be no domination of one sex over the other nor any exploitation of one by the other. In this connection she welcomed the preamble of the Charter signed at San Francisco by the United Nations, including India, which accepted this position of equality between man and woman. "It is on this accepted basis of equality between man and woman that the Charter is to be prepared which will define the rights and responsibilities of woman as an individual and as a member of society," she said.

"As an individual, woman shall enjoy all the rights of, and shall be required to perform all the duties of a citizen whether these rights are political, civic or economic. The State shall recognise individual as the unit of society and not family. Woman, therefore, shall be enfranchised in her own right and not in relation to man. The present basis of franchise which gives the woman the right to vote as the wife of a man with a certain income, violates this principle and, therefore, cannot be accepted by us. We must affirm our demand for adult suffrage as the only way to enfranchise a large number of women than we have to-day which is one woman to four men when the population ratio is almost fifty fifty."

Stressing woman's right to better homes and better health services, Mrs. Mehta said that every woman should have facilities to maintain and protect her health. "The figures of maternal mortality in India are simply appalling inasmuch as more women die due to child bearing, which is a normal physiological function, than the number of men and women who die of plague, small-pox or cholera."

Proceeding, Mrs Mehta said "In this mammon-ridden world, the worth of a person is reckoned on his or her economic status. It is in the economic sphere that woman will have to fight hard to establish her position. We must demand the right for every woman to work. Let no disability be attached to her on the ground of her sex in regard to public employment, office, power or in the exercise of trade or calling, and woman must receive the same payment as man for the same amount of work she does."

But, Mrs Mehta said, national planning would require planning work for men and women from a national point of view and women would be required to take up such work as would help the country. She referred to the great demand of women teachers and nurses and said that if women were not prepared to take up this work on their own accord "they may have to face conscription when a National Government comes into power, as I hope it will come soon."

Advocating the preparation of a comprehensive scheme of social insurance for all women workers, she said that the house wife should not only be included in the social insurance scheme, but she should have a right to a part of her husband's income. "She should have no feeling of dependence on man, but realise that she can claim a portion of the income as hers by right, and as a corollary, the husband should have no right to dispose of his entire income without the consent of his wife." Mrs. Mehta emphasised the social rights of woman which she considered in relation to three social institutions, namely, property, marriage and family.

Claiming that every woman should have the same rights in regard to property as man holds, she considered the present laws did not come to that ideal and thought Hindu Law the most unsatisfactory one. Mrs. Mehta welcomed the draft Hindu Code prepared by the Hindu Law Committee, but stated that it fell short of the ideal

Defining the conditions to safeguard the interests of a woman who desires to marry, Mr. Mehta said they should be based on the principle that neither part[y] must have a husband or a wife living at the time of marriage, that the consent of both the parties concerned should be necessary and that both the parties must be adult. She advocated drastic changes in the Child Marriage Prevention Act to realise that objective. Mrs Mehta stood for abolition of caste or community as grounds of restriction to marriage She stood for one common code in this respect and pleaded for the deletion of the clause requiring renouncing of religion in the Special Marriage Act which could become a part of the common code She [hoped] that the new Central Legislature would take up that question.

Greetings from Abroad

Miss *Agatha Harrison* conveyed greetings from the liaison group of British women's organisation She pointed out that the link between them was held in perfect order through the dark and tragic years of war which demonstrated the abiding nature of real friendship She added "When it was known that I was coming to this Conference I was asked to associate in the message of greeting by many men and women in position, who are gravely concerned about the situation between India and Britain You may say, we are tired of words', but it is my conviction that there is real sincerity and intention behind it. There is something symptomatic in this meeting It is said there is an ocean of misunderstanding between India and Britain If science can bridge great stretches of ocean, then women can learn the technique in the sphere of human activity and do it

Dr. *Hannah Rydh*, on behalf of Sweden, Dr. Ratnam from Ceylon, Madame el Said from Egypt and Mrs Street from Australia brought messages from the women of their respective countries.

Madame el Said, Secretary-General of the Arab Women's Union, addressing the Conference, spoke about the two problems facing women of the Arab countries Firstly, their fight for new laws restricting polygamy, voting rights for women, and certain other rights over children. Second and the most important was the Palestine question. 'Palestine is an Arab country and European Jews have no right to usurp it Great countries like Britain and the United States who pride themselves as builders of democracy should never ignore the principle of democracy in a small country like Palestine I appeal to the people of India to stand by the Arabs"

Miss *Venu Chitale*, speaking on behalf of the women's branch of India League in Britain, said that in Britain and Europe wherever Indians went they were taunted with remarks of Hindu-Muslim disunity in India. She pleaded for individual efforts for removal of illiteracy in India and said that women should play their due part in the drive Miss Chitale was followed by several other speakers.

Mrs. Naidu's Exhortation

Mrs *Sarojini Naidu* in a short, spirited speech winding up the day's proceedings, said. 'You have heard through one of the distinguished women of India the message of the greatest man He has straight away cut with precision the shape of a garment for the future womanhood of India. That is a Charter which he has placed for women, not for rights for women but for opportunity for women to serve equally with men That always has been the ancient ideal on which Indian civilisation was based. That has always been the dream of women, that they should not be treated as chattle but as comrades in arms".

Addressing the delegates who have come from abroad Mrs Naidu said: "We are always ready to co-operate with the women of every country, for womanhood is indivisible Let them take back this message from India

"We hate war. We loath it with every fibre of our being To women of exploited countries we send our promise of co-operation We had been disinherited in our country and our rights have been confiscated We have not lost our spiritual liberty which is the basis of political liberty. We shall no longer remain slaves. If the older generation has no strength, the younger generation has power, desire and unity. The day of deliverance is near—deliverance from every bondage that binds us all The spirit in us is not dead

"To the women of more progressive and free countries our message of good-

will is, "set your home in order, stand up to the full height of the stature of womanhood and so bring peace to the world—the mission of womanhood".

After four hours of sitting the first day's session concluded.

Resolution—2nd Day—Hyderabad—29th December, 1945

SERVICE CONDITION IN WAC (I)

A number of resolutions were passed at the Conference to day relating to the political situation in India and the release of I. N A prisoners The whole of the forenoon and part of the afternoon's proceedings at to day's session were concerned with the disposal of routine reports and organisational review of the various branches of the Conference

Mrs Kitty Shiva Rao and Mrs Renuka Ray reviewed the work of the Social and Economic sections respectively for which they were the heads

The resolution on W A C (I) and other resolutions were moved from the Chair and passed without discussion

The conference congratulated Mrs Ammu Swaminathan and Mrs Rameshwari Nehru and Miss N Jethi Sipahimalani on their election to the Central and Provincial Assemblies respectively.

The first resolution on the agenda of the conference expressed grave concern about the status and condition of Indians including Anglo-Indian women in the Women's Auxiliary Corps of India and demanded a commission, commanding public, confidence to investigate and report on the policy, functions, living and service conditions and the future of the organisation with particular reference to the desirability of its maintenance on a permanent basis Should however the Government refuse to accept the demand for a proper and comprehensive enquiry the conference urged the immediate dissolution of the W A C (I) in view of the widespread discontent caused by the almost complete absence of Indians in high ranks and the treatment accorded to the Indian rank and file involving, in many instances, loss of personal and national self-respect

INDIANS SUPERSEDED

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur moving the resolution said that women's organisations ought to take a lively interest in this cause of women The Corps was brought into being without reference to the A I W C They had a Government that was in the habit of doing things without reference to the people who had been unfortunately under their rule Quoting figures of Indian officers in the W A C (I) she said that some Indian officers of the W A C (I) had resigned because they had been superseded by British subordinates She said that India must know how the corps was functioning, the condition of service and living of the Indian personnel and urged the appointment of an enquiry committee Besides, she said, there were persistent rumours about "grave immorality among the ranks of the corps" These reports came from various sources She demanded investigations into these questions

Seconding the resolution, Mrs Kitty Shiva Rao gave facts and figures she had collected about the corps and said that a number of Indian women officers had resigned because they realised that racial discrimination was more than they could stand and they could not compromise it with their self-respect She said that if Government tried to make it a regular Indian corps charged to the Indian Exchequer they should make some efforts to train Indian women to occupy higher ranks She felt there was no need for such a corps in India which cost the Government by way of salary alone two crores of rupees If the corps were to do social work why, she asked, should it remain in the military organisation

DEMAND FOR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

The main political resolution was moved from the chair and was adopted

The conference maintained that the question of Indian Independence cannot be delayed any longer and the prevailing distress and chaos in the country could only be surmounted by the transfer of complete power to the Indian people and the establishment of a National Government enjoying the full confidence of all It also opined that the constitution-making body as envisaged by the British Government could not be a truly representative body elected as it would be on a very restricted franchise and therefore the Constituent Assembly should be elected on adult franchise with full sovereign powers which alone could frame a constitution for India.

The conference also adopted a resolution reiterating its belief that permanent peace was possible when all the subject peoples of the world have attained complete Independence, and viewing with alarm the opening of smaller fronts to suppress the

rising tide of freedom movements in various colonial and semi-colonial countries of Asia, Africa and Europe by various Imperialist Powers and ruthless assaults, particularly on peoples of Syria, Indo-China and Indonesia. It protested against the combination of Imperialist Powers jointly to hold subject peoples in bondage.

By another resolution, the conference protested against the use of Indian men, ships and money to suppress the freedom movement of the East and demanded the immediate withdrawal of Indian troops from Indonesia.

The Conference passed a resolution condemning the high-handed action of the authorities responsible for opening fire and lathi charges on a peaceful procession of unarmed students of Calcutta, Lahore and Bombay in connection with I. N. A. demonstrations.

The conference joined with the national demand for the release and repatriation of all I. N. A. personnel.

It expressed appreciation of the work done by Rajkumari Amrit Kaur in the cause of education and Mrs. Renuka Ray in the Central Assembly. The Conference also congratulated Srimati Anyasuya Bai Kale on her successful campaign for the commutation of the sentences of the Ashti and Chimur prisoners.

The Conference then adjourned for the day.

WORLD SUPPORT FOR INDIA'S DEMAND

The attitude of a cross-section of women all over the world towards the Indian freedom movement was defined at a Press Conference to-day by the various foreign delegates who are attending the Conference.

Miss Agatha Harrison (Britain): There is keen awareness of the gravity of the present situation in India among the British women and sympathy with the struggle that India is making. Lady Pethick Lawrence's letter to the Conference represents the feeling of British women.

Mrs. Jessie Street (Australia): We realise the difficulties of any country endeavouring to get emancipation and gain liberties for themselves. After all the problem of subjection, whatever its nature, is the same and the feeling of frustration is all the same whoever is the victim.

Miss Rao Gordon (America): The United States is taking great interest in Indian freedom. I found women in India have the same aspiration and responded to the same approaches.

Madame Anne… el Said (Egypt): My Association is very much interested in India's claim for freedom. We had suffered in the same state as India finds herself now. We are ready and shall do everything in our power to help India's movement for freedom.

The other delegates also identified themselves with the above views.

PREVENTING ANOTHER WAR

Mrs. Agatha Harrison referred to the possibility of another war, and also to the Atlantic Charter. She said that all the power of women in Britain would be directed to see that there was no more war and prevent the cause of it. There was a great realisation on the part of the British people that the clause in the Atlantic Charter referring to self determination of all countries was important for the future peace of the world and so long as it was impossible to carry out the principle, it was the negation of a solemn charter. She felt there should be an immediate move forward on the part of the countries who had a hold on other countries to fix a date on which these countries should achieve their freedom and the kind of Government they wanted. They should move forward quickly and mere signing of the Charter was not enough.

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The A. I. States Peoples' Conference

Standing Committee—Srinagar—8th August 1945

The All India States Peoples' Conference Standing Committee at its Srinagar Session which concluded to-day, *Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru* presiding, adopted a long resolution dealing with the Hyderabad Nizam's Firman that Responsible Government as distinct from representative government cannot, under any condition, be established in those Indian States which have either contracted friendly relations

with the British Government under historical treaties or are under the protection of the Paramount Power

The resolution stated. The fundamental question is whether the future of the Indian States should be considered from the point of view of personal well-being or prosperity of their people. It is clear to the Committee and is recognised by all concerned, even including the British Government that the final test can only be the progress and well-being of the people as a whole If that is the test, the Nizam's argument has no substance and if two respective well-beings conflict, the people's well-beings must prevail It is only after this latter has been provided for that the well-being of the Ruler can be considered.

"The Committee regret that the Ruler of the premier State of India should advance an argument so little in keeping with both ancient and modern ideas of Government and opposed to the claims of humanity, freedom and democracy alike. It is manifest that the present ties which have subsisted for a considerable time between India as a whole and Britain and between the Indian States and Britain cannot last They are loosening already and are likely to end soon In such a state of affairs, the Ruler must necessarily depend on the goodwill of the people and not on foreign assistance for his continuance in his possessions

"In view of the numerous utterances of world statesmen and of the United Nations in the course of the world war, it is exceedingly strange that an Indian Ruler should talk in terms of complete opposition to all these declarations and should forecast perpetual authoritarian rule for himself It is for the British Government and its statesmen to declare how far the Nizam's declarations fit in with the British Government's policy in regard to democracy and freedom So far as the peoples of the States are concerned, they have declared repeatedly and emphatically, in common with the rest of their countrymen, in favour of full Responsible Government which necessarily involves a democratic form of Government The Standing Committee cannot therefore accept in any way whatsoever the statement that Responsible Government cannot under any conditions be established in those Indian States which have contracted friendly relations with the British Government

Finally, the resolution emphasises that these treaties cannot be allowed to come in the way of the growth of the people and the development of free institutions among them

FLIGHT OF BHILS IN CENTRAL INDIA STATES

The committee's resolution on the plight of nearly seven lakhs of Bhils in the Central India States, notably in Jhabua State declared that instead of being given special protection as a backward tribal community the Bhils had to suffer continuous and intense repression from Jhabua State, leading to firing on innocent Bhils in 1942 The State had since been crushing the reform movement among them and reducing them to the position of slaves and chattels

The committee regretted that the Indore Government had been made an instrument to further the Jhabua State's policy of repression on the Bhils and had in this connection externed Pandit Baleshwar Dayal, a State subject, who is a prominent social reformer and humanitarian, and the founder of the Rajasthan Bhil Sevak Sangh, who had during the past eight years laboured for the uplift of the Bhils and successfully carried out anti-forced labour and anti-liquor work. The Committee hoped that the Maharaja of Indore would set this grave injustice right and would in no way help the anti-Bhil policy of the Jhabua State The committee authorised its Working Secretary, Pandit Jai Narayan Vyas, to collect further details about the repression of the Bhils in Jhabua and other States

ARREST OF WORKERS IN BHARATPUR

The Bharatpur situation formed the subject of another resolution which protested against the arrest of 15 workers of the Rajya Parishad and against the heavy terms of imprisonment passed on Mr Abi Mohammed President of the Parishad, and Mr Jugalkishore Chaturvedi leader of the Opposition in the Bharatpur Assembly, for speeches on the food problem

The committee protested against the arrest of some students also and declared that this policy of the Bharatpur Government was likely to worsen the situation and aggravate a crisis The committee urged the Maharaja to interest himself personally in the matter of solving the food problem and to release those arrested or convicted

RESTRICTIONS IN KALAT

The committee, by another resolution, has approved the Kalat State Govern-

ment's policy of 'harassment towards the State National Party, which prevented the functioning of the party in the State." The President of the Party, Mr Abdul Rahim Khan, and other leading workers had been forced to migrate from the State and settle out-side its borders. The entry of certain nationalist papers from Baluchistan had also been prohibited. The committee urged the Khan of Kalat to cancel all such restrictions and permit civil liberties and the peaceful and legitimate activities of the National Party in view of the present conditions and the changes all over India and the world.

By another resolution, the committee reiterated the objective of the States' peoples as being the establishment of full responsible Government in the States. As an integral part of India, the major States would form democratic autonomous units in a free federated India.

The committee called upon the people of the States "in this hour of change in India and Asia to prepare themselves in every way, by organisation and otherwise, to realise this objective." The committee trusted that the Rulers of the States would co-operate "in this great and noble endeavour which holds the promise of redeeming one hundred million people from utter poverty and the life of a suppressed and subject people."

Another resolution urged the Rulers of the Indian States to put an end to repressive policy which "can only lead to increasing conflict," and to put themselves in line with the inevitable changes that are coming, by removing all bans on the popular movements and releasing all political prisoners and detenus.

The committee also passed a resolution on the arrest, conviction, the 69 day hunger strike and the death of Shri Dev Suman of Tehri Garwal, saying that the treatment meted out to him was most inhuman and vindictive.

Standing Committee Resolution - Jaipur—24th. October 1945

The Standing Committee of the All India States People's Conference, after three days deliberations under Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's presidentship, formulated the demands of the Indian States' people in regard to the future status of the people of Indian States *vis-a-vis* British India.

The Committee passed a comprehensive resolution declaring that constitutional changes in British India should be followed by full Responsible Government in Indian States as an integral part of a free India. The Committee also demands that in the constitution-making body, the people of the Indian States must be represented on the widest franchise possible.

The following is the text of the resolution:

The Standing Committee wishes to declare afresh that constitutional changes in British India can only be acceptable, if they are based on full Responsible Government in States as integral parts of a free India, further, that any constitution-making body should have as its members from States, representatives of the peoples elected on a wide franchise which should at least approximate to the franchise at present prevailing for Legislative Assemblies in the Provinces. Such representatives will represent the people's wishes and will have the same status and representative character as members from the Provinces. Any other method of representation in the Constituent Assembly will necessarily mean a lower status for members from the Indian States and the joining together of democratic representatives and autocratic nominees, which will be a travesty of democratic procedure and is likely to lead to deadlocks. It is essential, therefore, that the States' people should be represented on a fully democratic basis.

CIVIL LIBERTIES MUST BE RECOGNISED

"The Standing Committee has noted the statements made on behalf of some Ruling Princes to the effect that they are desirous of enlarging the liberties of their people and do not wish to come in the way of India's freedom. While appreciating these sentiments, the Committee would point out that vague statements are not helpful at present when final decisions are impending. The States People's Conference would willingly co-operate with the Rulers and Governments of States on the basis indicated above with a view to the establishment of Responsible Government in the States on a line with the democratic Government in the Provinces. In particular, any change in the policy of the States' Governments must begin with full recognition of civil liberties without which it is impossible to have free elections or to make any substantial progress in the directions of freedom and representative institutions."

The Committee accepted the invitation from Udaipur to hold the next session of the Conference there.

The Committee decided to keep its permanent head office at Bombay with a branch office at Delhi

A good deal of time was taken up in discussing amendments to the constitution of the All-India States' People's Conference so as to enable Indian States at present handicapped on account of registration or such other laws in certain States to get themselves affiliated or recognised by the All-India States' People's Conference

One result of the holding of the Standing Committee of the All India States' People's Conference at Jaipur and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's visit is the dissolution of the Azad Morcha or State Congress, which is a rival organisation to the Praja Mandal This body came into existence in 1942

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru advised the organisers of the Azad Morcha to merge themselves into the Praja Mandal and work unitedly for the advancement of the people of the State This advice was accepted by the supporters of the Azad Morcha

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The Associated Chambers of Commerce

Annual Session—Calcutta 16th December 1945

H. E. THE VICEROY'S ADDRESS

"I do appeal most solemnly and earnestly at this critical moment of Indian history for goodwill on the part of all leaders We are going through a very difficult and testing time, and it will need coolness and wisdom if we are to avoid calamity In so far as I can help by personal contact, I am always prepared to do," said *His Excellency the Viceroy*, addressing the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce this morning India had before her great opportunities, the greatest she ever had for political freedom, for industrial and agricultural development, for progress towards solving her problems of poverty, illiteracy and ill-health The Viceroy said

I thank you, on behalf of my wife and myself, for your cordial welcome and for the kind things you have said about us We have both a very genuine desire to help India, we both realise how much there is to do and with what difficulties our task is beset. We shall both continue to work for India to the best of our abilities and understanding

I entirely share your regret at the impending departure of your Governor, Mr Casey, No man has worked more whole-heartedly for Bengal than he has done during these two years no man could have accomplished more in so short a time. He has certainly shown Bengal the road to recovery and progress Of your new Governor, I can assure you of this that he is a man of courage character and sympathy—the three great qualities that make a man

Mrs Casey has worked with the same single-mindedness as her husband I am sure that her goodwill and her charm will be greatly missed when she leaves Calcutta, and will be long remembered

The world situation has indeed changed since I spoke here a year ago Our enemies have collapsed; collapsed more suddenly and completely that anyone could have expected Yet though the mighty have fallen, the weapons of war have not perished a deadlier weapon than ever before devised by the brain and hand of man has appeared on the earth, in the splitting of the atom If used with greed for power it will prove a monster such as Frankenstein made, and will kill its creators if used with wisdom and sense, it may be a beneficent genie, with miraculous gifts for mankind—a world released from war, plenty and leisure in peace of poverty and toil ; flying carpets at Woolworth prices for everyone It is in safe hands at the moment, we can only hope that it will be always used with wisdom.

PROBLEMS OF PEACE

Meantime, we are faced with the problems of peace One of the most resolute and clear-sighted leaders of the first world war—Georges Clemenceau, sometimes called the Tiger—wrote, after it was all over, a book to which he gave the title "Les Grandeurs Et Les Miseres De La Victoire"—the greatnesses and the tribulations of victory. It is of these that I will say something.

Let us deal with our greatness first. India has without doubt emerged from this war with increased financial and industrial strength with increased reputation all over the world, with increased consciousness of her power and destiny and with the greatest opportunities she has ever had, if she can shape her future aright I will speak on that presently Meantime, let us recognise two things; the gravity of the perils from which we have been delivered, and the gratitude due to those who have delivered us The evidence that continues to accumulate of German and Japanese arrogance and brutalities shows what would have been the fate of India and the East as well as of Europe, had the Axis Powers not been defeated Their defeat and our salvation were due chiefly to the gallantry and endurance of the soldiers and workers of the United Nations, amongst whom Indians played so distinguished a part I ask you to pay them in your thoughts, your words, and above all in your deeds, the debt of thanksgiving which we all owe them.

I am glad that Sir Renwick paid a tribute to the members of the Executive Council They deserve it We in the Central Government are, I must confess, more used to criticism than to praise Like the beggar in the proverb, we get more kicks than half-pence, but you, Mr President, have given us quite a generous sixpence. I say in all seriousness that when the records are examined dispassionately, it will be found that India has had, on the whole, as wise and courageous guidance in this war by her counsellors, mainly Indian, as it is reasonable to expect in the imperfect direction of human affairs

It is true, as your President has said, that the sudden ending of the war found India unprepared for peace, But that is not to say that there had been lack of foresight, or that a great deal had not been done Preparations to meet the outbreak of peace had been going on for more than a year, but like almost everyone else all over the world we had expected at least another six months of war. It is much easier to prepare for war during a peace than to prepare for peace during a war In war, when a nation is in peril and fighting for its existence, or even if it is striving to complete a victory already half-won, it cannot afford to reduce its effort and withdraw its man power from the armed forces or munition factories in anticipation of peace—or only to a very limited extent In other words, you can turn as much of your butter as you like into guns, but it is much more difficult to reverse the process and to churn your guns back into butter. Still, we have been doing our best Before I deal with the Government's plans for re-conversion, I will say something about controls.

RELAXATION OF CONTROLS

During all wars, there is an unjustified belief with some people that, as soon as the fighting ceases, life will return to normal and all restrictions can be lifted That belief is always disappointed, and a little reflection will show that it has no sound basis. A man who has suffered for many days from a high fever does not become a healthy man as soon as his temperature drops, nor is he able at once to enjoy a full diet, there is bound to be a period of convalescence If he tries to cut short his convalescence, he sometimes finds himself back in hospital.

Wartime controls, such as the rationing of foodgrains and cloth, or the restriction of movement, do not arise from the actual fighting, but from causes which continue to operate long after the fighting ends, and cannot immediately be eliminated, such as the diversion of industry to wartime purposes and the dislocation of all means of transportation by sea land and air Until our factories can work normally again and until ships and railway wagons are available on demand for peace-time requirements, we shall have a shortage of supply and difficulties of movement As long as these factors obtain, which they will do for many months yet, controls must remain, to ensure that the limited supplies available are distributed as fairly and equally as possible Controls will have to relaxed gradually and in an orderly way This will be done as soon as it becomes possible.

It is alleged against controls that they cause black marketing and corruption. It is true that there has been in India a shameful amount of corruption, used to evade controls, during the war It still exists. But it is the shortage that cause the corruption and not the controls. Wherever there is shortage, the anti-social greedy man will try to get more than his fair share and will be unscrupulous in his methods He flourishes in his black market or languishes in gaol, in proportion to the lack of existence of public honesty and public spirit—honesty which will refuse to take advantage of illegal opportunity and public spirit which will refuse to deal in the black market and will expose those who do. But if all men were honest and none were greedy, Government would be a simple business,

I think, on the whole, Government can claim a great measure of success for its control of some of the main items of supply—food, coal, cloth and drugs. I will say a few words on these.

FOOD POSITION

The general food situation of India continues to demand vigilance on the part of Government and co-operation and restraint on the part of the public. Our troubles in India date from the time when Burma and Siam were closed to us as sources of supply by the Japanese. While it is true that those countries have now been liberated, and that rice from Burma and Siam will again be available for India's use, the flow of rice from these sources, although considerable, will not for some time to come be as large as it was before the war.

We are not at present free to purchase as much as we like in these markets; nor can we leave it to the normal processes of trade to secure its movement to India. World shortages of production and the number of urgent demands on shipping make it still necessary for world surpluses of cereals to be allocated by the combined Food Boards in Washington and for world shipping to be carefully planned. The Government of India has to make good its demands for grain and shipping before the bar of world opinion as represented by the combined Food Boards in Washington, and imports can only be arranged by Government. The Government of India, with the support of the Secretary of State for India, and the London Food Council will continue to press for India's due share of world surpluses.

In these circumstances, not only must we do our best to increase production in India, but we must procure as much as possible for our internal production and distribute it on the basis of essential needs to deficit areas. It is imperative that we both utilise our own resources to the full and present to the outside world an example of rationed and controlled distribution in which waste and extravagance have no place.

The present outlook is on the whole not unfavourable. The late rains which occurred in Eastern India—although they did damage in certain areas—have done immeasurably more good than harm and have resulted in what might have been a very poor winter rice crop in parts of Bengal and Bihar becoming a very fairly good crop. Damage to crops from drought and cyclone has been reported from Madras, Bombay and some other areas, but with the imports which we are justified in expecting, we have every hope of keeping the food situation stable during the forthcoming winter and spring.

The coal situation which has been almost as great an anxiety as food for some years, is now much improved, though strict control is still necessary.

I am aware of the hardship that has been caused by the cloth shortage, but, thanks to the measures of control taken over production and distribution, the strain on the consumer has been progressively lightened. We shall not be able to purchase all the cloth we want nor always the qualities we require, until the present world shortage in textiles is satisfied. But India is on the whole better off than many countries, including indeed, the United Kingdom.

There is still a shortage of a few specialised drugs, but I hope these will soon be available in sufficient quantities.

The soldier's relief from stern duty after a war comes no more quickly or easily than the return of comfort to the civilian. A playwright has written this: "Nothing has ever been made until the soldier has made safe the field where the buildings shall be built, and the soldier is the scaffolding of the new world which it is hoped will arise from the present very battered one. We see him on guard all over the world—in Germany, in Italy and elsewhere in Europe, in Japan, in Malaya and elsewhere in the East—administering, protecting, controlling, till statesmen and diplomatists and peoples can decide how to harvest the fruits of his victory.

USE OF INDIAN TROOPS IN INDONESIA

We are specially interested in the use of our troops in Indonesia the facts of which have been much misrepresented. Our soldiers are not there to suppress the Indonesians, they went there on an errand of duty and an errand of mercy—disarm the Japanese and to rescue Allied prisoners and internees. These tasks are not yet completed and have been rendered difficult by the action of extremists and lawless elements, instigated by our Japanese enemies, and admittedly not under the control of those who claim to be the leaders of the Indonesians. It is these extremists whom our troops have had to fight. I can tell you this after seeing a number of reports, that the courage and discipline of Indian troops, attacked

without provocation while rescuing defenceless women and children, and murdered while protecting the peaceful citizen against mob rule has been worthy of their highest standards. There is no more difficult and unpleasant duty for the soldier than that of keeping law and order in civil commotion, and no one will be more glad than I when Indian troops are relieved of this responsibility.

POST-WAR PLANNING

I turn to the matter of Government planning for the years ahead. This has been on two lines, short-term planning for the transition period from war to peace; and long-term planning for the general development of India. The former includes the training of service men and women for civil life, the establishment of employment bureaux all over the country, the re-settlement of soldiers; and the preparation in all Provinces of works projects on which unskilled labour can be absorbed. But, however carefully the Central Government and the Provinces may plan, the next year or two will be difficult, and there will be some hardship. It is not possible to pass from a period of very full Government employment, during which factories are working multiple shifts to feed the insatiable war machine, large numbers of young men are enlisted into the armed forces, and large clerical establishments are assembled, to a period of renewed private enterprise, without dislocation and difficulty. When you have been flying at say 15,000 feet, a quick descent causes serious discomfort to the human system. A considerate pilot brings his crew and passengers down slowly and gradually, the Central Government will make the landing to the ground-level of peace as shock-less as they can, and I am sure the Provincial Governments will do the same. As your President has said, it is necessary to pay special attention to the welfare of our returned soldiers.

We have all of us—administrators, businessmen and soldiers—said some hard things in our time, I am sure, of the restrictions imposed by financial considerations. I can assure you that at present the Finance Department is helping in every possible way, and is prepared to find the money for all reasonable and fruitful enterprises which will absorb labour.

Our long-term planning is based on the parallel development of agriculture and industry. For prosperity,—indeed for mere survival of the population at its present rate of growth—great improvements in both directions are necessary, and are fortunately possible. There is not now a great deal of new land that can easily be made fertile, but the yield of the land already under cultivation can be greatly increased by improved seeds, while further irrigation projects, if they cannot fertilise great tracts of waste-land as in the past, can at least ensure that much land now dependent on rainfall will be permanently supplied with water.

For industrial development, we have available abundant raw material, labour and enterprise. Our chief need is power of two kinds—hydro-electric power to run the machinery and skilled man power to direct it. A number of important hydro-electric schemes have been planned and will soon be taken in hand. These will supply the power necessary, but they will of course take time to construct. Many of them will present complex problems of administration since they concern more than one Province or State. India's other great need is more trained technicians of every kind. We are doing all we can to provide training for them. I hope that a proper proportion of the youth of the country will study the practical rather than the theoretical branches of learning.

ISSUE OF COMMERCIAL SAFEGUARDS

Sir Renwick has raised the issue of commercial safeguards. I do not propose to enter into any detail on this somewhat controversial subject. I do not think that there is any likelihood of the complete removal of the safeguarding clauses of the Act until there is a general revision of the Constitution Act and a commercial treaty between Great Britain and India; but the Government of India is aware of the natural desire of Indians to develop and control the basic industries with their own capital and management as far as possible, and will not disregard it. To my mind, however, goodwill and cordial relations are of greater importance to both British and Indian business than clauses in an act; and the establishment of such relations is at present and will be in the future the real safeguard for the interests of both. I firmly believe that co-operation between British and Indian enterprise in an atmosphere of goodwill provides the best means for the industrial development of India in the quickest and most fruitful manner.

THE POLITICAL PROBLEM

I come to the political situation, on the issue of which all depends—progress or catastrophe. I intend to give you my views as clearly and frankly as I can.

India has before her great opportunities, the greatest she has ever had, for political freedom for industrial and agricultural development, for progress towards solving her problems of poverty, illiteracy, ill-health I need not enlarge on this theme You are all, I am sure aware of it yourselves My tours over India in the last two years have certainly made me aware of all that is being done and of the quickening spirit of enterprise and earnestness in plans to improve agriculture, industry, health, education and other branches of welfare India's opportunities are hers to take I can assure you unreservedly that the British Government and the British people honestly and sincerely wish the Indian people to have their political freedom and a Government or Governments, of their own choice But there are certain elements of the problem which we must recognise It is not a simple problem, it cannot and will not be solved by repeating a password or formula "Quit India" will not act as the magic "sesame" which opened Ali Baba's cave It cannot and will not be solved by violence Disorder and violence are in fact the one thing that may check the pace of India's progress There are various parties to the settlement who must somehow or other reach a measure of agreement amongst themselves—Congress the largest political party in India, the minorities, of whom the Muslims are the most numerous and most important, the Rulers of Indian States, and the British Government

The objective of all is the same—the freedom and welfare of India I do not believe an agreed solution between the parties is impossible; I do not believe it would even be very difficult, given goodwill, commonsense and patience on all sides For, it would be a grim tragedy for India and the world if an atmosphere of racial and communal hatred is allowed to prejudice the discussions which are to take place next year, and if violence resulted from that atmosphere In the commercial world you do not, I imagine preface delicate negotiations with another firm by unbridled abuse of that firm and its methods of business Yet that is how delicate political negotiations are being prefaced in India at present

I can assure you that His Majesty's Government, and I as their agent, will do our best to secure agreement, to help India to form a constitution, and to secure the support of the principal parties in the Central Government so as to enable them to bear a full share of responsibility for administering the country during the interval before the change of constitution can be made His Majesty's Government has recently said so clearly, has emphasised the urgency it attaches to a solution, and means what it says But I must have help and co-operation in securing a satisfactory solution and no solution will be satisfactory which will result in chaos and bloodshed, interference with trade and industry and perhaps famine and general misery

You are men of business, you realise better than anyone the necessity for peaceful development I am an old soldier I perhaps know better than any of you the horrors and wastefulness of bloodshed and strife, particularly civil strife We have to avoid this, we can avoid it We have to agree between ourselves, we can agree, if we are really determined to do so Hindus and Muslims have got to live together in this great land, they surely can arrange the terms on which they will do so The Indian States, which include so large a part of India and its peoples, have to be accommodated within the Indian Union, if that is to prosper, they represent a very important element in the life of India Finally, there is the British Government and the British People I repeat that it is our earnest wish and endeavour to give India freedom but we cannot and will not abandon our responsibilities without bringing about some reasonable settlement

I do appeal most solemnly and earnestly at this critical moment of Indian history for goodwill on the part of all leaders We are going through a very difficult and testing time, and it will need coolness and wisdom if we are to avoid calamity In so far as I can help by personal contact, I am always prepared to do so.

THE I N A TRIALS

I will now refer to a matter on which as a soldier, I hold strong views A great deal of political heat and feeling has been engendered by the way in which the I N. A trials have been represented to the public I will say nothing of the trials themselves or of the men under trial, it would be quite improper for me to do so But I do propose to say something for the men who were prisoners of war but did not join the I N A, who under pressure and punishment, under hardships and want, stood firm to their ideals of a soldier's duty, a soldier's faith They represented some 70 per cent of the total men of the Indian Army who became prisoners of war in Malaya and Singapore Whatever your political views, if you

cannot acclaim the man who prefers his honour to his ease, who ... in adversity to his pledged faith then you have a poor notion of the ... is required to build up a nation. I say to you that amongst ... the last five or six years for which the world rightly extols the ... endurance of those men in captivity and hardship stands as ... proof of what they endured as the price of their loyalty to their ideals ... duty, I will tell you this the 45,000 Indian prisoners of war who stood ... estimated to have lost about 11,000, or one-quarter of their numbers, from ... starvation and murder, the 20,000 who went over to our enemy's side lost only ... or 7½ per cent

One other thing The welfare of the people, the greatness and prosperity ... nation depend on the efficiency and devotion of its services—the civil service, the police, the armed forces—who must be servants of the Government, not of a political party There could be no greater disservice to the future of India than to endeavour to undermine the confidence of the services or to draw them into the political arena. I can assure the services, as His Majesty's Government has just done, that they will receive all support in the proper fulfilment of their duty

Gentlemen, I have tried to put before you two things which I see, or think I see clearly the golden opportunity in front of India, if her leaders will exercise goodwill and moderation, the peril in which we stand to day of violence and strife which may ruin India for a generation or more It is a time when every man in any position of responsibility must determine to do all in his power to bring about a just and lasting settlement of India's problem without plunging this great land into conflict The leaders of India, that is all of us who have power or responsibility in any field—political, administrative, commercial, proprietary—are, ... should be, only the servants of the masses, the four hundred millions of India who stand in such need of advancement, enlightment and refreshment On our wisdom and on our understanding of one another hangs their fate.

Resolutions

Following H E the Viceroy's speech the meeting considered and adopted the following resolutions:

"This Association for the third time requests that the early attention of the Government of India be given to the following matters connected with the practice and procedure before the Income Tax Appellate Tribunal: that local registries for filing of applications and for facilitating communications with the local benches be established, and that the decisions of the Tribunal be made available to the public"

The resolution was moved by Mr. H. Rowan Hodge (Bengal) and seconded by Mr. H. S. Town (Madras)

AIR MAILS

"This Association is of the opinion that a regular schedule for air mails to the United Kingdom and other countries should be introduced as soon as possible"

The resolution was moved by Mr S Vaidyanatha Aiyar (Northern India Chamber) and seconded by Rai Bahadur Mukherjee (Punjab)

EXCISE POLICY

"This Association strongly urges that effective action be taken to achieve a greater measure of co ordination and standardisation in the present widely varying excise policies regulations, fees and duties of the Provincial and State Governments"

The resolution was moved by Mr S. J. Knight (Bengal) and seconded by Sir Robert Menzies and carried unanimously

The meeting then adjourned for lunch.

RELAXATION OF CONTROLS

Re assembling after lunch, Mr C. J L Stoke (Punjab) moved a resolution referring to war controls

The resolution read "This Association, while generally supporting and recognising the war-time need for the various measures introduced by Government control ... items as imports and exports, prices and stocks of produce and the distribution of consumer goods, urges that early steps be taken to abolish such controls as have a war time justification only and to relax such others as may be necessary to retain in amended form to ensure an orderly transition from a war to peace economy and or to give effect to specific plans of development"

Mr ... O. Pike (Karachi) seconded and Mr H S. Town (Madras) and Mr. A J. Elkins (Bengal) supported the resolution, which was carried.

TAXATION ENQUIRY

Lala Shanker Lall, (Punjab) moved "This meeting urges the setting up, immediately, of a comprehensive enquiry into the system and structure of taxation in this country in all its aspects and more specially with reference to the Central Government, with a view to the adoption, at an early date of such measures of taxation as would effectively stimulate the rapid development of the country's agriculture and pending this enquiry, this Association urges Government to take early and active steps so to reduce expenditure that the Excess Profits Tax and Income-Tax surcharge rates may be lowered from the next financial year."

The resolution was carried after it was seconded by Lt.-Col W. B. Hossack (Karachi) and supported by Sir Robert Menzies (Upper India Chamber)

INCOME-TAX DEPRECIATION

Rai Bahadur P Mukherjee's (Punjab) resolution on income-tax depreciation allowances was passed as amended by Mr. W. J. Younie (Bengal Chamber). The amended resolution read.

In order to offset the heavy cost of present day replacements which are urgently required, this meeting recommends the immediate alteration of the Income-Tax law with a view to permitting buildings and new plants and machinery used in business in accordance with the proposed amendment to clause (vi) of sub-section (2) of the section 10 of the Indian Income-Tax Act contained in Bill No 6 of 1945."

NEEDS OF COAL INDUSTRY

The meeting also adopted the following resolution

"This Association welcomes the action of the Government of India in setting up the Indian Coalfields Committee and feels sure that the Committee will receive the fullest support and co-operation in carrying out an enquiry which, in the opinion of this Association is most timely.

"This Association takes the opportunity of bringing to the notice of the Government of India and the Indian Coalfields Committee the continuing needs of civil industry in the matter of improved supplies of coal."

The resolution was moved by Mr. H D Townend (Bengal) and supported by Sir Robert Menzies (Upper India Chamber) and Rai Bahadur P Mukherjee (Punjab).

TELE-COMMUNICATIONS

The last resolution, moved by Mr S Vaidyanath Aiyar (Northern India Chamber) urging the speeding up of the completion of the Government of India's plan for the improvement of the country's tele-communication system was seconded by Mr H D. Townend (Bengal) and carried

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the chairman.

The Indian National Army

Story of "Indian Independence" Movement

The following are extracts from an article on the "Indian Independence" movements organised by Indians in the Far East, published in the "Free Press Journal" of Bombay:—

BEFORE THE EVENT

When the Japanese attacked the British in Malaya, the majority of the Indian population in that country, numbering about seven lakhs, were not quite clear in their own minds as to their reactions to the incident. There were of course frantic efforts at evacuation, resulting in panic in the public mind. But the background of British rule in Malaya for the previous few years, spotlit by the firing on estate labourers, who had struck work demanding an increase in wages in keeping with the rise in cost of living, and other prejudicial acts towards Indians, like ordering pre-censorship of the Indian-owned papers, while the British-owned press were free, and similar acts had produced a spirit of suppressed antagonism to the British in the Indian mind In the case of Indian troops, particularly among the officers, there was disaffection owing to the exhibition of colour prejudice, as in the case of the order prohibiting Indian Officers from using the swimming pool of the Singapore Swimming Club, though they were allowed membership, after much agitation.

THE JAPANESE OFFER

Singapore fell on February 15, 1942. On the 17th February, a few Indians were invited to meet Major Fujiwara of the Japanese Military Headquarters. The Major said that England's power was dwindling and that it was the opportunity for India to strike for Independence. He said that Japan was prepared to give all assistance to Indians, to attain Independence for India Indians, though British subjects and technically enemy nationals, would not be considered as such by the Japanese in the conquered countries, since they realised that Indians were not British subjects of their own will. He suggested the formation of an Indian Independence League to organise all the Indians for fighting for India's Independence promising to place all facilities, to that end. The Indian leaders said, that they would consider the proposal and meet him again in a few days' time.

MEETING IN SINGAPORE

A meeting of Indian leaders from different parts of Malaya was held in Singapore, on the 9th and the 10th March, 1942. Meanwhile there was an invitation from Sri Rash Behari Bose in Tokyo for representatives in Malaya and Thailand to go to Tokyo for a Conference. So the meeting of the Indian leaders in Malaya, to which some representatives from Thailand had also come, decided to send a Goodwill Mission to Tokyo This decision was taken against the desire of the Japanese, who preferred an official delegation to be sent, committed to a specific course of action.

TOKYO CONFERENCE

A Conference at Tokyo was held from 28th to 30th March, 1942, with Sri Rash Behari Bose as chairman. Apart from the Goodwill Mission from Malaya, there were Indian representatives from Hong Kong, Shanghai and Japan. Thailand was not represented owing to the death of the representatives in a plane crash on the way to Tokyo.

At the conference it was decided that the time was opportune for starting an Independence Movement among the Indians in East Asia and that,

"Independence complete and free from foreign domination, interference and or control of whatever nature shall be the object of the Movement."

It was resolved,

"that military action against India will be taken only by the Indian National Army and under the command of Indians, together with such military, naval and air co-operation and assistance as may be requested from the Japanese Authorities by the Council of Action of the Indian Independence League to be formed."

The Conference also decided

"that the framing of the future constitution of India will be left entirely to the representatives of the people of India."

It was decided at Tokyo that another Conference, more fully representing all the territories in East Asia, should be called at Bangkok in June, officially to inaugurate the Indian Independence Movement.

BANGKOK CONFERENCE

Accordingly a Conference of Indians in East Asia was held at Bangkok from 15th to 23rd June, 1942 Over 100 delegates, representing Indians in Japan, Manchukuo, Hongkong, Burma, Borneo, Java, Malaya and Thailand, as well as representatives of the Indian Army (prisoners of war) in Malaya and Hongkong were present The resolutions passed at this Conference formulated the basic principles on which the Indian Independence Movement was to be organised in all territories.

THE FIRST STEPS

The outstanding conclusions of the Bangkok Conference were —

1. To organise Indians in East Asia into an Indian Independence League to strive for India's Independence

2 To raise an Indian National Army from the Indian troops in East Asia as well as from Indian civilians

3 To control and direct the programme and plan of action of the Independence Movement, to bring them in line with the aims and intention of the Indian National Congress

4 To demand from the Japanese Government a further clarification of their policy towards this Movement as well as towards India.

EARLY ACTIVITIES

Thus, the Indian Independence League was inaugurated by the Bangkok Conference Its headquarters was established in Singapore Sri Rash Behari Bose was elected President of the Indian Independence League A Central Council of Action was formed Branches were organised in all territories in East Asia.

STRAINED RELATIONS WITH THE JAPANESE

But in the meanwhile, relations between the Council of Action and the Japanese were becoming strained The reasons for this were mainly —

(a) the absence of any specific reply from the Tokyo Government to the Bangkok resolutions There was a general reply renewing Japan's determination to help India to get Complete Independence and stating that Japan had no territorial or other ambition over India. But the Council of Action was not satisfied with the reply

(b) the attitude of the Iwakuro Kikan, which had been organised by the Japanese, as their Liaison Department between the Indian Independence League and the Japanese Military Authorities and the Japanese Government The Council of Action resented attempts by the officials of the Iwakuro Kikan to interfere in the working of the League as well as the Indian National Army.

A CRISIS

A crisis was reached in December, 1942, when the Council of Action refused to allow the Indian National Army, that had been organised in Malaya, to be transferred to Burma before all outstanding points were clarified by the Japanese Government The situation was made critical on the 8th December 1942, by the arrest of Col N S Gill of the Indian National Army by the Japanese, as a suspected British spy, without prior consultation with the Council of Action. The members of the Council of Action resigned

STALEMATE

Sri Rash Behari Bose declared that he would go to Japan and try to get the necessary clarification of issues from the Tokyo Government and requested that, till then, the organisation, i.e., the branches of the Indian Independence League should carry on. This was agreed to. The Malaya Branch agreed, but added a rider,

"that Sri Rash Behari Bose be requested to try every possible means to secure a clarification of all matters relating to the Movement from the Tokyo Government by declarations, statements and otherwise at as early a date as possible and that while the normal working of the Movement will be carried on as usual any further forward move will be decided only after such declarations and statements"

The Iwakuro Kikan started trying to build up parallel organisations to weaken the Indian Independence League A Youth Movement was launched secretly by them and intensive propaganda was carried on against the leaders of the Independence League. In February 1943 the Committee of the Malaya Branch of the Independence League after three days' meeting, decided to present a Memorandum to Sri Rash Behari Bose as President of the Indian Independence League

setting out the difficulties of the situation. The decision of the Committee was that they should resign if no improvement was noticed

The Japanese managed to get information of the Memorandum before it reached the President Sri Rash Behari Bose, and they brought pressure to bear on Sri Rash Behari Bose, to insist on the resignation of his office by the President of the Malaya Branch, Sri N Raghavan As a result, Sri Raghavan resigned. The other members of the Malaya Branch felt that their resignation was exactly what the Japanese wanted, so that the Japanese can put in their own men - Indians who would be amenable to Japanese desires—in key positions This would have created an Indian Organisation, which would be a puppet body, managed by the Japanese To prevent that possibility, the other Indian members of the Malaya Branch refrained from resigning along with Shri Raghavan

Sri Subhas Chandra Bose

In April 1943, another Conference of delegates from all territories in East Asia was called at Singapore, in which Sri Rash Behari Bose announced that Sri Subhas Chandra Bose would succeed him in the leadership of the Movement

On July 2, 1943, Sri Subhas Chandra Bose arrived in Singapore and at a Conference of delegates held on July 4, he took over the Presidentship of the Indian Independence League from Sri Rash Behari Bose, who resigned

The organisation of the Indian Independence League was overhauled including the Indian National Army At a review of the Indian National Army, held in Singapore on 5th July, 1943, the formation of the Army was announced to the world.

March of Events

With the assumption of leadership by Sri Subhas Chandra Bose, events moved rapidly

Women joined in large numbers, as members of the Indian Independence League Volunteers from women members formed a regiment called 'Rani of Jhansi Regiment" Many women also enlisted in a Red Cross Section A camp for training women recruits was opened in Singapore in October, 1943 and later another training camp was started in Rangoon also

In 1942, there had been a call for volunteers for the Indian National Army A large number had enlisted But owing to difficulties put by the Japanese in the way of training the recruits no progress was mad Now recruiting started in full vigour and four training camps were opened in Malaya, with a total capacity of training nearly 7,000 recruits at one time

An Officers' Training School was also started to train Officers for the Indian National Army from among the N C O's and sepoys of the Indian Army as well as from the civilians. Donation from Indians towards the Indian Independence League Fund started to come in, in large amounts Much of the goods required by the League and the Indian Notional Army were received free from the Indians

Free India Government

To strengthen the Movement further, a Provincial Government of Free India was formed on 21st October 1943, with Sri Subhas Chandra Bose as Head of the State It was recognised by all countries then fighting against England On October 23, the Provincial Government formally declared war on England and America It was felt that the Headquarters of the Provincial Government and the Indian Independence League should be transferred to Burma, to be nearer to India. This was effected on 7th January 1944

Entry into India

On 4th February, 1944, the Indian National Army went into a action and on 18th March, 1944, they crossed the Indo-Burma Frontier

The Indian National Army detachments along with the Japanese detachments surrounded Imphal after taking Moiai, and other villages But the lack of air support and the disruption of supplies owing to monsoon forced the Indian National Army to withdraw

The Indian National Army engaged in a defensive campaign, when the British Forces invaded Burma During this campgign, many Staff Officers of the Indian National Army went over to the British forces There were other Officers, who remained loyal to the Indian National Army When Meiktila fell and the 14th Army's progress was seen to be too fast for the Japanese to stop, it was decided to evacuate Rangoon

Withdrawal from Rangoon

Sri Subhas Chandra Bose add his colleagues left Rangoon on 24th April 1945

for Bangkok,—they were the last to leave. The Japanese Commander-in-Chief and the Burma Government had left on the 23rd. A force of over 6,000 men and officers of the Indian National Army was left in Rangoon to protect Indian life and property under Major General Lokanadhan. The Indian Independence League was left in charge of Sri J. N. Bahaduri, Vice-President.

All liabilities incurred in the name of the Provisional Government of India were met in full, before Sri Subhas Chandra Bose withdrew from Rangoon.

The Indian National Army took control of the City of Rangoon and there was not a single case of dacoity or robbery during the period of transition from Japanese to British control.

Later, reports showed that the branches of the Indian Independence League had prevented any harm befalling Indian lives and properties in the districts of Burma also.

AFTER THE BRITISH ADVENT

On 5th May, 1945, Brigadier Lauder of the 36th Indian Infantry, who was in command of the Rangoon area, sent for Sri Bahaduri. On his request Sri Bahaduri described to him what the Indian Independence League was. Brigadier Lauder suggested that the League should continue with its non-political work. Sri agreed to do this. In Rangoon, the Indian Independence League had been running five free dispensaries. These were reopened.

The National Bank of Azad Hind, which had been organized in Rangoon in April, 1944, was allowed to continue operating till the 19th May, 1945, when the Bank was seized by the Military Authorities. The activities of the Indian Independence League came to a close on 28th May, 1945, when Sri Bahaduri and other office-bearers of the League, were arrested by the Field Security Service.

FINANCE

The Indian Independence League Movement was supported by Indian money. From all over East Asia, contributions were received. Nearly 3 crores of rupees were collected in Burma alone. In Malaya, 40 lakhs of rupees were collected as New Year Gift to India in two weeks in January 1945. All the needs of the Indian National Army, excepting arms and ammunition, were met by purchases by the Indian Independence League, with its own funds.

CONSTRUCTIVE WORK

The Indian Independence League was a political organization, formed with the purpose of fighting for Indian independence. But, along with that, it also carried out a programme of social service.

1st. Trial of the Indian National Army

Opening Day—New Delhi—5th November 1945

The first major treason trial of persons accused of leadership in the Indian National Army—that strange fighting force of Indians who either voluntarily or under duress joined fortunes with the Japanese—opened at New Delhi on November 5.

The trial brought the first authentic and documented story of how the I. N. A. was formed and how it functioned.

On trial for their lives were the accused Captains Gurbaksh Singh Dhillon, Shaw Nawaz Khan and P. K. Sehgal.

Three British Army officers and one Indian army officer constituted the panel of judges.

Testimony in the case explored the stories of Indians who joined the I. N. A. in fear of their lives and the safety of loved ones under threats of the Japanese and collaborationists, of Indians who fell into Japanese hands and were tortured until they enrolled in the I. N. A., of others who joined because they were ignorant and easily influenced by fifth columnists and of others who willingly joined not because they liked the Japanese, but because they hated the British and would cast their lot with anyone who fought Britain.

The Government spoke in this regard with a statement that they would "treat with mercy and generosity the rank and file of those soldiers who yielded to pressure and were so misguided as to join the forces raised by the enemy, but they (the Government) will allow the law to take its own course and will try by court martial the leaders of those who were guilty of particularly heinous crimes."

The announcement indicated there would be no protection from trial of those accused of having slain former comrades who stayed out of the I. N. A., of mistreating prisoners of war, or of having wilfully and maliciously collaborated with the Japanese and Germans against their own homeland.

The Congress Party urged clemency for most of the I.N.A. members and created a committee to defend the three accused captains in the forthcoming trial.

An imposing array of lawyers participated in the captains' defence, among the attorneys being Privy Councillors Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Dr M R. Jayakar, a former judge of the Federal Court and of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and Bhulabhai Desai The Committee also sought to recruit the services of several retired High Court Judges to assist it

Lt.-Col Walsh, who conducted the prosecution of the famous Major Dunnette trials at Delhi, conducted the prosecution of the three captains

Nearly 14 200 men of the Indian National Army (Azad Hind Fauj) were being detained at Jhinkargachi and Amrit Bazar, about eight miles from Jessore This was revealed by Mr Sasadhar Acharya, Assistant Secretary of the Jessore District Congress Committee, who submitted a full report to the Provincial Committee

Mr Acharya said that there were eight barbed wired camps at Jhinkargachi under strong guards, and another at Amrit Bazar, which was known as "Azad Camp" The Azad Camp was not a guarded one and the men's movements were free and unrestricted

The Indian National Army First Court Martial began on the 5th November at 10-15 a.m in a hall formerly used as a dormitory in a barrack in the historic Red Fort, New Delhi. The President and members of the Court were sworn in and the accused, Capt. Shah Nawaz, Capt. P. K. Sehgal and Lieutenant Gurbaksh Singh Dhillon were brought in. They lined up and stood to attention before the Court.

An hour before the I. N A. trial was due to begin this morning, a crowd collected across the main road outside the Red Fort carrying placards "Save I N.A. Patriots" and "Patriots not Traitors." As some military and other official cars passed by, they raised cries of "Jai Hind"

Ten charges against them, of waging war against the King and murder and abetment thereof, were read out. They pleaded 'not guilty" to each of the charges.

All approach to the Red Ford this morning was cordoned off by the Delhi Police while the entrance to the Fort and the Court-House were all guarded by the British Military Police. Additional police force was kept reserved in the near-by tents.

Strictest scrutiny was made of all entering the Court Press as well as the members of the Public, who came for the trial, were stopped and checked at half-a-dozen places.

While officials of the Court Martial, the Press and the public were led in through the main entrance, the accused were brought in through the rear entrance, closed to all civilians and military except the selected military guards. The back precincts were all enclosed with barbed wire as also the staircase leading to the Court room

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Master Tara Singh, Sir Frederick James and Sardar Mangal Singh were among the members of the public, who attended the Court Martial

JAWAHARLAL IN BARRISTER'S ROBES

Major-General A. B. Baxland and other members of the Court Martial took their seats at 10-15 a.m. To the left of the Court sat the Defence Counsel, first Kunwar Sir Dalip Singh, then Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, wearing the Barrister's robes for the first time in 22 years, Sir T. B. Sapru, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Mr. Asaf Ali and Dr. K N. Katju. In the back row, sat Dr. P. K Sen and other counsels. On the opposite side sat Sir N. P. Engineer, Advocate-General of India, and Lt. Col P Walsh, Military Prosecutor

After the Court assembled, a few minutes were given to Press photographers to take snaps. Then, the Judge-Advocate, Col F C. A. Kerin, announced the Court's decision that there should be no more photographs and no smoking.

After the reading of the order constituting the Court, the Judge-Advocate ordered, bring in the accused". There was tense silence as Capt. Shah Nawaz, Capt Sehgal and Lt Gurbaksh Singh Dhillon filed in, saluted the Court and stood to attention in a row at the foot of the platform, on which, the Court sat.

The accused wore uniforms, but no marks of their rank. Each carried a hand bag, which he put down in front of himself.

The accused were asked if they had any objection to being tried by any of the members of the Court or to any of the official reporters, who would record the proceedings. They replied in the negative.

Oaths were then administered to the members of the Court and to the reporters.

CHARGE AGAINST ACCUSED

The Judge-Advocate read out the charges to the accused. All the three were charged with waging war against the King under Section 121, I P C. The charge-sheet stated that at Singapore, in Malaya, at Rangoon, in the vicinity of Popa, in the vicinity of Kyakpadaung and elsewhere in Burma between the month of September 1942 and April 26, 1945, the accused together waged war against the King. In addition, Lt Gurbaksh Singh Dhillon was charged with the murder of four persons namely, Hari, Singh, Dulichand, Dare Daryeo Singh and Dharam Singh, all near Popa Hill in Burma, on or about March 6, 1945. Capt P K Seghal was charged with abetment of the murder of the four persons mentioned above Capt Shah Nawaz Khan was charged with abetment of the number by Khazin Shah and Aya Singh of Gunner Mohammed Hussain

All the three pleaded "not guilty" to each of the charges. The accused were then permitted to take their seat one behind the other near their counsel. Before sitting down they all saluted Pandit Nehru and other members of the Defence Committee.

PETITION FOR ADJOURNMENT OF TRIAL

Mr Bhulabhai Desai presented an application praying for adjournment of the trial for three weeks It was not till October 5 last, said the application, that the accused succeeded in securing the legal assistance they desired But in view of the mass of legal, oral and documentary evidence, on which the defence rested, it had not been possible for the petitioners to weight, sift, assess and marshal all the material facts and evidence during the last month, and consequently their instructions to their counsel were still incomplete.

"Many of the most material defence witnesses including Lt-General Percival, Lt-Col Hunt (in the U K), Messrs. Goho and Raghavan (in Malaya). General Aun Sang (in Burma) and certain Japanese officials, and more than 80 out of 112 defence witnesses still remain to be interviewed Further a number of extremely important documents required for defence including Field Marshal Wavell's report on the Malayan campaign has yet to be traced and examined, and in spite of all the efforts of the convening authority and the petitioners' counsel, a great deal of preparatory work remains to be done before the trial can effectively commence"

"On October 24," the petition went on, "the convening authority delivered to the petitioners a fresh charge-sheet with a material amendment together with a summary of seven fresh witnesses' evidence, while the petitioners and their counsel were occupied with interviewing defence witnesses, and consequently they have had no time to deal with them. In view of the unprecedented nature of this trial and complex questions of law involved in it, it is essential for the defence to have further and ample time for adequate preparation For the reasons stated above the petitioners pray that the trial be adjourned for three weeks"

Mr. *Desai* submitted that with a little more time, the defence would be able to prepare the evidence, sort out essential and non essential parts of it and thereby a great deal of the Court's time would be saved As regards the length of the adjournment, Mr Desai said three weeks was the minimum, and the defence had taken care to cut it down to the minimum

ADVOCATE GENERAL'S STATEMENT

Sir *N P. Engineer*, Advocate-General of India said he had no objection to the Court granting an adjournment The prosecution, he made it clear, had no desire to embarrass the defence in any way. He, however, thought that it would be better if the adjournment was granted after his opening address and the examination of the chief prosecution witness, who would produce most of the documents having a bearing on the case. He requested Counsel for the defence to consider whether the period of adjournment could not be limited to a week, ten days or a fortnight

Mr *Bhulabhai Desai* said he had no objection to Counsel for the Prosecution opening the case and examining one witness before the adjournment, but, Mr. Desai re-emphasised, a three weeks' adjournment was the minimum that the defence would require.

LEGAL POSITION EXPLAINED

The Judge-Advocate, *Col. Kerin*, explaining the legal position to the Court, said that the Indian Army Act certainly granted power to the Court to adjourn from time to time, but the Act also imposed another duty on the Court and that was that once it was assembled and the accused were arraigned before it, the Court should continue from day to day. That point was probably emphasised be-

cause a Court Martial was not like a Civil Court in that a Civil Court functioned throughout the year while military officers who constituted the Court Martial, had work to do outside the Court Martial. It was for that reason that adjournments were not looked upon with favour in the case of Court Martials One of the requisites of good justice, Colonel Kerin proceeded, was that it should be speedy justice On the other hand, the defence in this case, said they had not fully examined their witnesses

"On that point, of course, the defence are represented by a number of counsel concerning whom, I would say this at the least, that the greatest diligence is expected from them in the examination of witnesses", added the Judge-Advocate "I think I may say that in the circumstances, certainly some adjournment that is a matter entirely for you (the Court)"

ADVOCATE-GENERAL'S ADDRESS

Sir *N. P. Engineer*, Advocate General of India, in his opening address to the Court gave a detailed history of the I N A., its fluctuating fortunes and the final disintegration. Intelligence reports seized from the G H Q, I N A, Singapore, records of engagements fought by the I N A Orders of the day issued by the accused and extracts from the diary of Capt Shah Nawaz Khan were read out

After referring to the charges against the accused, Sir Nusserwanji gave a brief life sketch of the three accused officers Capt Shah Nawaz Khan was born in Rawalpindi on January 24, 1914 He attended the Indian Military Academy, Dehra Dun, and was granted a regular Commission in 1936 and was posted to the Fourteenth Punjab Regiment in February 1937 Capt P K. Seghal was born at Hoshiarpur in January 1917. He also attended the Indian Military Academy and was posted to Ten Baluch Regiment in February 1940. Lt G. S Dhillon also attended a course at the I M A Dehra Dun, and was granted a regular Commission in April 1940 He was born at Algon in Lahore District on April 4, 1915.

Referring to the first charge, waging war against the King-Emperor Sir Nusserwanji said that the motive with which the war was waged was immaterial. Whether the persons charged with the offence did the act with what they considered to be a patriotic motive or with a mercenary motive, the offence was nevertheless committed according to law The accused owed allegiance to the Crown at all times and in all circumstances The allegiance remained with them wherever they might be and they were bound by this allegiance even when they were prisoners of war

Sir N P Engineer continued: "The accused waged war against H M the King as officers of and fighting in what was called the Indian National Army The I.N A was composed mostly of officers and men of the Indian Army The composition consisted of (A) Headquarters, (B) Hindustani Field Group (C Sherdil Guerilla Group (D) Special Service Group, (E) Intelligence Group, (F) Reinforcement Group The first Hind Field Group consisted of the Headquarters, one, two and three Infantry Battalions I.A.F C Battalion, one Heavy Gun Battalion, No 1 Engineer Company, No 1. Signal Company, No I Medical Company and No. I. T P.T Company. The Sherdil Guerilla Group consisted of the Gandhi Guerilla Regiment, Azad Guerilla Regiment and Nehru Regiment."

About November 1943, two or three months after Subhas Chandra Bose arrived in Singapore, another Guerilla Regiment was formed. Shah Nawaz Khan was appointed its commander. Three other regiments, Gandhi, Nehru and Azad, were all incorporated in one division Later two other divisions were formed, one was composed of a party of Indian prisoners of war and the other entirely composed of civilians. These civilians were mostly recruited by the Indian Independence League in Malaya

Singapore surrendered to the Japanese on February 15, 1942. On February 17 a large number of prisoners of war were made to march to Ferrer Park in Singapore Among the prisoners of war so assembled were the 1/14th P. R and 5/14th P R. They were under the command of Captain M Z. Kiani (who subsequently became G O C of the I N.A.) One Maj Fujiwara, a Japanese Officer, addressed the officers and men.

Fujiwara, the Advocate-General continued, was entrusted by the Japanese Government with the work of winning over the Indian forces to the Japanese side. Along with him were some Indian Officers. Capt. Mohan Singh, of 1/14 P.R was one of them and he said "we are going to form an Indian National Army and we are going to fight for the independence of India You must all join." The I N A formally came into existence on September 1, 1942.

Capt Shah Nawaz Khan, who was then commander of the Neesoon Pow Camp, addressed some 200 or 300 officers, V.C O's and N.C.O.s. He said that a conference

had been held in Capt. Mohan Singh's H Q., at which, resolutions had been passed to the effect that they were all Indians despite their different religions and that they must all fight for the freedom of India. He then instructed those present to explain the resolutions to the rest of the prisoners of war.

In June, 1942, there was a conference held at Bangkok attended by several delegates including delegates from various regiments of the Indian Army. The President of the meeting was Rash Behari Bose. Resolutions adopted at this conference included one that the I.N.A. should be formed, which would fight for the freedom of India and the Indian Independence League would provide the I.N.A. with recruits, money, rations and clothes and the Japanese Government would provide the necessary arms and ammunition.

Among the camps where Indian prisoners of war were kept in Singapore, were the Bidadari Camp, the Seletar Camp and the Kranji Camp. A large number of Indian prisoners of war who joined the I.N.A. did so in order to escape the torture and hardship, which was inflicted on them and which it was announced would be continued to be inflicted unless they joined the I N A.

Explaining the conditions that prevailed in the prisoners of war camps and the pressure that was brought to bear on the men to make them join the I.N A. the Advocate-General said that those who resisted to join the I N A were removed to concentration camps No food was given to them and such food as was given was extremely bad No medical aid was given at all They were made to lie down on the ground and beaten with a stick about five feet long and two inches thick They were made to do fatigues They were made to sleep without clothes and bedding on spots infested with ants The tortures so inflicted on P O W. were inflicted by Indians who were themselves P O W and had joined the I. N. A

Incidents in two Camps

Referring to the Kranji Camp incident, the Advocate-General said that in August 1942, Jam Fateh Khan of the 5/14 P R and Sub Shinghara Singh of the same regiment came with fourteen armed Sikhs to the Kranji Camp There were about 300 Muslim P O W They were asked to join the I N A but they refused saying that they would not break their oath They were fired on and some were killed. One of the Sikhs who had come with Shinghara Singh was also killed After they left, three Japanese officers and three I N A officers came and explained to the P O.W that the orders to join the I N A came from the Japanese Government and had to be obeyed The Muslim soldiers refused and they were taken to a concentration camp and were tortured and beaten and made to do fatigues

A similar incident happened in Bidadari camp in September 1942 Gurkha prisoners, who refused to join the I N A, were fired upon and a bayonet charge was made Even in hospital, the wounded men were asked to join the I N A

The Japs and Indian Prisoners of War

In December 1942, trouble arose between Mohan Singh and the Japanese, continued the Advocate-General Mohan Singh was arrested by the Japanese and many of the Indian P O W who had joined the I N A discarded their badges Some of the officers at the Headquarters, however, kept their badges After the incarceration of Capt. Mohan Singh despite attempts made by the Committee of Administration, the majority of the I N A Officers were unwilling to continue in the I N A On November 10, 1943, a meeting of all the Indian Army Officers and V C O 's was called by the Committee of Administration where a questionnaire was put to them for answers One of the questions was, "are you willing to continue in the I N A or not?" Those officers who answered in the negative were called upon to appear before Rash Bihari Bose on February 13 Before the officers appeared before him, a printed pamphlet was given to them It was issued by Rash Bihari Bose as President of the Council of Action, Indian Independence League The leaflet among other things stated "As you know, India's fight against Britain has now reached a critical stage Mahatma Gandhi has undertaken a three weeks' fast to bring still more pressure on the British to Quit India, thus finally disproving any chance of a compromise Our duty is now clear Some of you may be anxious to know what will happen to those rejected from I.N A. Unfortunately, I shall have no control over those who deliberately choose to quit the I.N A at the present juncture. I cannot speak for the Japanese, nor say in what manner or at place they may be employed by the power whose prisoners they choose to be. Those officers who do not wish to reconsider their views will have to appear before me at 11-30 hours to-day and give their reasons before I decide to separate them from the men".

After January 1943, recruiting was again done for the I.N.A. and many P.O.W joined and more were made to join the I.N.A.

In January-February 1943, Capt. Shah Nawaz was in Port Dixon and addressed the officers who were prisoners of war. He said that the I.N.A. of Capt. Mohan Singh had been disbanded and that a new I.N.A. was being formed. He said that any P.O.W. could join the I.N.A. He pointed out how badly they were being treated there, but that if they joined the I.N.A., they would be treated and fed properly. He told them to explain this to P.O.W. and to give a list of volunteers to the camp commandant for despatch to I.N.A. Headquarters at Singapore. No volunteers came forward.

In April 1943, Shah Nawaz addressed another meeting at Port Sweettenham. He delivered a lecture to all the Indian prisoners of war who were paraded for the occasion. He called on them to volunteer to drive the British out of India. He said that in the I N A their pay would be like pocket money only but that when the freedom of India was achieved they would go back to their old rates of pay. No volunteers came forward on this occasion.

RECRUITMENT CAMPAIGN

Lt. Dhillon was also engaged in a similar campaign. On one occasion, he was accompanied by Major Dhara while addressing a meeting at Jitra Maj. Dhara who spoke first said that I.N A. had been formed only to fight in India for the liberation of India. He said that they would fight with the Japanese if there was any dishonesty on their part once they were in India. The I.N.A. would take up arms against the Japanese.

Addressing the P.O.W. in a Training camp, Lt. Dhillon said that Indian P.O.W. at Singapore and Jitra had all volunteered for I.N.A. The I.N.A., he said, was going to fight to drive the British out of India. He said there was nothing to fear if the I.N.A. failed. All the blame would fall on the senior officers and other ranks would not be punished.

"The effect of what the accused did and said must be considered in the light of the circumstances which then existed", Sir N P Engineer continued. The British forces in Malaya and Singapore had collapsed. The P.O.W. were being treated in the manner aforesaid in P O.W. camps. The Indian Sepoy was trained to follow his officer with unquestioning obedience. The accused went about recruiting men for the I.N.A. and among other things gave promises of better treatment and held out veiled threats. The only alternative to joining the I N.A. was starvation and torture. No wonder that many men of the Indian army enlisted in the I.N.A., particularly as they had the example of their own senior officers who had joined the I.N A. The evidence would show that the accused recruited men for the I.N A., took part in the organisation of the I.N A, gave directions and orders for fighting against His Majesty's forces and themselves actually fought against them In doing so they carried out pre-arranged plans and carried out a common design to wage war along with others.

The Advocate-General went on to say that the training and fighting was done with British arms which had been captured by the Japanese. The soldiers and officers retained and used their uniform of the Indian Army and in addition they put on badges of the I.N.A. Some of those badges would be produced in evidence.

SENTENCE OF WHIPPING

Some time in 1942, Lt. Nag who had also joined the I N.A. was asked to prepare a so-called I N.A. Act which he did. This Act followed for the most part the Indian Army Act. But one significant addition was the inclusion of the sentence of whipping as a punishment which was originally six stripes a week or less, the total not to exceed 24. Subsequently in June, 1943, the power to inflict the punishment of whipping was extended to the army commanders and to the directors of Military Bureau in cases of serious indiscipline among sepoys and N.C.O.'s.

In about the middle of January 1943, an Administrative Committee was formed which was at first concerned with the prisoners of war. It was this Administrative Committee which arranged the propaganda lectures. In about May 1943, the Directorate of Military Bureau came into existence. Sehgal was the Military Secretary and Shah Nawaz was Chief of General Staff.

On October 21, 1943, the Advocate-General proceeded, there was a mass meeting in Singapore of I.N.A. personnel and Indian civilians. Subhas Chandra Bose, who had come there, addressed the gathering. He announced the establishment of the Provisional Government of Free India which would administer the

territory occupied by the I.N.A. He also announced the names of Ministers of the Free India Government among which was the name of Capt. Shah Nawaz Khan. On October 30, 1944, a war council of the provisional government was purported to be formed. A copy of the communication announcing this was sent through Capt. Sehgal to Lt. Nag for publication.

By March 1945, many officers and men of the I.N.A. began to go over to H.M.s. forces. To prevent this being done, an order was issued by Subhas Chandra Bose to the effect that every member of the Azad Hind Fauj—officers, NCO or sepoy would in future be entitled to arrest any other member of the Azad Hind Fauj, no matter what his rank may be, if he behaved in a cowardly manner or to shoot him if he acted in a treacherous manner.

The evidence in the case, the Advocate-General said, would be both oral and documentary. From time to time various documents came into the possession of the British Army in Burma. These were sent to proper quarters and ultimately they were forwarded to the Headquarters at Delhi and the prosecution was able to produce them. These documents bore the signatures of the accused.

DOCUMENTS IN CAPT. SHAH NAWAZ'S SIGNATURE

Among the documents which bore the signature of Capt. Shah Nawaz Khan was a letter he wrote to the H.Q. No. 1 Div I.N.A. in August 1943, regarding a scheme for the reception and management of the Indian soldiers in Burma. The year in this letter is stated to be August 8, '03. (03 stands for 2603 Japanese year).

In the scheme, it was stated that it was expected that when the operations started on the Indo-Burma border, some Indian soldiers would walk over to their side and some on the other hand would be forced to surrender during the fight.

It was stated that due to the difficulties of language etc., it was very difficult for the Japanese troops in the forward areas to discriminate and handle those men properly. The scheme stated that to get the best results of their propaganda, they should be careful in the treatment of those men. It was stated that the men should be divided into three categories: those who had come with an intention to join them, those who had no knowledge but were willing to join them and those who did not agree to join the I.N.A. The first two classes were to be organised, armed and equipped. The third category was to be handed over to the Japanese authorities to be treated as P.O.W.

On September 5, 1944, an I.N.A. order was issued. It was published on the instructions of Captain Sehgal as Military Secretary. It sets out the decorations which would be awarded to members of the Azad Hind Fauj by the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. Among them was an award of "Tamgha-e-Shatru Nash" which was to be awarded to those members of the Azad Hind Fauj who exhibited conspicuous gallantry and devotion to duty in killing or capturing alive any British or American officer or other rank.

On April 2, 1945, Capt. Shah Nawaz made an information report to Major Kawabara, about the telephone wires having been cut and of there having been activity of enemy tank, armoured car and long borne troops on Legy front.

On April 10, 1945, Shah Nawaz issued an order addressed to units 605, 747 and 801 of A.H.F. that as the regiments would have to be dispersed in very wide areas and communication with divisional head-quarters would not be easy, the Divisional Commander on authority from the Supreme Commander invested all regimental commanders with powers to award any punishment including death to any person or persons guilty of gross indiscipline, disloyalty, desertion or any other serious crime. The diaries of Capt. Shah Nawaz Khan for the years 1944 and 1945 have also come into the possession of the prosecution. The diaries are in the handwriting of Capt. Shah Nawaz. The entries in the diary for 1944 show that on January 27, 1944 Capt. Shah Nawaz called on the Supreme Commander of the Nippon forces and received orders for the final move towards India. On February 2, 1944, he called on the G.O.C., North Burma, General Motoguchi who was very kind and promised full aid to the I.N.A.

JAP TREATMENT OF I.N.A REGIMENT

An entry under the date March 30 in Shah Nawaz's diary runs as follows: "Roobi returned from Kennedy Peak. His report is distressing. The Japanese are using I.N.A. crack regiment as labourers. I am going to Hak today to see Kimewari in this connection. I wonder what is going to be the outcome of all this one-sided co-prosperity."

Another entry under date April 4, 1944, states that Capt. Shah Nawaz met the Commander of the 1st Division and said that the role of the division had been changed

and they were going to participate in the fight for Imphal. The entry states that the Division Commander gave Capt. Shah Nawaz a chance to select his role in the coming operations and that his choice was attack on Imphal

Another entry dated July 7, 1944 says: "Kimewari went to G H Q. to take orders Men did not receive any rations. Four Garhwalis have died of starvation. I and Ramsarup have approached Hikari Kikan to do something about the ration They seem not to take the least notice of it. I do not know what is the idea behind this deliberate starvation of my men." Another entry on July 15 says that due to starvation men were dying like flies and some were committing suicide and the Japanese were giving no help. On august 8, the following was written: "Para's return from Yuwa with Kimewari's answer. No arrangement for money or other help from him. He has suggested that our sick men at Teraun should commit suicide"

"The diary for 1945 is equally significant," continued the Advocate-General. "Under date February 21, there is an entry that Capt. Shah Nawaz was leaving for the front that night and that he left for Popa at midnight and that Netaji came to see him off and gave him all instructions Netaji stands for Subhas Chandra Bose."

An entry under date 22-2-1945, states, that Shah Nawaz reached Kaak Padaung at five hours and he met Lt. Dhillon and Hagir in village Indo It states that they had managed to collect approximately 500 stragglers and that it had been a bad show. One battalion surrendered their arms and others bolted. The entry states that Lt. Dhillon went with Capt. Shah Nawaz to Popa and that in seven hours met Riaz and Sehal. Another entry under date 23-2-1945 states that he received Saku Butai order to push the enemy across Irrawaddy He went to defensive positions and lectured to all officers and issued operation orders to Sehgal and Dhillon.

Other points from the entries are: Shah Nawaz heard about the desertion of Raz, Madan, Sarwar and Dey and that it was a very sad affair 18-4-1945. British had occupied Taungwingly and that the Japanese and I N.A. were counter-attacking. 19-4 1945: British tanks and carriers had broken to the positions at Magwe and that no organised resistance could be put up. 4-5-1945: "Spent the day in a small hut. Rained all day. Japanese have left us completely in the lurch. They are running themselves and are not bothering about us", 5-5-1945 The Japanese have no further use of the I.N.A. and all liaison officers etc, were withdrawn at Prome and that the discipline and morale of troops had deteriorated. 13 5-1945: "Full information re. British forces received. Appears to me that we are completely cut off No way to escape. At 19 hours left the village and marched to a jungle where I gave full facts to the men. Majority decided to become P. O. W

MILITARY DISPOSITIONS

The last entry in Shah Nawaz's diary is dated May 17, 1945. "At about midnight 16 17, on entering the village of Sitapinzeix, we were heavily fired upon by men of 2-1 Punjab Regiment from a range of fifteen yards. Civilian guide was killed. I lost my bag, spent the night in a jungle 8 hours, started but found all routes blocked. At 18 hours, captured by 2-1 and taken to Pegu Div. H.Q. and jail."

Among the documents which bear the signature of Sehgal of Kara in his hand-writing are the following: On February, 1944, Sehgal sent to all units a special order of the day of Subhas Chandra Bose as the Supreme Commander of A.H.F. (Azad Hind Fauj) and all unit commanders were asked to hold a parade of troops under their command and to acquaint them with all available details regarding the Arakan Front. This special order stated that their long awaited march to Delhi had begun. With grim determination they should continue that march until the tricolour national flag that was lying over the Arakan mountain was hoisted over the Viceregal Lodge and until they had their victory parade at the ancient Red Fortress of Delhi. They were asked to adopt as their slogan the words "Onward to Delhi."

An entry in Capt. Sehgal's diary states that his role was going to be defence of Popoa Hill. Under date February 17, he states that the enemy had crossed the Irrawaddy River at Dhillon's front and that his regiment was almost finished. There was no discipline left and the morale was gone. Under date February 22 it is stated that Shah Nawaz Khan was taking over the temporary command of the Division until Col. Aziz got well. Under date 1-3-1945, there is an entry as follows "I had to sentence an officer to death for refusing to go to the front.

What a pity, it is such a waste of human life." Under date 2-3-1945, there was an entry as follows: "These officers have not returned so far I am certain they have gone over to the enemy—the treacherous swines. From now on, I am going to be absolutely ruthless"

'I have issued orders that any one making a suspicious movement is to be shot immediately.

"March 19, 1945. An entry states. News from Dhillon. His fellows are putting up a brave show, they attacked a hill three times and eventually captured it and killed about 300 enemy, his casualties have been pretty heavy too."

The last entry is under date March 28, 1945, which states as follows. "I will put only one company to defend Welong Section road and have the remainder of the battalion in Popaywa area until the arrival of Dhillon's command when I may expect them to join me". Captain Sehgal surrendered on April 28 1945

The last phase of the waging of the war so far as the accused were concerned was in the vicinity of Kyaik Padaung and Popa area. All the accused were then in that area and were themselves fighting against those armies

The Advocate-General then proceeded to state in detail certain minor operations in which the officers were involved.

Charge Against Lt. Dhillon

Dealing with the charge of murder, the Advocate General said that Lt. Dhillon was charged with offences of the murder of four sepoys and Capt Sehgal with abetment. They were sepoys in the I.N.A. and before that they were sepoys in the Indian Army Sehgal gave the order for the four sepoys to be shot and Lt. Dhillon got them shot on March 6, 1945 There was documentary evidence to prove that. Here would be oral evidence to show that on 6-3-45 four men with their hands tied behind their backs were taken to a trench and made to sit down there. Lt. Dhillon made a speech in which he said that the four men in the trench had attempted to escape to the British but they had been captured by a patrol and brought back. For this they had been awarded the death sentence. He then called for volunteers for the firing squad. Three men volunteered, L.N. Hidayatullah, Sp. Kaluram and Naik Sher Singh Hidayatullah and Kaluram had rifles and Sher Singh had a pistol. Lt. Dhillon then called the first of the men out of the trench. He made a short speech in which he said that the man had been captured while trying to contact the British authorities and for this he was going to be shot.

The man said he had a request to make. Lt. Dhillon replied that no request would be listened to. He then gave the order to fire and they were fired upon. The four men were then lying on the ground but they were not yet dead. Lt. Dhillon ordered Sher Singh to fire his pistol into each of them and Sher Singh did this. The four bodies were then buried in the trench

Charges Against Capt. Shah Nawaz

The Advocate-General proceeded to explain the charges against Shah Nawaz for abetment of the murder by one Khazin Shah and one Aya Singh.

"If the accused seek to rely upon any general or special exception or upon any provision in the Indian Penal Code," Sir Noshirwan continued, "the burden of proving the existence of circumstances bringing the case within such exception or proviso is under Section 105 of the Indian Evidence Act, upon the accused and the Court shall presume that in the absence of such circumstances the prosecution will submit that any plea that they were bound or justified by law in doing what they did, cannot avail them."

Sir N. P. Engineer continued "Joining with rebels in an act of rebellion or with enemies in acts of hostility makes a man a traitor. An act of treason cannot give any sort of rights nor can it exempt a person from criminal responsibility for the subsequent acts. Even if an act is done under a command, where the command is traitorous, obedience to that command is also traitorous"

It is submitted that the accused cannot in law seek to justify what they did as having been done under the authority of the Indian National Army Act. No authority purporting to be given under that Act can be recognised by the court or indeed by any court of this country. The assumption of any such authority was illegal from the beginning. Any tribunal or authority purporting to be established under that Act would be in repudiation of the allegiance which is inherent in a court of the country. Those who instituted or took part in the proceedings were themselves liable to be punished for offences against the State. All orders under the I.N.A. Act or by any tribunal or authority purporting to be established by it

are without sanction. They cannot protect the person who made such orders or who acted upon them."

Prosecution Evidence

The Court proceeded to record evidence. Lt.-Col. P. Walsh, Military Prosecutor, produced the record of the service of the three accused.

The first prosecution witness Lt. D. C. Nag was sworn-in and examined by Sir N. P. Engineer. Lt Nag said, he entered the Bengal Junior Civil Service in August 1920, was appointed First Class Magistrate in 1934-35 and was granted commission in Cairo in February 1938. At the outbreak of the war with Japan he was posted at Penang and later went to Singapore. At Singapore he was wounded in an air raid on February 1942 and admitted to hospital and later removed to a POW camp. While there, he heard of the movement for the formation of the I.N.A. "to fight for the liberation of India from British rule" He met captain Shah Nawaz for the first time in 1942, when Lt. Nag was trying to get permission to have his eyes examined and get spectacles.

Lt. Nag said that, when the leaders of the I N A. learnt that he had been a Magistrate in civil life, they appointed him to the Legal Department of the I.N.A. In that capacity he drew up the I.N.A Act.

Sir N. P. Engineer read and put in a number of orders signed by Mohan Singh, G.O.C., Indian National Army, in 1942, promoting the three accused to high ranks and also an order by Captain M. Z Kiani, Chief of the General Staff, I.N.A., mentioning a decision to raise an I N.A composed of officers and other ranks of Indian P. O. W.'s in the Far East who volunteered their services for India's independence.

Lt. Nag said the I.N.A. was composed of the Hindustan Field Group, the Guerilla Group, the Special Service Group, Intelligence Group, and reinforcements. He said the strength of the I.N.A in September 1942 was 10,000.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai : I would like to know whether witness has any precise information or is it just a guess ?

Lt. Nag said he did not know it officially but it was more or less common knowledge that, in the beginning of September 1942, the strength was about 19,000

Col. Kerin, Judge Advocate : Did you get that from your own knowledge or from what people told you ?

Lt. Nag : From my own knowledge.

Mr. Desai : All I want is that he should not mix up what he knows with what he hears.

Replying to further questions, Lt. Nag described the weapons used by the I.N.A. and mentioned rifles, bayonets, pistols and a few armoured cars and carriers, all British weapons, not Japanese. Their uniforms were Indian army uniforms with I. N. A. Badge.

A number of these badges were produced as exhibits.

Organisation of Council of Action

Meeting the personnel of the Committee of Council of Action of the Indian Independence League, Lt. Nag said they were Rash Behari Bose, President, Mr. Raghavan and Mr. Goha, three civilian members and Captain Mohan Singh, Lt.-Bhonsle, military members. An advance party of the I.N.A. was sent to Burma in 1942. In December, 1942, Captain Mohan Singh was arrested by the Japanese and the I.N.A. broke up according to instructions left by Captain Mohan Singh. Soon after that, a Committee of Administration was set up within a week or so consisting of Lt-Col. Bhonsle, Chairman, Capt. Kiani, Lt-Col. Lokanathan and Major Prakashchand.

A campaign of lectures was started in various camps to ascertain the views of the officers and men of the I. N. A., Lt. Nag proceeded. Witness attended a few of these lectures delivered by Lt. Col. Chatterjee and by Rash Behari Bose, both of whom asked the audience to continue in the I.N.A. as its object was the laudable one of India's independence and pointing out that, unless they continued in the I.N.A., their position would be difficult as the Japanese were not prepared to take them back as P. O. W.

The vast majority of the officers were of the opinion that they should not continue in the I. N. A. They even went to the length of criticising the lectures openly during the lectures. They criticised Rash Behari Bose very bitterly.

In January, 1943 or the beginning of February, officers of the I. N. A. were asked to answer a questionnaire on the same subject and witness replied that he was not prepared to continue in the I. N. A. He gave the same reply when officers who held similar opinion were asked by Rash Behari Bose one by one.

On February 18, 1943, Rash Behari Bose issued an order which said among other things: "I have studied carefully the answers given by officers of the I. N. A. I note that practically all the officers are prepared to fight and sacrifice for the freedom of our Motherland, but I regret to say that not all of them are willing to remain in the I. N. A. These officers fall into the following categories—those afraid of taking action against the British; those who do not seem to have full faith in the Indian National Congress; those who believe in Dominion Status for India, which assumes British victory: and those who do not wish to remain in the I. N. A. under the present circumstances. Such views, if expressed by prisoners of war, may well be understood, but, coming as they do from officers of the I. N. A., they only give rise to speculation as to the motives which prompted these officers to join the movement, which was intended solely to fight for the complete independence of India. Whatever the status of a dominion, it remains a dominion of Britain and, as such, a wach-dog of Britain. The fight against Britain has now reached a critical stage."

At the end of his interview with Rash Behari Bose, witness and others who refused to join the I. N. A were taken by a Japanese Officer—Major Ogawa—to separation camp on Orchard Grove in Singapore. From there, they were taken to another separation camp, at Jhor Baru. After some time in that camp, witness was removed to Bardai hospital for treatment. After he had stayed a month in that hospital, the Commanding Officer of the hospital said that patients who were still not willing to remain in the I N. A camp were to be sent to solitary camp, where there was no provision for any treatment. As he could not afford to forego treatment, witness rejoined the I. N A. in April 1943.

Witness then resumed his duties in May, 1943, as Judge-Advocate of the I. N. A. He found that the organisation was different. It consisted of a Directorate of Military Bureau, which included Captain Shah Nawaz Khan (accused) as Chief of General Staff, and Captain Sehgal (accused) as Military Secretary

WHEN SUBHAS BOSE ASSUMED COMMAND

Subhas Chandra Bose, witness said, came to Singapore in July 1943. After coming there he took complete control of the I. N. A. and also the Indian Independence League. On taking over Supreme Command, Subhas Chandra Bose told the Azad Hind Fouj in an Order of the Day:

"In the interests of the Indian independence movement I have taken over the direct Command of our army from this day. This is a matter of joy and pride to me, because for an Indian there can be no greater honour than to be the commander of India's army of liberation. But I am conscious of the magnitude of the task that I have undertaken and I feel weighed down with a sense of responsibility. I pray to God to give me the necessary strength to fulfil my duty under all circumstances, however difficult and trying they may be. I regard myself as a servant of 38 crores of my countrymen who profess different religious faiths. I am determined to discharge my duties in such a manner that the interests of these 30 crores will be safe in my hands and that every single Indian will have reason to put complete trust in me. In the coming struggle for the emancipation of our motherland, for the establishment of a Government of Free India, and for the creation of a permanent army which will guarantee Indian independence for all times.

ROLE OF AZAD HIND FOUJ

"The Azad Hind Fouj has a vital role to play To fulfil this role we must weld ourselves into an army that will have only one goal—the freedom of India—and only one will—to do or die in the cause of India's freedom. I have complete faith in the justice and in the invincibility of our cause. Thirty-eight crores of human beings, who form one-fifth of the human race have the right to be free and they are now prepared to pay the price for that which cannot deprive us of our birth-right of liberty.

"Comrades! Officers and men! With your unstinted support and unflinching loyalty, the Azad Hind Fouj will become an instrument of India's liberation. Victory will certainly be ours." "The Order of the day" ended with the slogan, "Onward to Delhi" and expressing determination to fly the tri-colour on the victory parade in the ancient Red Fort of India's metropolis.

At this stage the Court Martial adjourned for the day.

Second Day—New Delhi—6th. November 1945

LT. NAG'S EVIDENCE

When the I.N.A. Court Martial resumed this morning, Lt. Nag continued his evidence. The proceedings began with an encounter between the senior Defence

Counsel, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, and the Advocate-General, Sir N. P. Engineer on the admissibility of certain questions

Witness deposed that he drafted the Indian National Army Act under instructions from Capt. Habibur Rehman. For the most, he followed the Indian Army Act in drafting the I N.A. Act. Later, an amendment was made in the I.N.A. Act for the imposition of whipping punishment for breach of discipline and other offences. Under instructions from Capt. Habibur Rehman he submitted a report on the I.N.A. Act. There was a conference at the G H Q, I N.A, Rangoon, following which further amendments were made to the I N.A Act.

OBJECTION TO DOCUMENT NOT ON RECORD

Sir *N. P. Engineer* drew witness's attention to one such amendment and asked him to give the substance of it.

Mr Desai asked for the production of the document

Witness said i was not available.

Mr. Desai objected and said if the document was not available, the matter could not be entered into

Sir N. P. Engineer said if necessary he would call evidence to prove that the prosecution had never been able to get possession of the document.

Mr. Desai. You have to satisfy the Court that the document was in existence and it has since been lost It is not enough to say you never got it.

The Judge-Advocate observed that secondary evidence of a document could be given if it was lost or destroyed or could not be found, and certainly formal evidence in this respect should be given, before the prosecution was entitled to allow Lt Nag to give oral evidence of that document.

The Judge-Advocate asked if Sir Noshirwan proposed to call formal evidence later that that document had been lost or destroyed or could not be found.

Sir Noshirwan said this was a document which if at all would be in the custody of Capt. Sehgal. "We never came into possession of the document. I can lead evidence to show it is not a question of the document being lost by us, and I will if necessary prove that it never came into our possession."

To further questions, the witness replied that the document existed—he drew it up himself—but he did not know what happened to it

The Judge-Advocate said the prosecution should lead formal evidence later Subject to that Lt Nag's evidence could go in now.

Proceeding, witness said that there was a document, but he did not know what happened to it The substance of that document was that whipping was raised from 24 to 50 maximum at the rate of not more than six strokes a week and summary powers for exercising this punishment was given to the Divisional, Regimental and Battalion Commanders in the field.

To further questions, Lt. Nag said that the final strength of the I.N A. was about 40 000 He knew the figure because he was responsible for the maintenance of the strength of the army in his capacity as D A G. He was present at a meeting held on October 21, 1943 at Cathay building, Singapore. There were about 3,000 people present including large number of civilians, I N.A. Officers and a few Japanese Officers. Subhas Chandra Bose declared at that meeting the establishment of a Provisional Government of Free India and the names of members of that Government. He appealed to the civilians to support the I.N.A

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose said that the I.N A. was going to fight in the Indo Burma border in the near future. Capt Shah Nawaz Khan was one of the Ministers of the Free India Government which Mr Bose announced. In February, 1944, Lt. Nag continued, the I N.A. headquarters was in Rangoon with a rear headquarters in Singapore In March 1944, witness arrived in Rangoon. At that time, Guerilla Regiment Nos 1, 2, 3 and 4, the Bahadur Groups 1 and 2 and an Intelligence Group of the I.N A were in Burma On his arrival in Rangoon, he was asked by Capt. Sehgal, Military Secretary, to proceed to Maymyo The Guerilla Regiments 1 2 and 3 were spread over the Manipur and Arakan sectors. The Fourth Regiment was in Mandalay. On witness's arrival at Maymyo, he was asked by Lt-Col Chatterjee, who was the Governor-Designate of the territories occupied by the I N A to go through certain regulations and laws, which he had drafted for the administration of those areas Lt. Nag went through the rules and after some weeks returned to Rangoon and resumed duty as D.A.G. Subhas Chandra Bose had also returned to Rangoon about the third week of May, 1944. Witness's duties involved the looking after the general discipline, postings transfers and general administration of the I.N.A. By July 1944, the Guerilla Regiments were returning to Mandalay after reverses.

S. C. BOSE'S ORDER OF THE DAY

Witness testified to a document signed by Subhas Chandra Bose—an Order of the Day—issued to the I.N A. on August 1, 1944 It stated that in the middle of March, 1944, advanced units of the Azad-Hind Fauj with Imperial Nippon forces crossed the Indo Burma border and "the fight for India's liberation thereupon commenced on Indian soil" "The British authorities" the order continued, "by ruthlessly exploiting India for over a century and bringing foreign soldiers to fight their battles for them had managed to put up a mighty force against us. After crossing the Indo Burma border our forces, inspired by the righteousness of our cause encountered these numerically superior and better equipped, but heterogenous and disunited forces of the enemy and defeated them in every battle "

"Our units with their better training and discipline and unshakeable determination to do or die on the path of India's freedom," the Order continued, "soon established their superiority over the enemy, whose morale deteriorated with each defeat. Fighting under the most trying conditions, our officers and men displayed such courage and heroism that they have earned the praise of everybody. With their blood and sacrifice, these heroes have established traditions, which the future soldiers of free India shall have to uphold All preparations had been completed and the stage had been set for the final assault of Imphal, when torrential rains overtook us and to carry Imphal by an assault was rendered a tactical impossibility Handicapped by the elements, we were forced to postpone our offensive. After the postponement of the offensive it was found disadvantageous for our troops to continue to hold the line that we then had. For securing a more favourable defensive position it was considered advisable to withdraw our troops In accordance with this decision our troops were withdrawn to a more favourable defensive position We shall now utilise the period of lull in completing our preparations so that with the advent of better weather we may be in a position to resume our offensive "

"Having beaten the enemy once in several sectors of the front, our faith in our final victory and in the destruction of Anglo-American forces of aggression increased ten-fold. As soon as all our preparations are complete, we shall launch a mighty offensive against our enemies once again With superior fighting qualities, dauntless courage and unshakeable devotion to duty of our officers and men, victory shall surely be ours"

Concluding the Order says: "The souls of those heroes, who have fallen in this campaign inspire us to still nobler deeds of heroism and bravely in the next phase of India's war of liberation."

During Lt Nag's examination-in-chief which concluded to-day, documents directly bearing on the charge of waging war against the King and murder were put in. The main exhibit was a "crime report" signed by Sehgal and Dhillon In this Sepoy Hari Singh, Sepoy Duli Chand, Sepoy Daryao Singh and Sepoy Dharam Singh were charged under the Indian National Army Act with desertion and *directly or indirectly holding correspondence with the enemy* The four were declared to have deserted from the front line on February 28, 1945 at 23 30 hours until patrol sent for the purpose at 12-00 hours on March 2 All the four were sentenced to death on March 6 under the authority of the Supreme Commander, Azad Hind Fouj, granted on February 21

The Judge-Advocate referred to a discrepancy in the document, and Mr. Desai pointed out another and it was agreed that these be brought out in the course of cross-examination, which was reserved

The "crime report" was among nearly 80 documents produced yesterday and to-day, including a letter and Orders of the Day from Subhas Bose, situation reports, battle reviews and a picturesque account entitled, "Charge of the Immortals" prepared by Dhillon describing an engagement on March 16, 1945 On that date, according to the account, a company of Azad Hind Fouj under the command of Second Lt. Gian Singh Bisht fought a column of motorised infantry of the Indian Army and in spite of heavy losses compelled them to retreat.

EXCHANGE OF TELEGRAMS

Lt. Nag produced documents purporting to give the text of the telegrams exchanged between Subhas Chandra Bose and the Burmese and Japanese Foreign Ministers on the occasion of the celebration of Netaji Day on July 7, 1944. Subhas Chandra Bose's message to the Japanese Foreign Minister said· "I take this opportunity of assuring Your Excellency once again that in spite of the hard times hat lie ahead of us, we shall go on fighting shoulder to shoulder with Nippon under all circumstances until our common victory."

Another document announced that a medal to be named "Shatru Vinash" medal would be awarded to those who displayed conspicuous courage and qualities of individual initiative in killing or capturing British and American army personnel. The medal was also to be awarded "to any person outside India or inside who helped in the prosecution of India's war of liberation by killing or capturing alive any British or American other than army personnel, who is clearly an enemy in the path of India's freedom"

Witness produced a document said to have been published on October 30, 1944, by Lt-Col. Aziz Ahmed Khan "Under instructions from Capt. Sehgal as Military Secretary." This announced the formation of a War Council of the Provisional Government to further intensify the war-effort

In a telegram to the Japanese Prime Minister, General Koiso, on July 21, 1944, Subhas Chandra Bose assured him of "the determination of Indians in East Asia to continue to fight shoulder to shoulder with Nippon until victory is achieved"

In a message to Dr. Ba Maw, Head of the Japanese-sponsored "Independent Burma" Government, Subhas Chandra Bose offered warmest congratulations to Dr. Baw Maw and the Government and people of "Independent Burma for "all the valuable help that has been and is being rendered to us in our fight for the independence of India"

The telegram added, "I wish to assure Your Excellency that we, Indians, are irrevocably resolved to fight shoulder to shoulder with independent Burma and Nippon, under all circumstances until our common enemies are crushed and our common victory is achieved."

In a telegram to the Japanese Foreign Minister Shigamitsu, Subhas Chandra Bose expressed "the highest admiration" for his "statesmanship and diplomacy" and added, "In spite of the hard times that lie ahead of us, we shall go on fighting shoulder to shoulder with Nippon under all circumstances until our common victory is achieved"

Shigamitsu replied: "I welcome your assurance of wholehearted co-operation at this momentous juncture. I am firmly convinced that we shall win our common cause and that under Your Excellency's wise and able leadership, the struggle for liberating India will ultimately be crowned with success."

Similar messages were exchanged by Subhas Chandra Bose with the Burmese Foreign Minister and the Prime Minister of Thailand, Kovit Abhajwonese. In his telegram to the Prime Minister of Thailand, Subhas Chandra Bose expressed the hope that "the cultural and political ties that have already been formed between Thailand and Free India will be further strengthened" and assured him that "Indians will continue wholeheartedly to co-operate with the Government and people of Thailand in our common fight against the common enemy."

PURGE IN I. N. A.

By an Order of the Day issued on March 13, 1945, Subhas Chandra Bose announced measures to "destroy completely the germs of cowardice and treachery" in the ranks of the I. N A. The Order permitted unwilling members to leave the ranks of the I. N A. This offer was open for one week, after which the Order said, cowards and traitors would be punished with death. After the purge had been carried out, every member of the I. N A. was required to renew his oath to "fight on bravely and courageously until the emancipation of our dear motherland is achieved." The Order continued. "From now onwards and for all time, every member of the Azad Hind Fauj should regard himself as the custodian of the honour and reputation of the Azad Hind Fauj and of the Indian nation" Special awards were promised to those who gave information regarding cowardly and treacherous elements or who arrested such elements at the front. Every member of the I. N. A was authorised to arrest any other member, regardless of rank if he behaved in a cowardly or treacherous manner.

SPECIAL SERVICE GROUP

On March 13, 1945, Subhas Chandra Bose issued a special Order of the Day to all officers and men of the I. N, A. asking them to observe a day for carrying on propaganda against cowardice and treachery. Among other things, Bose suggested dramas, burning of the effigies of traitors and lectures.

Witness produced a number of documents purported to have been signed by Capt Shah Nawaz Khan. One of them, dated March 13. 1944 marked "most urgent" said "in future the Special Service Group will be referred to as the Bahadur Group." This information was not to be published but passed on in such a

manner that every single soldier would understand the significance of the change. The functions of the Special Service Group were "espionage, sabotage and infiltration" An order said to have been signed by Capt Shah Nawaz Khan on March 27, 2603 Japanese year, corresponding to 1943, dealt with arrangements for absorbing Indian prisoners of war willing to join the I. N. A and for handing over others to the Japanese authorities as prisoners of war

Witness produced other orders said to have been signed by Capt Shah Nawaz Khan. They related to the charge of abetment of murder and the disposal of I. N A. troops in Burma One of them contained orders for dealing with bands of dacoits who were looting villages and harassing the main line of communication of the I. N. A. and Japanese troops.

Extracts were then read from the diaries of Capt Shah Nawaz Khan for 1944 and 1945.

DIARY OF CAPT SHAH NAWAZ

The Advocate-General, Sir N. P. Engineer, read out to-day further extracts from the diary of Capt. Shah Nawaz. They relate to the I. N A. operations in Burma

On February 10, 1944, Capt Shah Nawaz records

More troops have arrived by train without incident. Went to Maymyo with Kimewari and Ram Sarup to call on Japanese GHQ

Feb 11 Called on G.O C North Burma, General Moto Cuchi, the Great Conqueror of Bukit Timah Hill. He was very kind and promised full aid to I N. A

Feb 12· Addressed MT Company They were all in great spirits Many of them volunteered to go forward Received Netaji's message of congratulations to I N A troops on the Arakan operations.

Feb 20. Went for a run in the morning Enemy aeroplane active and troops nearby.

March 27: Information received that 200 soldiers from Tiddim are running away and are now at Kalangbkua. Ordered Ram Singh and Sikander to get them. Tried Mangal Singh and two sepoys.

A further entry on March 27 says that at 19-30 hours information had been received of British bombers and fighters 28 in all came and dropped some parachutists in Kalewa Area

May 13 Reached M S 50 and spent night there. Met the Commander of L E T Division at 16 hours The role of the division has been changed. They are now going to participate in the fight for Imphal. The Divisional Commander was very courteous and inspired confidence He has given me the chance to select our role in the coming operations Of course, my choice is "Attack Imphal."

Feb. 25, 1945. Netaji arrived early in the morning Went to see him at 12 hours and explained Popa situation to him. He has made up his mind to go to Kyauk Pedaung and Popa I was dead against it as being too dangerous At 20 hours, Maj Takeshi brought information that British has occupied Pyin Tin and were advancing at Taung Tha. Meiktila bridge bombed by 60 B 24s.

March 16: Khan Mohd. attacked Sand. and Point 1186 He had a fierce hand to hand fighting for two hours. Inflicted at least 200 casualties on the enemy. Fighting lasted from 03-00 hours to 06-00 hours Men fought gloriously shouting Netaji-ki-Jai Our casualties were one killed and ten wounded

March 29. Troops are moving out HQ Division going out to the area of operations Left Popa at 22 00 hours and went forward to see troops moving to their concentration areas Halted at Legy and heard news that Col Sehgal, Inzuke and some officers were ambushed. Decided to continue the advance Sehgal and other missing officers also turned up

March 30 They had a most miraculous escape.

April 2. Day starts with unpleasant shocks. Six officers and regiment deserted Capt. Mohd. Hussain and his adjutant deserted from No. 4. Enemy shelled and gunned our positions at Legy. Six wounded.

COMMUNICATION DIFFICULTIES IN BURMA

Communication difficulties in Burma are referred to in a report which Capt. Sehgal sent to HQ Supreme Command, I N A. on June 16, 1944. The report which was addressed to Col. M Z Kiani says, "At present communication between our Headquarters and front line units are most inadequate We have started a weekly courier service between Rangoon and Mandalay and from there the Headquarters in Maymyo are starting to make arrangements for DRLS to the front line. I have also taken up the question of wireless communications with the Hikari

Kikan. Their original objection was that our cypher was too simple. However, we produced other modified forms of our cypher which came up to their standard, but they wished to make another code based on the Nippon Army Code for us. Even after making that, the question of equipment and trained personnel shall still remain and we may have to fall back on using the Nippon signal units to send our messages.

Friction between the I. N. A., and the Japanese is hinted in a letter addressed to the GHQ., I. N. A. by Capt. Prem.

The letter refers to a report from Shah Nawaz on the operations in Yeu. "Yesterday evening" says the letter, "Netaji had a conference with Lt.-General Ishoda concerning the matter mentioned in your report. I was also present during the discussion. Throughout the Conference, it was quite apparent that either he (General Ishoda) could or would do little Ever since the Japanese have decided to go on the defensive, I feel a change in their attitude, which I find very difficult to explain. May be, you can explain it better than I can. Anyhow one thing is certain that we can expect little help from the Nippon authorities in Rangoon" The letter further refers to the extreme scarcity of equipment, transport bottle-neck and the organisation of a hospital for the I. N. A. wounded.

There was a breeze when the prosecution put in a small note-book with a number of looose leaves, which witness said contained notes in Captain Sehgal's hand-writing.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai: I would like to know whether the remaining page are still in possession or lost.

Sir Noshirwan: This is the form in which the document came into our possession. Exhaustive enquiries have failed to trace the remaining portions of the diary

Mr Desai. These pages seem to be specially well picked.

Sir Noshirwan (with some warmth) That is not a worthy suggestion to make especially when you have no ground for making it.

Judge-Advocate remarked (with reference to Mr. Desai's observation): This is a matter for argument later.

In the afternoon, Lt. Nag produced operational orders and other documents purported to have been signed by Captain Sehgal and Lt Dhillon

One of these documents said to have been signed by Capt Sehgal in his capacity of Military Secretary, contained a special Order of the Day issued by Subhas Chandra Bose on February 9, 1944, congratulating I.N A. troops on their "brave deeds" on the Arakan Front Bose exhorted them to have as their slogan "Liberty or death," and concluded, "The road to Delhi is the road to freedom. Victory will certainly be ours. Inquilab Zindabad! Azad Hind Zindabad!"

Lt. Nag replying to further questions said that, when the British entered Rangoon in the beginning of May 1945 the records of the I.N.A. Headquarters were destroyed. To his knowledge they were destroyed by the end of April, 1945

That concluded the examination-in-chief of Lt. Nag.

Question of Duration of Adjournment

The Court considered the duration of the adjournment asked for by the defence. The Judge-Advocate said the Court would like to know the position with regard to the number of defence witnesses available at the moment and how many witnesses had been examined up to this afternoon.

Mr Desai said during the last two days none had been examined and the number of those interviewed so far stood where it was

During further discussion Col. Walsh, military prosecutor, said the total number of witnesses called by the defence was 136 and the number so far interviewed was 38 There were at present available for interview a minimum of 12 more witnesses As regards other witnesses, urgent messages had been sent to the proper authorities and as soon as those witnesses were here, the defence would be informed and given immediate facilities for interviewing them. These witnesses should be here within seven days at the outside. About 10 or 11 Japanese witnesses had been called Other witnesses had been recovered and arrangements were being made for their transfer to India. He believed that within the next 10 or 14 days there should be as many as 30 or 40 witnesses available for interview.

After further discussion, the Judge-Advocate recalled that the defence had asked for Field Marshal Wavell's report on the Malaya campaign which had not been published. "We are all men of the world and we know that if unpublished official documents are asked for, privilege may be claimed in respect of them", he added.

Mr. Desai said Then it would have to be decided on the basis of the Evidence Act.

The Judge-Advocate pointed out that it was for the prosecution to say that privilege was claimed for the document. "That is the usual procedure of a Court-Martial and I am afraid you will have to abide by it".

Mr Asaf Ali explained the efforts made by the defence to get on with the interviewing of witnesses and acknowledged that the Prosecution had helped them as much as possible.

The Court then retired for a few minutes and on reassembling the Judge-Advocate said·

"*The Court have directed me to announce that they will adjourn until* Wednesday, November 21, and the Court will re-assemble at 10 a m on that date. In so adjourning they desire me to emphasise to you gentlemen of the defence that they expect the greatest diligence and energy to be displayed by you in the examination of witnesses, and they also hope that, subsequent to the re assembly of of the Court, you will find it possible to examine witnesses during the actual time when the Court is sitting".

The President, Major General Baxland, adjourned the Court till Wednesday November 21.

Mr. Subhas Bose on Fight for India's Freedom

Extracts from the diary of Capt. P. K. Sehgal, situation report reports of British prisoners captured by the I N.A , the operational reports and a letter from Rangoon dated March 12, 1945 from Subhas Chandra Bose to Lt Dhillon were *filed as further exhibits by the Advocate-General*

Expressing his complete confidence in Lt Dhillon and in all those who stood by him in the crisis, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose said in the letter "Whatever happens to us individually in the course of this heroic struggle, there is no power *on earth that can keep India enslaved any longer* Whether we live and work or whether we die fighting, we must, under all circumstances, have complete confidence that the cause for which we are striving is bound to triumph It is the finger of God that is pointing the way towards India's freedom We have only to do our duty and to play the price of India's liberty Our hearts are with you and with all who are with you in the present struggle which is paving the way to our national salvation Please convey my warmest greetings to all the officers and men under you and accept same yourself 'Jai Hind'—Subhas Chandra Bose"

'Not words, only tears could express my feelings", said Lt Dhillon in his reply dated March 20, 1945 "I fully realise' Lt Dhillon added, "that, inspite of reasons which may be produced, I have not only failed to do what I voluntarily *promised, but have been the only regimental commander to bring humiliation to* you and to the Azad Hind Fouj I have no face to promise again, only my actions will do so" This reply he wrote following his submission of a battle report in which he recommended posthumous reward and decoration to L/t Gian Singh and 2/Lt Mengu Ram whose bravery was 'unparallelled in the history of war"

The operation referred to was a clash between an I N A Patrol and a British patrol near Nyaungu On the main road 15 enemy tanks, 11 armoured cars and 10 trucks came advancing by the main road

The armoured column was advancing towards a trench where I N A men were concealed, shouting slogans such as 'Inquilab Zindabad' and Chalo Delhi' The men sprang from the trenches and a bitter hand to hand fighting followed The I.N A lost 40 men and the enemy 50 men About ten seriously wounded I.N A men were captured by the enemy and taken away

"The Charge of the Immortals"

Another report of Lt Dhillon entitled "The Charge of the Immortals," was also filed. It describes an encounter with a British tank column in which 40 I.N.A Officers and men were killed A detailed report marked "most secret" on the Legyi operations by Capt Sehgal was filed

In a special note to the report, Capt Sehgal said that all the officers who deserted had worked most sincerely and were considered very outstanding None of them who had gone over showed cowardice "In the minds of a number of officers and men there is a lack of faith in our final victory They are in their own minds convinced that the Anglo Americans are going to win the war and it is futile to carry on the struggle" said the report.

"Dhillon is very despondent about the condition of the regiment There is no discipline left and the morale is gone. They are a source of nuisance to me also because they wander about and give away my position also," recorded Capt. Sehgal in his diary on February 19, 1945.

I. N. A. DECORATIONS

Orders of the Indian National Army introduced to-day in the trial or three of its onetime leaders showed that medals were promised to I N A. fighters or indeed "any person" inside or outside India who killed or captured British or American officers or other ranks in India's 'War of Liberation".

These were presented in evidence without objection by Counsel for the Defence, after identification by the Prosecution's first witness, Lt. D. C. Nag of the Indian Army, erstwhile Judge-Advocate-General of the Indian National Army under the late 'Netaji' of the I.N A, Subhas Chandra Bose.

One award in the particular the 'Tamgha-e-Shatru Nash" (killer of enemy) was divided into classes, the lower 'to be added to those members of the Azad Hind Fouj (I N A) who kill or capture alive any British or American officers or other rank either in single combat or in a group fight where qualities of individual initiative and individual bravery come into play", while the higher was specified in similar cases which in addition involved 'conspicuous gallantry and devotion."

This order, included among orders published on September 5, 1944 by Lt Col. Habib-Isp-Rahiman, Assistant Chief of Staff of the I. N. A., stated also that Tamgha-e-Shatru Nash may be "awarded to many more".

The order stated that the Tamgha-e-Shatru Nash may be awarded to any person other than a member of the Azad Hind Fouj—whether outside India or inside—who while participating in or helping the war of India's Liberation by fulfilling the conditions laid down above

The provision of awards went even a step further offering that medal to any person anywhere "who helps the prosecution of India's War of Liberation by killing or capturing alive any British or American, other than Army personnel, who is clearly an enemy in the path of India's freedom"

The orders, as well as a special Order of the Day bearing Subhas Chandra Bose's signature, clearly indicated that the I N A considered American forces in India and Burma as enemies jointly with the British. It was noteworthy that the schedule of medals for killing offered no prize for death or capture of Indians in the Allied service

Indeed the strength of the I N A lay largely in military men who, having been captured by the Japanese, had enlisted in the forces of "liberation" The witness, Nag, testified that at the height of its strength the I N A numbered about 40,000 of which only one Division was principally drawn from Indian civilians.

Prosecution Counsel, Sir N P. Engineer, was attempting through this introductory evidence to picture the I N A. in as disreputable a character as possible to anticipate a defence which probably will present the I N A. as a body of particularly inspired men with standing under international law

One of the I N. A orders, quoting a reply from Subhas Chandra Bose to felicitation from the then Foreign Minister of Burma Thankin Nu, indicated that the scope of the I. N A.'s hopes and programmes included more than "Liberation of India"

Third Day—New Delhi—21st. November 1945

LT. NAG'S CROSS-EXAMINATION

Continuing his cross examination of Lt. Nag Mr. Bhulabhai Desai asked question about the Azad Hind Bank.

Witness said that he came to know of the Azad Hind Bank when he reached Rangoon in April 1944 He was aware that large sums of money and large donations in kind were donated for the purpose of the Provisional Government by Indians in all parts of East Asia and they were lodged with the Azad Hind Bank Asked whether the approximate amount was about Rs 8¾ crores, witness said that he did not know the approximate amount of monetary donations but it was a very large amount running into crores The equivalent in money value of donations in kind was also equally large.

Replying to a question by the Judge-Advocate, witness said that he got this information from announcements and lectures by Mr. Subhas Bose. Only on one or two occasions did he himself see contributions being made at meetings.

The Judge Advocate remarked that he wanted to avoid hearsay.

Mr Desai said that, after the recapture of Burma, all the records of the Azad Hind Government as well as those of the I N. A. and a large number of personnel were, rightly or wrongly, seized by Government. The result is that we have information which is vouchsafed for in the sense that it is contained in printed documents. Therefore, I must do my best with this witness.

Judge-Advocate: On the other hand, you cannot get from the witness things which are hearsay, such as this.

Continuing, witness said he was responsible as D. A G for maintaining the strength of the I. N. A. The I N. A. was maintained out of the contributions made to the Provisional Government. He did not know whether the money for the maintenance of the I. N. A. was drawn from the Azad Hind Bank. The Finance Department of the Provisional Government was responsible for the provision of funds for the I N A., which was paid and maintained regularly

The Accounting Officer of the I N A was Major Murthi who was governed by the Finance Minister of the Provisional Government

Lt-Col Chatterjee was Finance Minister of the Provisional Government in the beginning at Singapore in 1943 and was succeeded by Mr Raghavan sometime in 1944

While he was at Maymyo witness met Lt-Col. Ehsan Qadir. Qadir was there with the Azad Hind Dal.

THE AZAD HIND DAL

The object of the Azad Hind Dal, said witness, was to administer territory taken by the I. N. A. from time to time It was composed of civilians who had been given some training in civil administration in Singapore and Rangoon

Lt Col Chatterjee was designated Governor of the territories occupied by the Azad Hind Government Witness went through the draft scheme for the administration of occupied territories, which was drawn up by Mr Sirkar and given to him by Lt-Col Chatterjee Witness spent some five weeks over the scheme and he thought it was a good one He was aware that the Andamans and Nicobars were ceded to the Provisional Government about the end of 1943 Lt-Col, Loganadhan was appointed Administrator of this territory which he administered for a period of some eight months

When Lt.-Col. Loganadhan had to leave the Andamans on account of illness, he left behind Major Alvi, his personal secretary.

Q Are you aware if these territories were administered in accordance with the scheme that you found good?

A · I do not think so.

Q: Do you know that a territory called Ziabadi in Burma was administered on behalf of the Azad Hind Government?

A . No,

Witness said that about 200 persons were trained for the Azad Hind Dal, Witness was present at the passing out ceremony of this organisation. Information relating to appointments to the Provisional Government was contained in a Gazette published by the Provisional Government and army appointments were published in the I N A. Gazette

Witness had knowledge about the co-ordination of the I N A and the Japanese forces and said they functioned as two allies

Q: The general strategy having been agreed upon, different sections for operations were agreed upon?

A. I am afraid I have no knowledge about operations

Witness knew only one or two liaison officers of the Japanese Government—Major-General Qamamuto and Lt-Col. Ogawa. The Japanese liaison organisation was known as Hikari Kikan.

Q Was there any other 'Kikan" which I understand means department?

A No

Mr. Desai. The reason why I am asking is that in the documents I have seen another name.

On the formation of the Azad Hind Government, witness went on, war was declared both on Britain and America. Mr. Hachiya was sent by the Nippon Government as Ambassador to the Azad Hind Government

PROVISIONAL GOVT'S OBJECTIVES

The Provisional Government was recognised by Germany, Japan, Italy, Thailand, Philippines Croatia, Manchuria and the Burma Governments, which were then functioning That was all that witness remembered

Q Are you aware that the Irish Republic recognised this Government?

A: No.

Witness knew that the Burma Government had a Burma Defence Army but he was not aware that it had now been absorbed into the present Burma Army. He met the head of the Burma Defence Army, General Aung San on one occasion. The object of the I. N. A. was to fight the British for the liberation of India. One

of the objects of the Provisional Government was to protect the lives, honour and property of Indians in East Asia. The I. N. A assisted in protecting Indians in Burma from April, 1945 to May 3, 1945 when Rangoon was occupied by the British. There was considerable disorder on the occupation of Burma and Malaya by the Japanese The Provisional Government tried to protect Indians in these countries, but witness did not know the agency employed for the purpose. He was not aware what functions the I N A performed in that direction.

After the British surrender at Singapore on February 15, 1942, there were three or four camps for Indian prisoners of war. They were Nessoon, Bidadari, Seletar and Buller camps Subsequently, there was another camp in one or two other places There were about 500 to 700 beds in each hospital Witness was under treatment in Bidadari hospital in March 1943.

HOSPITAL FACILITIES AT SELETAR

Mr *Desai* You told the Court that you consented to remain in the second I N A. because you were afraid you would otherwise be moved from Bidadari hospital to Seletar. You now say that there was a hospital also at Seletar

A I was told that I was going to a camp at Seletar which had no hospital

Q· There was only one hospital in Seletar where any prisoner of war could be admitted?

A· Yes.

Q So it is quite incorrect to say that you were going to be sent to Seletar Camp where there was no provision for any treatment

A No We were not going to be sent to hospital, although we were patients

Q Is it this, that the patients who were not willing to remain in the I N A were to be sent to Seletar Camp where there was no provision for any treatment?

A That is what I said

Q· What do you mean by it! There was a hospital which was open to any prisoner of war.

A Normally patients would have been sent to hospital but I was told that we were not going to be sent to hospital

Q You suggest you were specially selected for not being sent to hospital?

A No It applied to everybody All the patients were told at Bidadari that, unless they were willing to continue in the I N. A they would be sent to the Seletar Camp and not to the hospital

Witness said that there were some V C Os in the Bidadari Hospital with him at that time, but he did not remember their names and he could not identify them by description

Judge Advocate Did you join the I N A voluntarily after you left hospital at Bidadari?

Witness No

Judge Advocate After you had joined, did you remain in it voluntarily?

Witness Yes

DISSOLUTION OF FIRST I N A

Witness went on to say that in December 1942 the first I N A. was dissolved. Its Commanding Officer, Captain Mohan Singh was arrested in that month by the Japanese

Mr Desai: What was the reason?

Witness I don t know the reason He had differences with the Japanese authorities

Mr Desai What kind of differences? They did not trust him Is that the reason?

Witness I know there were differences, but over what I don't know

Mr Desai Apart from the arrest of Mohan Singh were there any other cause why the first I N A was dissolved?

Witness It was only due to the arrest of Mohan Singh

Mr Desai referred witness to the summary of his first statement in which he said that Captain Mohan Singh told a prisoner of war meeting that if need be they would fight the Japanese in addition to the British

Witness answered that what he actually said then was that Captain Mohan Singh stated he would fight anybody who stood in his way.

Mr Desai Whom did he imply?

Witness He implied the Japanese and everybody.

Witness was shown the summary of the recorded statement signed by him. Mr Desai asked him whether the summary was read to him before he signed it and, if so, why he did not correct it at that time

Witness said it did not occur to him at that time to question the correctness of that part of his statement. He now remembered the more correct answer and that was that Captain Mohan Singh did not use the word Japanese but he implied the Japanese.

I. N. A. AND THE JAPANESE

Lt Nag proceeded to state. "We all got instructions left in a sealed cover that if Captain Mohan Singh was arrested, the I. N. A. should be dissolved and all the records must be destroyed. Captain Mohan Singh did not say anything more in those instructions.

Mr Desai: Was there not a feeling in 1942 that the I. N. A. should not be continued if it was going to be subordinated to Japan or the Japanese Army?

Witness: That was the general feeling of everybody from the beginning, not only then. The predominant feeling or motive was to free India for the sake of Indians.

Mr Desai: Was there the same feeling after the second I. N. A. was formed?

Witness: Yes after the second I. N. A. was formed the same feeling was there until Mr Bose arrived in July 1943.

Mr Desai: After that?

Witness: After that everybody thought they had a leader who could guide them on proper lines.

Mr. Desai: Meaning that they would fight anybody without being subordinated to the Japanese?

Witness indicated assent.

I. N. A. TRAINED AND OFFICERED BY INDIANS

Witness stated that the whole of the I. N. A. was trained by Indian officers and not by Japanese officers and that it was entirely and throughout officered by Indian officers.

Mr Desai: What were the colours of the I. N. A.?

Witness: They were the colours of the Indian National Congress, namely, saffron, white and green.

Witness added they had badges distinct from Japanese badges. He identified an arm band marked with crossed flags and a chocolate coloured star which was once worn by the I. N. A. owing to the fact that it could be mistaken for the Rising Sun of Japan?

Mr Desai: Is it a fact that the arm band was resented by the I. N. A.

Witness: Yes.

Witness added that its use was discontinued in the second I. N. A.

Mr. Desai: You told the Court that Andamans and Nicobars were not administered in accordance with the scheme given to you by Lt.-Col. Chatterjee. Did you actually go through the details of the administration?

Witness: I said it was not administered in accordance with our scheme, because there was no communication from Andamans and Nicobars to Rangoon.

Mr Desai: Did you know how the administration was carried on?

A. I cannot say from my own knowledge.

AZAD HIND GOVT. AND I. N. A.

Q. The Azad Hind Government was declared on October 21, 1943. Are you aware that Subhas Chandra Bose, as Head of the State, declared that every member of the I. N. A. is free to remain or go out?

A. Yes. I heard Mr Bose said at the meeting soon after October 21 that anyone who wished to leave the I. N. A. was free to do so.

Q. Who were present at that meeting?

A. I. N. A. personnel.

Q. Do you recollect Subhas Chandra Bose said at that meeting the following: "When the Azad Hind force launches its fight, it will do so under the leadership of its own Government and when it marches into India, the administration of liberated parts will automatically come into the Provisional Government. Indian liberation must be achieved through our own efforts and force."

A. Yes.

Witness identified a copy of a document of Subhas Chandra Bose's speech on the composition of the Provisional Government. 'Bandemataram' was sung at the meeting held on October 21, but afterwards a special National Anthem was composed, he said.

Lt Nag also identified a number of photographs. One of them showed the solemnity of the proceedings of the proclamation of the Free India

Government. Another was that of Mr Bose taking the pledge A third was a group photograph of Mr Bose and his Cabinet and the fourth was that of a military parade inspected by Mr Bose attended by his Cabinet and other army officers. Witness pointed out in the photograph, Lt-Col. Bhonsle, Maj. Kani, Lt-Col. Loganadhan, Capt. Sehgal and Major Raju. The parade was held at the Cricket Stadium at Singapore.

Lt. Nag said that in Malaya he had seen a weekly paper called *Jai Hind* or *Azad Hind* which was published by the Azad Hind Government He did not know whether the Azad Hind Government published a daily paper called *Purna Swaraj*

Witness gave the approximate scales of pay (all told) of I N A Officers as follows: Lieutenant Rs 80 Captain Rs 125 Major Rs. 180 in Malaya and Rs 230 to 235 in Burma, Lieutenant Colonel, Rs 300 and Colonel Rs 400.

PROTECTION OF INDIANS' PROPERTY

Q. There were a large number of Indians who evacuated from Burma in advance of the Japanese and the Indian Independence League and the Azad Hind Government looked after the property of all these absentees.

A. I do not know that

Q: Are you aware that after the British occupation of Rangoon in May 1945 correspondence took place to ask the I. N A. to assist them to maintain order?

A. No.

Lt. Nag said that he was now attached to the G.H Q He had no particular job and was just held as a witness and was being interviewed by officers in connection with the investigation.

Q. Are you held as a witness in this and other cases relating to the I N A?

A: Yes.

Q: Did you hear of some murders committed soon after the reoccupation of Rangoon by the British?

A: No.

Q: Were you concerned in a message which was sent immediately after the reoccupation for the purpose of asking the I N A. to assist in keeping order?

A: No.

Q: Do you know of the award of a medal called Sevak-i-Hind to Mr Habib in Rangoon for making a gift of a crore of rupees to the Indian Independence League?

Witness said that he was present when the medal was awarded. He did not know the actual amount donated by Mr Habib, but it was a huge gift running into many lakhs of rupees

The cross-examination of Lt Nag by Mr Bhulabhai Desai (defence) ended at about 3 30 p.m.

RE-EXAMINATION OF WITNESS

The Advocate-General, Sir Noshirwan P. Engineer, then asked Lt. Nag to explain the circumstances in which he joined the I.N.A. when he was in hospital at Bidadari.

Witness said that he was told by the Commanding Officer of the Hospital that orders had been received for sending to Seletar camp those patients who did not continue in the I.N.A. Lt. Nag was told on inquiry that there was no provision for treatment at Seletar. "I said all right, I will join the I.N A." After that he continued in the I N.A

Advocate-General You said that the Andamans and Nicobars were ceded to the Provisional Government Ceded by whom? By the Japanese?

Mr Bhulabhai Desai objected to this question on the ground that the Advocate-General could not cross-examine witness on his (Mr Desai's) cross-examination "Surely that is not re-examination He can only get an answer explained."

The court overruled Mr Desai's objection

Lt Nag said that the Nicobars and Andamans were ceded by the Japanese Government On leaving Singapore for the Andamans, Lt Col Loganadhan had with him about two officers and four or five clerks. No I N.A forces were in the Andamans and Nicobars at this time.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai asked how Lt. Nag could have had personal knowledge of the matter when he was not in the Andamans.

Witness replied that as D.A.G he would have known whether there were any I N.A forces in the Andamans and he knew there were none.

Advocate-General: You said in the course of your cross-examination that the Japanese and the I.N.A. functioned as two allies. What did you mean by that?

A: When I said "allies", I meant that they were acting as equal partners.

Q: Have you any personal knowledge as to whether the I.N.A. acted on its own initiative or under instructions from others?

A: I have seen some official documents in which ..

Mr. Desai objected that Lt Nag could not give evidence unless the documents were produced first

The Court sustained Mr. Desai's objection.

Sir N. P Engineer: What documents are you referring to? Do you know whether they exist?

A No, I do not know whether they exist or not.

Replying to the President, Major General Blaxland, witness said that just before the reoccupation of Rangoon by the British the I N A. was defending the Indians in Burma against the Burmese

Answering questions by the Judge-Advocate, Col. F C A. Kerin, witness said that one of his duties was that of chief censor and in that capacity he had censored the private correspondence of Lt. Dhillon.

Witness saw the accused wear badges of the I N. A. from September 1942 onwards, except for a short period during the crisis in the I N A. from January upto the middle of February 1942.

The highest rank badges he had seen the accused wear were: Captain Shah Nawaz Khan the badge of a Colonel, Captain Sehgal that of Lieutenant-Colonel and Lieutenant Dhillon, that of Major

Witness and Captain Shah Nawaz Khan (accused) worked together in the same office in Singapore for five or six months Captain Sehgal (accused) had also worked in the same office Capt Shah Nawaz Khan commanded No II Division in Burma in March 1945, while Captain Sehgal commanded an Infantry Regiment and Lt Dhillon commanded No I Guerilla Regiment of the same Division All guerilla regiments of No I Division except that named after Nehru, were in depleted strength All the regiments of No. I Division of the I N A were very much depleted after the operations in Manipur in 1944 No II Division, which was composed of 50 per cent POWs and 50 per cent civilians, was upto strength and had just been brought to Burma from Malaya No III Division, composed entirely of civilians, was in Malaya.

ADMISSIBILITY OF EVIDENCE OF OTHER WITNESSES

The Court thereafter heard arguments on the admissibility of the evidence of other prosecution witnesses which Sir Noshirwan proposed to call

Sir Noshirwan said he would call witnesses who would depose to the method by which the accused tried to win over Indian prisoners of war from allegiance to the Crown The witnesses would depose to the speeches made by the accused in which they used languages which amounted to give promises of better treatment if they joined the I.N A and holding out threats of what would happen if they did not join the I N A Sir Noshirwan submitted that the evidence of the witnesses whom he proposed to call would show that the accused were aware of tortures inflicted on Indian prisoners of war and that with that knowledge they continued to press Indian POWs to join the I N A

Mr Desai objecting to the admission of the evidence of these witnesses, argued it was an extraordinary suggestion to make that mere knowledge that somebody committed torture somewhere constituted an offence Mr Desai pointed out that during the whole evidence there had been no allegation that any of the accused themselves ever committed any act of atrocity He declared that the evidence that the prosecution now proposed to put in was intended merely to create prejudice against honourable men who on the prosecution's own showing, had taken no part in any atrocities By all means let those who committed torture be brought before this or other tribunal but any statement that mere knowledge that torture was committed by others constituted an offence must defeat itself

Sir Noshirwan argued that what he proposed to put in was part of the evidence on the charge of waging war against the King The speeches made by the accused amounted to preparation for waging that war

After the Judge Advocate had summed up the arguments on both sides, the Court retired for a few minutes and on re-assembling, the Judge-Advocate said: The Court direct me to state that they consider that evidence of torture and hardships undergone by Indian POWs at Malaya and Burma should be admitted.

The Court then adjourned till to-morrow.

PROCLAMATION OF PROVISIONAL GOVT.

The Proclamation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, which was filed in the Court Martial by the Defence to-day and identified by Lt Nag refers to the conflict between the Indian leaders and the Government in the past

"Unfortunately for us," it says, "our forefathers did not at first realise that the British constituted a grave threat to the whole of India and they did not, therefore, put up a united front against the enemy" It alludes to the political movement in India, with particular reference to the emergence of the Indian National Congress and its activities and says "Indian people could now speak with one voice and strive with one will for one common goal From 1937 to 1939, through the work of the Congress Ministries in eight Provinces, they gave proof of their readiness and their capacity to administer their own affairs Thus, on the eve of the present world war, the stage was set for the final struggle for India's liberation"

The Proclamation reviewed the international situation and the trend of the war and says "Now that the dawn of freedom is at hand, it is the duty of the Indian people to set up a Provisional Government of their own, and launch the last struggle under the banner of that Government But with all the Indian leaders in prison and the people at home totally disarmed—it is not possible to set up a Provisional Government within India or launch an armed struggle under the aegis of that Government It is therefore, the duty of the Indian Independence League in East Asia, supported by all patriotic Indians at home and abroad, to undertake this task—the task of setting up a Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India) and of conducting the last fight for freedom with the help of the Army of Liberation, the Azad Hind Fouj, or the I N A organised by the League.

"Having been constituted as the Provisional Government of Azad Hind by the Indian Independence League in East Asia, we enter upon our duties with a full sense of the responsibility that has devolved on us We pray that Providence may bless our work and our struggle for the emancipation of our Motherland And we hereby pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades in arms to the cause of her freedom, her welfare and her exaltation among the nations of the world It will be the task of the Provisional Government to launch and to conduct the struggle that will bring about the expulsion of the British and of her allies from the soil of India It will then be the task of the Provisional Government to bring about the establishment of a permanent National Government of Azad Hind, constituted in accordance with the will of the Indian people and enjoying their confidence After the British and their allies are over thrown, and until a permanent National Government of Azad Hind is set up on Indian soil, the Provisional Government will administer the affairs of the country in trust for the Indian people

The Provisional Government is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Indian It guarantees religious liberty, as well as equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens It declares its firm resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally and transcending all the differences cunningly fostered by an alien Government in the past"

"In the name of God" the Proclamation concludes, "in the name of bygone generations who have welded the Indian people into one nation and in the name of the tradition of heroism and self-sacrifice—we call upon the Indian people to rally round our banner and to strike for India's freedom We call upon them to launch the final struggle against the British and all their allies in India and to prosecute the struggle with vigour and perseverance and with full faith in final victory—until the enemy is expelled from the Indian soil and the Indian people are once again a free nation"

The Proclamation is signed by all members of the Provisional Government:

Subhas Chandra Bose (Head of State, Prime Minister and Minister for War and Foreign Affairs), Capt Mis Lakshmi (Women's Organisation) Mr S A Ayer (Publicity and Propaganda), Lt-Col I A C Chatterjee (Finance), Lt-Col Aziz Ahmed Lt-Col I M S Bhagat, Lt-Col J K Bhonsle, Lt-Col Gulzar Singh, Lt-Col. M Z Kiani, Lt-Col A D Lokanathan, Lt-Col Ehsan Qadir, Lt-Col Shah Nawaz (Representatives of the Armed Forces), A. M Shahay, Secretary (with Ministerial Rank), Mr Rash Behari Bose (Supreme Adviser), Karim Gani, Debnath Das, D. M Khan, A Yellappa, J Thivy, Sardar Ishar Singh (Advisers), and A. N Sarkar (Legal Adviser)

The Proclamation was made in Singapore on October 21,—1943,

Fourth Day—New Delhi—22 nd November 1945

CAPT. DHARGHALKAR'S EVIDENCE

At the I. N. A. Court Martial to-day, Sir Noshirwan P Engineer, Advocate-General, examined Captain Dharghalkar, prosecution witness

Capt Dharghalkar said that he was attached to a British regiment at Poona when he finished his course at Sandhurst in January 1931. After that he was posted to the third Cavalry Regiment of the Indian Army, in which regiment he had served ever since. He fought in the Malaya campaign from December 8, 1941 to February 15, 1942.

Witness said that, on February 18, 1942 his unit was sent to Neesoon camp. He knew nothing about the Indian National Army before he left for Neesoon He always tried to prevent his own regiment and any other people who sought his advice from joining the Indian Natinal Army

On his arrival at Neesoon camp, witness was kept under close arrest for three days After that he was removed to Bidadari Camp with the rest of his unit He remained in Bidadari Camp upto March 21, 1943 except for a spell of about ten days at Buller Camp

There were approximately 7,000 to 10 000 men at the Buller Camp.

On March 21 witness and a thousand others were sent from Bidadari Camp on the orders of General Mohan Singh to do fatigues in Thailand They arrived at a P O W Camp in Thailand on April 1 Witness was Commander of the camp and a Japanese Second Lieutenant was liaison officer Others were eight British commissioned officers in the camp He could not give the exact number of VCOs.

On April 21, witness and five others were taken to Kempipai where he thought the Japanese had their Gestapo headquarters.

The Advocate General intervened and asked witness not to mention Japan's Gestapo headquarters if he was not sure of what he was saying.

Witness said that they were removed at night in a lorry which was covered with a white sheet.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai said that he objected to some of the questions put by the prosecution because much of Captain Dharghalkar's evidence so far given was perfectly useless and the accused had nothing to do with it

The Advocate-General said that he was not asking what was unnecessary.

Witness said he remained at Kempikai for 55 days.

The Advocate-General Can you tell the Court the treatment you received there?

Mr. Bhulabhai objected to this question and asked whether it had anything to do with the accused. "If he has got grievances against the Japanese, this is not the place."

The Advocate General agreed not to press the question

Witness said he was released from the camp on July 15, 1942 and was taken back to Singapore where he arrived on July 2. He and those who were with him were taken straight to the bungalow of Mohan Singh and from there sent to Buller Camp, which was commanded by Captain Prakash Chand. There were a certain number of volunteers for the I N A and some POWs at the camp

Advocate General Were any attempts made to persuade you to join the I N A.?

Mr Bhulabhai Desai I object to that question I have had enough patience. Were the accused at the camp?

Witness: No, not to my knowledge

At Buller Camp witness said, they were kept in segregation and nobody was allowed to talk to them They were allowed one orderly.

On August 8, witness was removed to a concentration camp very near Bidadari Camp The conditions at the camp were very bad and witness was not treated as an officer. Witness and others were first kept in a tent full of white ants and then removed to a hut about five hundred yards away They had to fall in with other prisoners to collect their food, which consisted of rice sometimes dal and some form of spinach.

Advocate-General. Was any ill treatment given?

Mr Bhulabhai Desai. I object to that question which is perfectly irrelevant. This is the worst leading question you could put.

The question was not pressed.

The camp, said witness, was commanded by Shingara Sing with Fateh Khan as his second in command. There were a lot of wire fences or wire pens in which a lot of Indian ranks used to be kept throughout rain and sun "On lots of occasions I saw quite a good few Indians ranks being beaten by Fateh Khan. The guards and

sentries were mostly Sikhs. We had to salute these sentries and if we did not wear head gear, we had to bow to them."

Advocate General Who were among the persons whom you saw being beaten.

Answer Mostly Indian ranks. I do not know the names of anybody

Question: What do you mean by 'mostly"? Were there any others who were beaten?

Answer There may have been V.C.Os also. I am not quite certain.

Question: Were any fatigues being done at the camp?

Answer: Yes, the men working for about ..

MR ASAF ALI'S OBJECTION

At this stage, Mr. Asaf Ali said that the cases against the persons mentioned by witness were coming up before long. 'Are they going to be judged by two courts, yourselves and other courts?" he asked. 'In this court they cannot answer these questions. This is an extremely unfair procedure"

Advocate-General No evidence in this case can be used or will be used against them.

Mr. Asaf Ali: The evidence given by the witness has not been tested or proved It is merely just some sort of a statement made by some one which is not likely to be tested unless the people mentioned are here If you call them up here to meet the allegation made by witness, I can understand that But merely to make witness say anything he likes is, to my mind, most unfair"

Mr Bhulabhai Desai said that he had got no instructions from the two persons who were alleged to have committed the actions mentioned by witness and hence, apart from the question of relevancy, the Court should not allow witness to make such allegations. 'For all I know it may be perfectly untrue stuff"

The Advocate-General submitted that he had no desire to bring in any names other than those of the accused if the evidence could be given without such names. The fact is that what was done in the camp is relevant".

After the Judge-Advocate had explained the objections made by defence and the Advocate-General's stand, the Court retired to consider the ruling to be given

COURT'S RULING

Reassembling after a few minutes, the Court ruled that the evidence was admissable and relevant to the charges of waging war but in order not to prejudice any future legal proceedings the names of those now under arrest who might come to trial in future should not be admitted

Continuing his evidence, witness said in the concentration camp near Bidadari conditions were bad Prisoners of war were made to work 8 to 10 hours a day and if, during the working time they felt tired and wanted to rest they were immediately belaboured by the guards with sticks and were made to start work again Witness himself was never made to work He started getting some sort of body rash and went to a hospital and asked for medicine but was told he could have none He knew on one occasion the entire 6/1 Punjab Regiment was made to live in the open space for two or three days He did not know the reason why they were made to live like that but later on he was told by some V C Os

Mr Bhulabhai Desai objected to the statement and the Court upheld the objection

AT THE OFFICERS' CAMP

Capt. Dhargalkar went on to state that from there he was removed to an Officers' separation camp Living conditions here were slightly better than in the concentration camp They had to work for about four to five hours a day, do their own washing and ... During his stay in the separation camp quite a good few officers of the I. N A used to come to the camp and do propaganda with a view to making them join the I N A Among them, he remembered Capt Shah Nawaz and Capt Sehgal Neither of them ever spoke to him. Discussions usually took place in the presence of witness. There were in all 150 of them living in one room. It was difficult for him to quote the exact words of what the accused spoke but the gist was, 'Why don't you join the I N A rather than waste yourself living under these conditions?" Witness did not remember anything else, he said The camp was being run by Capt. Mohan Singh of the I N A On October 23 1942, witness was released from the camp and taken to Buller Camp In this camp, he saw prisoners being tied to trees, beaten and generally maltreated The camp was under the command of a member of the I N A While there he heard that there was crisis in the I N A The I N. A. broke up and the Japanese took him and others over Prisoners were sent to a camp in Serangoon Road. He went there on December 28 and remained till January 7, 1943

on which date he went to hospital in Kranji Camp. The Kranji Camp was administered by I. N. A. officers. Col Bhonsle used to see him often and witness also met Capt. Shah Nawaz there.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR DESAI

Cross-examining witness, Mr. Desai asked: Except on the occasion when you say discussion took place, you never came across the accused at all?

The Judge Advocate intervening drew attention to the fact that the witness had already stated that discussion took place on more than one occasion. Mr Desai's question, said the Judge-Advocate, was therefore misleading as it referred to occasion instead of occasions.

Mr. Desai said, he was sorry that the court should tell him that any of his questions were misleading. He submitted it was for the witness to answer his question.

He asked witness on how many occasions he saw the accused.

Witness: On several occasions.

Q: How many?

A: Anything between ten or fifteen times.

Q. On how many occasions did you talk to them or any of them?

A: I only spoke to Capt. Shah Nawaz twice. I do not remember speaking to Capt. Sehgal or Lieut. Dhillon.

He, however, spoke to Capt. Sehgal in Col Bhonsle's house. In the discussions that took place in the camp, he remembered that Capt. Shah Nawaz and Capt. Sehgal were present about twice. Witness was in a separated part of the camp. The camp consisted of volunteers and non volunteers. The whole of the Bidadari Camp was an I. N. A. camp. He and others were taken to it by Capt. Mohan Singh. There were sixteen officers along with witness in the room during the discussion.

Witness did not take part in the discussion nor was he addressed by Capt. Shah Nawaz or Capt. Sehgal. Witness went from Penang to Singapore on November 28, 1941.

Mr. Desai: From Penang to Singapore it was one stampede?

Witness after some hesitation: Call it a stampede if you like it.

Mr. Desai: I like it.

After the meeting at Farrar Park, British and Indian officers were separated by orders of the Japanese. The Japanese officer was Fujiwara, to whom Lt.-Col Hunt surrendered the Indian prisoners of war. Under Fujiwara's order, witness was separated from the British. Witness returned to Neesoon Camp, where he was kept with another officer of his regiment. He was put under arrest on the second day of his arrival. He did not know why. He made an attempt to find out but never got an answer.

He tried to find out the reason from Lt Col Gill. He heard no explanation. He was quite certain he had committed no indiscipline.

Mr Desai: In the Neesoon Camp, were you given food different from any other officer?

Witness: I don't know what others ate. I was by myself.

Mr. Desai: Had you any complaint to make about food or anything else apart from arrest?

Witness: No.

"INDIAN VOLUNTEERS"

Witness went from Neesoon Camp to Bidadari Camp. He did not complain of his treatment in Bidadari Camp. On March 21, 1942 he went to Thailand. By that time steps had been taken for the formation of the I. N. A. when he said I. N. A. he meant Indian Volunteers. At the time they were called Indian Volunteers.

Mr Desai: That term expresses exactly what they were?

Witness: Yes.

Mr Desai: So that they volunteered to be members of the I. N. A.?

Witness: At that time they were called volunteers. Whether they volunteered or not I cannot say.

Mr Desai: You have said, the term 'volunteer' expressed exactly what they were. Do you now want to go back on your earlier answer?

Witness. They were known as Indian Volunteers.

Mr Desai. Did the word express the fact that they were volunteers?

The Judge-Advocate intervening observed that the Court considered the witness had given his answer to that question.

Witness said Major Fujiwara handed over Indian prisoners of war to Captain

Mohan Singh. Indian P O W were told to obey Captain Mohan Singh's orders. Captain Mohan Singh asked witness to go to Thailand It was as a part of the process of separating volunteers from non-volunteers that he went to Thailand

In Thailand there was a separate camp The treatment here was good On July 18, 1942, he was sent to Singapore and there he was in Buller Camp It was a mixed camp He was all by himself with six other officers He knew nothing about the rest of the camp and had no complaint of the treatment there On August 18, he was moved to a concentration camp near Bidadari Camp I a prepared and run by the I N A.

Witness was first in a hut and was then moved to a tent For three or ... days no other persons were living there except himself and brother officers ... a large contingent of Bahawalpur infantry arrived. There was barbed w... the enclosure

From the enclosure the rest of the camp was four hundred yards aw... He was not allowed to go there and in fact he did not go there. He ... not personally know who they were

Mr Desai You were not concerned with what was happening there?

Witness I was concerned, inasmuch as I was concerned with the w... the men I was senior officer

To a further question witness replied that he was not the officer ... people who were 150 yards away

That camp extended for three or four hundred yards.

Mr Desai From your enclosure, you saw some beating in the other ...

Witness Yes

Mr Desai That is all you know about it? Witness Yes

No discussion took place in the concentration camp, witness continued He moved out of the concentration camp on September 3 By that time the I N A had been formed From that camp, he was taken to an officer separation camp It was a small enclosure with about forty officers to start with Later, V C Os joined them and there were in all about 120 He was there until October 2. The discussions took place there

I was not invited to any discussion and I overheard certain conversations I cannot remember the words of these discussions accurately but I remember the gist of them The gist of the conversation included many other subjects than I N A I was addressed but not by any of the accused Capt Shah Nawaz Khan was talking to other officers The gist of the conversation was Why don't you join the I N A ?

Mr Desai What did Shah Nawaz Khan say on that occasion?

Witness It was a long discussion about I N A I cannot remember all that he said

Mr Desai Do you remember anything of what he said?

Witness I don't remember exactly what he said

His answer was the same in the case of Sehgal

Mr Desai So what you said in your examination-in-chief is your general impression without knowing who said what?

Witness Yes

Witness continued, from that camp he and others were taken out once by Mohan Singh to a seaside place

To a question put by the Judge-Advocate, Capt Dhargalkar replied that, when Shah Nawaz Khan came into the room, he had lots of friends among the officers and there was general talk No address was given by the accused

Did you hear him say "You should join the I N A?"

Witness I cannot remember for certain whether Shah Nawaz advised the officers present to join the I N A

Witness remembered Capt Sehgal talked but could not remember any particular remark made by him

Q In that separation camp was anybody beaten?

Witness No, to the best of my knowledge

That concluded Capt Dhargalkar's examination.

Subedar Major Babu Ram Examined

Subedar *Major Babu Ram* was the next witness to be examined by the Advocate-General.

... said that he took part in the Malayan Campaign ...

arrived at Singapore, it was amalgamated with the 5/14th Punjab Regiment. On the evening of February 15, when his battalion was near Biddari, an order was received that Singapore had been surrendered to the enemy and that all the arms of the battalion would be collected. The arms were collected and taken away by the Japanese on February 16, when all Indian troops were sent to Bidadari POW camp. The same day they were ordered to collect at Farrar Park. When his battalion, which was under the command of Captain M. Z. Kiani, went to Farrar Park, many POWs had already assembled and more continued to come in. By about 3 p.m. there were 15,000 POWs.

In a building in the park, he saw a lot of officers, including a British officer, Lt Col Hunt and some Japanese and Indian Army officers. The Indian Army officers were dressed in Indian Army uniform and had white arm bands on their shirt sleeves, marked "F".

Col Hunt spoke through a microphone and ordered the POWs to stand at attention. He then proclaimed that, as a representative of the British Government, he handed them over to the Japanese as POWs. He advised them to obey the orders of the Japanese in the same way as they had obeyed the British Government, otherwise he said, they would be punished. Col Hunt went back after handing over certain papers to Major Fujiwara a Japanese officer.

Major Fujiwara next came to the microphone and made a speech in Japanese, which was translated into Hindustani.

Major Fujiwara said that he had taken them over as a representative of the Japanese. His Government was not prepared to keep them prisoners. So far as the Japanese were concerned, they were free. The Japanese were short of rations and they would have to do some fatigues. Major Fujiwara added "I hand you over to Captain Mohan Singh, who will be your Supreme Commander and you will have to obey his orders."

Captain Mohan Singh, who spoke next, said "The British Government have handed you over to the Japanese. The Japanese are not prepared to keep you as prisoners as they are short of rations. We are forming an Indian National Army which will fight to free India."

On hearing this, the audience lifted up their arms. When they tried to make noise, Captain Mohan Singh ordered them to keep quiet and said that freedom could not be gained by making noise. He continued, "the British have accused the Indian Army of not putting up a good fight in Malaya. But you know what type of arms the Indian Army had. How many tanks and aircraft there were and which positions were evacuated without orders." Captain Mohan Singh then cracked a joke with the Japanese and finished the speech.

Witness and his battalion remained that night in the Farrar Park. On the morning of February 18, they marched to Neesoon Camp. Two or three days later, Major Fujiwara, accompanied by Captain Mohan Singh and Captain Mohd Akram, visited the camp.

At the end of February or the beginning of March, Lt. Dhillon delivered a lecture to V. C. Os and N. C. Os and men of witness' Battalion and some other people who were living in the same building. Lt. Dhillon said that the I.N.A. movement was a very good one and everybody should join it. Lt. Dhillon, said witness was Signal Officer in his battalion.

Capt. Shah Nawaz Khan was commanding the Neesoon Camp. In March, he collected all the V. C. Os and N. C. Os at the camp and told them that the officers at Bidadari Camp had passed four resolutions. Witness remembered two of the resolutions, which said that they were all Indians and they should fight to free their country.

Captain Shah Nawaz Khan exhorted them to read out the resolutions to all I. O. Rs. Captain Shah Nawaz Khan delivered another lecture to officers and N. C. Os in Neesoon Camp. In that lecture he said that the I. N. A. movement was a very good one and he had offered himself as a volunteer. "But I do not order anyone to volunteer." He then asked his audience to repeat what he had said to the I. O. Rs. Captain Shah Nawaz Khan wanted a list of all those who volunteered and those who did not volunteer to be sent to the camp office by the following evening. Capt. Shah Nawaz Khan said that no officer or N. C. Os should put pressure on the I. O. Rs either to volunteer or not to volunteer.

Witness said that Captain Shah Nawaz Khan commanded No 2 Company when the battalion was reorganised at the Singapore Naval Base.

BANGKOK CONFERENCE

Witness said that he attended a conference held at Bangkok. He was called

by Captain M. Z. Kiani in the Camp Office and was told that he should attend the Conference. When witness said that he did not know English, Captain Kiani remarked that he would have to know.

Witness and others did not receive any instructions on the first day of the Bangkok Conference. On the second day, an hour and a half before the commencement of the Conference, Captain Mohan Singh gave them instructions that the military delegate should maintain discipline at the Conference and should not raise any objections. If anobody had any objection, he should inform Captain Mohan Singh beforehand

Witness said that he did not remember all the resolutions which were passed at the Conference, but he did remember the following —

An Indian National Army would be raised out of P. O Ws and other Indians living in the far East.

An Indian Independence League would be formed with branches at Singapore, Malaya, Burma, Thailand, Java, Sumatra, the Phillipines and Japan.

These branches of the Indian Independence League would collect money, clothing and recruits for the Indian National Army.

The Indian National Army, when raised, would be under the command of Captain Mohan Singh

A Council of Action would be formed, which would work as liaison between the Japanese and the I N A.

All arms, ammunition and equipment would be supplied to the I N A by the Japanese Government.

The price of all arms, ammunition and equipment would be paid in cash by the "would-be Indian Government"

The Council of action, witness continued, was formed at that Conference. It consisted of Rash Behari Bose (President) Two civilian members and two military members—Captain Mohan Singh of 1/14 Punjab Regiment and Lt-Col. Gilani of the first Bahawalpur Infantry

At the end of the Bangkok Conference witness returned to his camp He found that his battalion was still there. About 250 of his battalion did not volunteer for the I. N. A They were mostly Punjabi Mussalmans, Pathans and a few Dogras and were sent to the civil aerodrome camp.

After his return from the Bangkok Conference, another list of volunteers was prepared and signed. Witness was one of the volunteers There were about forty men who did not volunteer and they were also sent to the civil aerodrome for fatigue duties,

Arrest of Capt. Mohan Singh and After

Witness said that in September 1942, when the I N A. was officially formed, he was posted to the First Infantry Battalion, Hind Field Force After two or three days, they started doing physical training and jerks. After a few days, they received machine-guns, mortars, rifles and pistols They belonged to the Indian Army and had been handed over to the Japanese at the time of the surrender at Singapore The battalion was dressed in the Indian Army Khaki uniform. Besides that, they had an arm band which was embroidered with the Congress Flag and the letters "I.N.A" The witness knew Captain Sehgal. When the I N A was formed, he was adjutant of the Hind Field group at Bidadari. He was adjutant till the I N A was dissolved Early in November 1942, an advance party of the I N A. was sent to Burma After the arrest of Captain Mohan Singh, an administrative committee was formed to look after the rations and discipline of the I N A. The I N A was broken up under the orders of Captain Mohan Singh because the object for which the I N.A. was set up could not be achieved.

Formation of Second I N A.

For sometime, Sub-Maj *Baboo Ram* the witness said, that the *Committee* kept up the arrangement for rations and looked after discipline. Lectures were started for the formation of a second I.N.A. The witness listened to three lectures, two by *Rash Bihari* Bose and one by an officer of the Committee. The gist of the lectures was that they should stay in the I.N A. Witness and about 200 other officers had left the I N A. The officers who left the I N. A. were sent to New Guinea or the Solomons. He was removed to the police lines at Johore Baru. There were about 106 officers. They were all there for a month Capt. Abdul Rashid Khan, Lt-Col Bhonsle, Capt. Shah Nawaz Khan, Capt. Sehgal and Lt Dhillon visited them. The visiting officers wore the I N A. badge. Some thirty or forty officers who volunteered for the I.N.A. left the place and the rest were taken to

Selator Camp. There all those who left the I. N. A. were collected. Witness and others were transferred to New Guinea on May 5, 1943. He stayed there for some time and then escaped.

To further questions, witness said that Lt. Dhillon once came to Bidadari Camp. He wore the I N A. badge and gave a lecture to the men. He then came to the officers' mess and wanted to have a talk with them. Witness was also present there The P.O Ws told Dhillon that if the purpose of the talk was about I.N.A., then they begged to be excused The accused then went away.

MR. DESAI'S CROSS EXAMINATION

Then cross examined by Mr Bhulabhai Desai, Counsel for Defence, witness said that he belonged to the same battalion as that of Capt. Shah Nawaz Khan before the surrender of Singapore. "We continued to fight", witness said, "when other companies commanded by British officers had left. I did not speak to Shah Nawaz soon after the surrender.

Shah Nawaz Khan was the commander of the Nesson Camp, witness added. In that camp, volunteers and non-volunteers lived together and they had the same food. The camp could accommodate approximately about two thousand.

Q Were there arrangements for sanitation or lighting conveniences?

Witness. There were no such arrangements

Q All the arrangements for water, lighting and sanitation were made by Capt. Shah Nawaz and later on electricity was also installed in the camp?

Witness Yes Before Shah Nawaz took over command of the camp the hospital was bad But after he had taken over, things grew greatly better. There was no distinction between volunteers and non-volunteers as regards admission into the hospital.

Q Did Shah Nawaz contribute any money to the hospital?

A Shah Nawaz and other officers donated some money for the hospital and about 2,500 dollars were collected in the Nesson Camp. I also contributed and the money was utilised for the benefit of the patients in the hospital irrespective of whether he was a volunteer or non-volunteer.

Q: Did you hear Capt. Shah Nawaz talking to non-volunteers and volunteers?

A. I have not heard

Witness identified certain resolutions passed at the Bangkok Conference.

Q Under whose orders were you sent to New Guinea?

A· Under the orders of the Japanese.

The Advocate-General did not re-examine the witness

JUDGE-ADVOCATE'S QUESTIONS

The Judge Advocate, Col Kerin, put some questions to the witness.

Q Do you know Lt.-Col Hunt?

A. I know one Hunt to be staff officer to Gen. Percival. I saw him at the meeting at Farrar Park. He was not wearing any arm band

Q· What did Lt-Col. Hunt say at the meeting?

A. He did not say anything else besides what I have already said.

Q· When you went to the Bangkok Conference, did you see any of the accused there?

A· No I did not see them.

Q. Are you positive that they were not there?

A I know very well. I did not see anyone of the accused there

Q. Why did you join the I.N.A. in June 1941?

A. I saw the conditions then and joined. I volunteered myself for the freedom of India and to free India.

Sir N. P. Engineer, Advocate-General: While in June 1942 you volunteered, why did you not join the I.N A. later?

A. When the Japanese wanted to use the I.N.A. as a fifth column to assist their attack on India, differences arose between Capt. Mohan Singh and the Japanese with the result that the first I N A was dissolved. I refused to join the second I.N.A., because I thought the Japanese will try again to use the I N.A as fifth column for their foul purpose.

Fifth Day—New Delhi—23rd. November 1945

JEMADAR RAZAK'S DEPOSITION

Jemadar Iltaf Razak of the Bengal Sappers and Miners, the fourth prosecution witness, gave evidence at the I N A. Court Martial to-day.

In reply to questions by the Advocate-General, Jemadar Iltaf said that he was

taken prisoner at Singapore and was sent to various camps He was at Port Dixon camp for a year. In January or February, 1943, Capt Shah Nawaz Khan came to Port Dixon and gave a lecture to all the officer-prisoners including himself. Capt Shah Nawaz Khan, who was wearing the badges of a Lieutenant-Colonel of the I N A, told them that the Indian National Army formed by Capt Mohan Singh had been dissolved and another Army was to be raised Anyone who wanted to volunteer for achieving the freedom of India should give his name to the I N A headquarters at Singapore through their camp commandant

Referring to conditions in the camp, witness went on, Capt Shah Nawaz Khan said the inmates were suffering from malaria and had to sleep on the ground under thatched roofs Arrangements for providing rations, clothing and medicine were not satisfactory These conditions would continue among the prisoners of war, but if they joined the I N A, all these troubles would be over. Nobody volunteered to join the I N A on that occasion, said witness

Witness volunteered to join the I N A on November 17, 1943, because, he said, conditions in the camp were getting from bad to worse and the Japanese had told them that sick prisoners at Chaai Camp would be transferred to their camp These were the only reasons why he volunteered for the I N A. from the same camp

From Port Dixon, witness and others were taken to Singapore Witness was posted to No 5, Guerilla Regiment, which was under training at Bidadari After being moved to a few other places, the regiment reached Mingaladon in January, 1945 The commander of the regiment at this time was Captain P K Sehgal, who was wearing the badges of Lt-Col of the I N A Witness was then a lieutenant in the I N A

Captain Sehgal said witness, called a conference of all officers under him at Mingaladon and told them that the regiment was about to be moved to Popa Hill There were three battalions in the regiment, each consisting of about 650 men The majority of them had Mark Three rifles They also had three-inch mortars

SUBHAS BOSE'S WARNING TO WAVERERS

Before this regiment moved to Popa, witness deposed, Subhas Chandra Bose inspected it At the saluting base, the tricolour flag was flying Subhas Chandra Bose said "You will put up a good show just as the I N A did it last year Last year there were instances of desertion This should not happen this time Whoever does not think himself fit to go to the frontline can stay back"

The regiment moved from Mingaladon in the third week of January, 1945 and witness with four others reached Popa on February 2 1945 Capt Sehgal reached Popa on February 1[illegible], 1945, and enquired of witness about Major Dhillon, who had reached Popa the previous day

NEHRU REGIMENT

Three hundred men belonging to the Nehru Regiment (Fourth Guerilla Regiment) arrived at Popa in small parties Major Dhillon was Commander of the Nehru Regiment The men of this regiment were in a bad way, some of them being without bedding and some without rifles

On February 25, 1945, Lt-Col Sehgal called a conference of all officers of witness regiment and staff officers of regimental headquarters and said that he was ashamed to see IV Guerilla Regiment in such a condition He did not want such conditions in his regiment Lt-Col Sehgal added that anyone suspected of desertion would be sent to regimental headquarters

On March 1 1945, Lt-Col Sehgal called another conference, which was attended by all officers and No II Division Major Dhillon was among those present Lt-Col Sehgal told the conference that five officers of No II Divisional Headquarters who had gone on night reconnaissance in the No 1 Battalion area had deserted with their orderlies and that he had sent a patrol to capture them Lt-Col Sehgal authorised all officers and men under him, regardless of rank, to shoot anyone who was seen deserting in future

On March 10, 1945, witness said about 70 or 72 Japanese anti-tank mines arrived Capt Sehgal asked him to ask the Japanese for instructions about their use He received instructions and passed on the same to sapper havildar of No I Battalion and gave him 16 anti-tank mines

SEHGAL'S SECOND CONFERENCE

There was another conference called by Capt Sehgal on March 20 at which he said "Either we will attack or we will be attacked by the Allies" "If we

attacked by the enemy," the accused said, "and if there is any penetration on one battalion front the other two battalions will stand fast."

The reason he gave to the conference for that was that, if they left Popa area, there would be no water for 15 or 20 miles. Then he gave orders to Capt. Kanta Singh, commanding No. II Battalion to move to Kyauk Padaung. Capt. Sehgal also left with No. II Battalion. Witness with four other men then escaped. They joined the British at Nyaunago area. They traversed about 30 to 35 miles from Popa to reach their destination the nearest British troops to Popa were at Pyinbin area which was approximately 15 to 20 miles away.

MR. DESAI'S CROSS EXAMINATION

Cross-examined by Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai*, witness said that before he arrived in Port Dixon, he was in the custody of the Japanese The bad conditions of living he had described earlier were due to the Japanese It was in January or February he saw Capt. Shah Nawaz Khan for the first time when he came to Port Dixon camp to collect volunteers.

Mr. Desai You were quite clear that he left everyone free choice to join or not to join the I.N.A.

Witness: Yes, I am quite clear Capt Shah Nawaz left it open to everybody to join the I.N.A or not.

Mr. Desai In whose custody were you before you came to Port Dixon Camp?

Witness: The Japanese

Mr. Desai The bad conditions you described were due to the Japanese?

Witness. Yes.

Q Why did Capt. Shah Nawaz Khan come to the camp.

A To collect volunteers.

Q You are quite clear that he left everyone free choice to join or not to join the INA.

A. Yes. I am quite clear he left it open to everybody to join the I N. A. or not as they chose.

Q. Is it true that among other things, Capt Shah Nawaz said that he wanted true men who would fight even against the Japanese for the independence of India?

A. I remember clearly he did mention true men but I don't remember whether he mentioned the Japanese. He wanted staunch men who would lay their lives for the freedom of India.

Q· Eight months after this lecture, you elected to join the I.N.A ?

A: Yes

Q· You joined for your own reasons.

A. I heard that a majority of the people in the camp had decided that they would prefer to die for the liberation of India rather than remain in such condition.

Witness knew that Captain Rab Nawaz, Camp Commandant at Port Dixon, did not volunteer to join the I.N.A. nor did Capt Karamchand Byas

After the second conference at Popa Head-quarters held on March 1, 1945, there were desertions and a number of arrests were made within the next two weeks, but after investigation, all were released except Captain Bedi.

Mr. Desai put a number of questions asking whether witness had any means of testing his statement that Shah Nawaz was Commander of the division for a week. Witness said he was certain that Shah Nawaz did not command the division for more than a week.

Mr. Desai asked if witness knew that Shah Nawaz came on February 23, left on February 24 and then came back on March 12.

Witness. I cannot say, I cannot remember the exact date when Shah Nawaz went and came back.

The Court put a question about what happened after Bose's speech at Mingaladon, in which he said that those who did not want to go to the front could stay behind. "Did anyone stay behind,' asked the Court

Witness. 'Bose inspected the regiment and asked if anybody wished to stay behind. Nobody stayed behind.'

NAIK SANTOK SINGH

Naik Santok Singh of the Indian Signal Corps, the next witness, said he was taken prisoner of war by the Japanese on January 31, 1942, near Johore Baru. He joined the I.N A. in September 1942 and was posted to No. 1 Signal Company of the Hind Field Force group of the I N.A. Sehgal, who was Major, was adjutant of this force. In January, 1943, Sehgal collected all the men of the Signal Company and told them that the new I N.A. which was going to be formed would be India's National Army and that every Indian should join it. Sehgal said his suggestion

was that they should join the I. N. A. but he brought no pressure to bear on anyone to join the I.N.A. After that he left.

Witness did not volunteer to join the I. N. A. on that occasion. Thereafter he was sent to Seletar Camp, then to New Guinea by the Japanese. Seletar Camp was a non-volunteer camp. There were men there who had resigned from the First I.N.A. Shah Nawaz came to the camp in April 1943 All men in it were collected and Shah Nawaz gave them a lecture He said it was the duty of every Indian to join the I.N.A for the freedom of India. He gave an example and said that when Guru Govind Singh founded the Sikh religion, only five volunteers came forward. "Now", said Shah Nawaz, "I need men as brave as those five that Guru Govind Singh asked for They should volunteer without hesitation and should stand under the Indian National Flag"

Witness said no one volunteered at that time. A few days later, a few men did volunteer to join the I.N.A

Cross-examined by Mr Desai, witness said that Seletar Camp was divided into two parts, D-1 in which he was and D-2 in which there was a hospital. Anyone, who fell ill in D-1 could be taken to the hospital in D-2. The camp in which he was living was well run He could not say about other camps

"My camp was named the separation camp. The food was good and the treatment was also good

LANCE NAIK GANGARAM

Lance Naik Gangaram, the next witness, deposed that his battalion fought against the Japanese in the battle of the Slim river. After the fall of Singapore, he was taken to Ipoh and from there removed to P.O.W camp in Port Swettenham, either in April or early in May 1943 Capt Shah Nawaz Khan visited the camp and delivered a lecture Witness was present at the lecture during which Capt Shah Nawaz said. 'We are all Indians and we must endeavour to set India free The English people who are there now in India should be driven out You will get a chance very early and you will be sent to the front from Singapore The money you will get your pay when India is free Good ration and clothing will also be given to you Those who volunteer should give their names to the camp commander who will forward it to Singapore" Nobody volunteered.

Answering Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, witness said he did not know if the camp commandant Capt Chopra joined the I N.A.

SUBEDAR ASAL NOOR KHAN

Subedar *Asal Noor Khan*, who joined the Indian Army in 1913, deposed that after the fall of Singapore he was taken to Neesoon Camp He saw Lt. Dhillon in that camp In February or March, 1942, Lt. Dhillon delivered a lecture to the P.O.Ws in which he said that "the leader of the Japanese religion, Buddha was born in India The Japanese religion was the oldest religion in the world and a good religion and as its leader comes from India we should all co-operate with them

Witness joined the I N.A in April 1942 He met Capt. Sehgal for the first time in August 1942 in Bidadari Camp. He was ordered to take two men from the camp and Capt Sehgal who was commander of one unit in the camp gave orders to the N C O's to hand over the two men The men were wanted by Col. Gillani for a party to be sent to Penang for secret service training. The training failed and the party which included the witness returned to Singapore and were kept in the Neesoon Camp He again saw Capt. Sehgal who was a Major in the I N A. and was working as military secretary He met Capt. Sehgal in all thrice. Once he inquired of witness about Col. Gillani's party and the second time when Subhas Chandra Bose returned from Tokyo he was called to meet him through Capt. Sehgal Witness had a talk with Subhas Chandra Bose about Col Gillani's party and fully discussed the size and other questions about the party and decided who was to remain and who was to be taken out. Bose also referred the witness to Capt. Sehgal to decide the final details.

Sir N. P. Engineer: What about your own movements?

Witness With 20 men from Col. Gillani's party early in 1944 I left Ukye for Penang, the Japanese gave us final training about secret service propaganda, sabotage and wireless transmission. On February 27, 1944, they sent us to India in a submarine We were about twelve. After we were in the submarine for 17 days, the Japanese tried to land us. That night our landing failed and we were forced to remain in the submarine for another week

Judge-Advocate. Never mind about the submarine. When did you arrive in India,

Witness: At the end of March we landed in India Four miles from the shore, there was an official of Kalat State to whom we reported And I reported myself to the British authorities

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai Lt. Dhillon said that because Buddha was born in India you must co-operate with the Japanese?

Witness Yes.

Q The object was to regain freedom of India?

A: He said that Buddha was born in India and we should join hands with the Japanese to free India from the people who are holding it now

Asked by the Court, witness said that he held the rank of a Lieutenant in the I.N.A.

Havildar Sach Singh

Havildar *Sach Singh* of the 7/8 Punjab Regiment the next prosecution witness, deposed that he was taken to Jitra after the fall of Singapore Lt Dhillon went to Jitra when witness was there Dhillon was wearing the badges of a Major in the I.N.A. and he was accompanied by Major Dhara. Witness did not know what post Major Dhara was holding but he delivered a lecture there Major Dhara said that the I.N.A. had already been started at Singapore and a good many people had joined it and that the I.N A. would only fight for the freedom of India and for no other cause "If we go to India and the Japanese go with us," said Major Dhara, "we are equipped with arms and we will fight the Japanese if they turn round against us. This is a golden chance for us and we may not get such a chance again"

After Major Dhara, Major Dhillon spoke. He said that they should have no doubts about what Major Dhara had said The I N A. would be made to fight only for the freedom of India and for nothing else

Witness joined the I N A. a month later He joined the I N A because, as a prisoner of war, he was not getting good accommodation or good food and because many others were coming into I N.A. There was no other reason.

After he had joined the I N A witness was taken to Singapore and attached to the Nehru Regiment as Platoon-Havildar. He was made a sub officer of a company of No 1 Battalion. His company moved from Malaya at the end of February 1944 to Rangoon, thence to Mandalay and from Mandalay to Myingyan. He was at Myingyan from March 10, 1944 to January 1945 The Regimental Commander at Myingyan was Major Mahboob, from whom Major Dhillon took over about the end of 1944.

Witness was at that time commanding No IV platoon of "B" Company He moved with his unit in the second week of February to Nyaungu, where they were posted to a defence position on the Irrawaddy River There was no fighting here On February 14, 1945 Allied troops opened heavy mortar and gun fire on their right flank and Lt Hari Ram hoisted the white flag and 84 men including witness surrendered.

Motive for Joining I N A

Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai*, cross-examining witness asked:

Q: You joined the I N A. for fighting for the freedom of India Is it not?

A. I was in great trouble and in order to escape that trouble I joined the I N A.

Q: What were you going to fight for trouble or no trouble?

Witness replied that he never fought

Q. I asked what you were going to fight for

A I have already stated my intention in joining the I N A. i e, to escape the troubles I had.

Q. Did you accept from Major Dhara and Lt. Dhillon the object for which you were asked to join the I N A?

A: I joined the I N A. not on the lecture but a month after the lecture.

Q: I asked whether you accepted what Major Dhara and Lt Dhillon said in the lecture. I did not ask you when you joined the I. N. A.?

A. I accepted what Major Dhara said as correct.

Q: As the object for joining the I.N.A.?

A Yes.

Mr Bhulabhai Desai showed witness a summary of evidence taken before the trial began and asked whether witness remembered his answer to question 57 This question asked witness whether he remembered Lt Dhillon as saying "Those who joined the I N A must have the courage to fight against the Japanese or any other nation which comes in the way of achieving the full independence of India."

A: I remember. I answered "Yes" to the question.

Answering another question, witness said that if they did not join the I. N. A they were afraid they would be put to fatigues by the Japanese and would be given bad food. As a good many people joined the I N A he also joined it.

Q Did you join the I.N A. well knowing that the I N.A. was going to fight for the freedom of India against any nation that was in the way, including the the Japanese?

A: Yes I did.

Earlier, during the cross-examination, witness said that one Captain Jaya Sing and a Lance Naik of the Japanese commanded the Jitra Camp. When he was in the camp, Captain Rab Nawaz was Commandant, but witness did not see him. Re-examination was declined.

Sepoy Kaka Singh's Evidence

Sepoy *Kaka Singh*, of the 6/1 Punjab Regiment, the next witness said that he was in Neesoon Camp in Singapore when it fell He was kept in different P OW. camps. When he was in Taiping Camp, in March 1943, Lt. Dhillon came there and delivered a lecture to the P.O W's These men had not joined the I N A. at that time Dhillon said that he had come there for the reason that the I N.A. had been started, that he had already given a lecture in Singapore and Jitra, that the men in those camps had joined the I N A and that the men at Taiping Camp should also join it If they did not join the INA they would get into trouble. The English would be driven out of India. "We should not fear anything, as whatever befalls, it falls upon the officers We people would not be put to trouble if the INA failed"

For fifteen days after the lecture, they were doing different duties in Taiping. After that they were taken to Singapore Witness joined the I N A. in Singapore

In the cross-examination by Mr Bhulabhai Desai, Counsel for Defence, witness said that the Taiping Camp was under the command of a Japanese officer. Lt. Dhillon told them that the I N.A, was being formed to fight for the freedom of India. Witness knew that when he joined the I. N. A he had to work as one of its members, meaning fighting for the freedom of India

Capt Dhillon, witness continued, said that if they did not join the I.N.A they would remain under the command of the Japanese Commanders. He was told by Lt. Dhillon that if he did not join the I. N. A. he would get into trouble, but he did not understand what the trouble was.

There was no re-examination.

Jemadar Mohd Nawaz, 5/2 Punjab Regiment was next sworn in.

Another Ruling about Atrocity Stories

At this point counsel for defence, Mr. Desai submitted 'The Court was pleased to rule that evidence of harassment or torture would be admitted But the period during which such acts took place was, as far as I recollect, not specified in the ruling. Having read this present witness's summary of evidence, I find that the allegation of torture belongs to the period of the existence of the first I.N.A. which was dissolved on Capt. Mohan Singh's arrest, and it has no reference, direct or indirect, to any of the accused"

Sir Nowshiran Engineer, Advocate General: It is correct that the evidence which this witness is going to depose to refers to incidents before December 1942 but I submit that it is relevant all the same"

After retiring to consider the submission the Court announced that it had decided to admit evidence of atrocities and hardships from May 1, 1942.

The Court at this stage adjourned.

Sixth Day—New Delhi—24th November 1945

Jamadar Ahmed Nawaz's Evidence

At to-day's hearing of the General Court Martial trying Capt Shah Nawaz Khan, Capt Sehgal and Lt Dhillon Jamadar *Ahmed Nawaz*, who took part in the Malayan campaign, said that on the June 7, 1942, he was taken to Singapore from a POW camp at Kuala Lumpur along with 52 others of his unit. Witness was ordered to prepare a list of those who volunteered for the I.N.A and those who did not volunteer Only four men of his battalion volunteered at Kuala Lumpur and they were among those who were brought to Singapore From Singapore the non-volunteers were transferred to various other camps until they reached Buller Camp. On September 13, the V. C. Os at the Buller Camp and a Havildar clerk

were taken to a concentration camp. Subedar Hari Singh of the Second Gurkha Rifle was one of the party.

When they reached the concentration camp, they were asked to fall in and some soldiers searched them and took away everything they had, such as papers, watches pens, whistles, etc. They were next taken to a tent which was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by an armed sentry. The first night at the concentration camp, at about 11 p.m., witness was taken by the sentry to another place Witness was told that they were undergoing troubles, that as they were educated they should know better and volunteer for the I. N. A and that lots of complaints against witness had reached Mohan Singh at the Supreme Headquarters. "When you were at Kuala Lampur and at Singapore," witness was further told, "you told the Mussalmans not to join the I. N. A." For doing this, witness was advised to join the I. N. A., otherwise he was told he was in danger of losing his life. Witness added, "I told them that I do not care for that. Then I was told that I will know the next day the consequences of my refusing to join the I N A.

STORY OF HARASSMENT OF PRISONERS

Next day all the prisoners at the concentration camp—about 200 or 250 persons—were asked to fall in The V.C.Os. were fallen in separately. Then three soldiers came and ordered witness and others to double march. As soon as they had started double marching, the soldiers beat them with lathis At the end of the march, the soldiers gave them sack, bamboos and tins and asked them to fill the sacks with cow dung, double march and empty them 300 yards inside the concentration camp. The three sepoys who accompanied them got tired and stopped on the way at different places When the prisoners passed them, they were beaten. If anyone tried to avoid being beaten by passing the sepoys quickly he was ordered to put his hands down and then beaten There were two armed sentries on the way, whom the prisoners had to salute

When the cow-dung had been completely removed, an officer ordered the sepoys to stop beating and ask the prisoners to mix the cow dung with ash and earth. Subedar Major Hari Singh was already doing this work when witness saw him.

Witness said that there were nine men who did his work A sack and a bamboo was carried between two each, while the ninth man was given a tin. They had to work from 8 a m. to 6 p m. with an hour's rest in between.

All the people in the camp could see what was going on The people who did the beating, were a Lance-Naik, a sepoy belonging to the Signal Corps and a sepoy belonging to the Twelfth Frontier Force They were wearing badges of the I N A

There was a roll call every evening. They were told the first evening that if anybody reported sick and the doctor said he was not sick, he would be given 12 strokes by cane A sub-officer of the I N A used to give them a lecture every evening there and it was the same man who told them this

One day a man was told to come forward and an order was given to him to give him 12 strokes because he had reported sick and the doctor said he was not sick He was ordered to go down on his hands and knees After receiving six strikes, he became unconscious and the punishment was stopped

One day, when they were doing fatigues, they heard somebody crying When they looked in that direction, they saw about 60 yards away, a man clad in khaki uniform with hands tied to a stick and his feet to iron pegs from behind He was beaten by the two sepoys. When he made more noise, the officer shouted from afar to the sepoys "Stop You do not know how to beat properly ' The officer came to the spot, asked the sepoys to gag the man, took the lathi from one of the sepoys and beat the man, twice The officer then said "This is the way to beat . The sentry, who was there when they were all looking in that direction, then took them away The sentry had a lathi in his hand and whenever they slackened he used to beat them

At the roll call every evening, witness continued, they were told that they were foolish people not to join the I N A. because the Japanese had promised that they would hand over India to the Indians after conquering it. They remained in that camp for six days and not a single man volunteered for the I N A

FOOD SUPPLY IN THE CAMP

The food they got at the camp was small quantity of rice, which contained insects and small stones, and a litte boiled vegetable curry with some salt in it.

From this camp, they were taken to a separate camp, where they saw several V.C.Os and N.C.Os Very many Indian National Army officers used to come there but only two of them gave talks

Witness never joined the I.N.A.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. DESAI

Cross examined by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, witness said that on September 13 they were taken to a concentration camp. It was a separate place in which were many partitions. The Buller camp was approximately eight miles away. The place where they were was about 300 to 400 yards long and 300 to 400 yards wide. There were about 250 prisoners and the rest of the people belonged to the staff. The staff belonged to the I. N. A. There was nobody else there besides them and the prisoners. By the word "prisoners", he meant those people who are not volunteers. They were those who were prisoners and never volunteered for the I N. A. and tried to prevent other people volunteering. Out of these 250 people he knew about ten or 12 He did not know the others.

The names of the men he knew were Lt. Purshotamdas, Subedar Ahmed Khan (1) Subedar Ahmed Khan (2), Jamadar Sarvar Khan, Jam. Fakir Mohd, Jam Gulam Mohd, Jam Mohd, Sharif, Jam Alla Bux, Jam. Sher Mohd, Sub-Maj. Hari Singh, Havildar Mohd Khan, (1), Hav Mohd. Khan (2), and Hav. Chanan Shah

Q. Did you not know the others at all?

A: No.

There was laughter in the court when witness, who had all along spoken in Hindustani, said 'No" in English. The President of the Court Martial, Major-General Blaxland, called for silence and said "This is a court of law and not a musical hall. I shall have to take drastic steps if this Court is not treated with due respect"

Q Answer this question carefully. On September 13, Subedar Ahmed Khan of the 5-2 Punjab Regiment was arrested on a charge of theft?

A He was taken to the concentration camp But I do not know on what charge.

Q The people you named were imprisoned, were guilty either of theft or of indiscipline Is it or is it not?

A No They were not guilty of any offence or of indiscipline

Mr Bhulabhai Desai told the Court Martial that, he was putting this question on very clear instructions, because the defence hoped to prove that they were guilty of offences mentioned.

Q Was Subedar Ahmed Khan your friend?

A He belongs to my battalion

Q I am asking you whether he was your friend.

A What do you mean by 'friend"?

Q Were you personally interested in him, just a little more than merely belonging to your battalion?

A I had no special friendship with Subedar Ahmed Khan.

Q: Do you know Captain Arshad?

A. Yes

Q: Was Subedar Ahmed Khan pardoned and released on the intervention of Capt. Arshad?

A: Subedar Ahmed Khan was released when all the other men in the separation came were released. When I went from the concentration camp to the separation camp, Subedar Ahmed Khan was still in the separation camp. After that, he fell sick and he was brought to the hospital which was near our separation camp.

Q Was he there in detention on some offence?

A· I do not know.

Q Did you ever ask him why he was there?

A. No he was in a separate tent and I had no permission to see him. The camps were separated by barbed wire and the occupants of one camp could not meet the occupants of the other camps.

Q How many people were with Subedar Ahmed Khan in his tent?

A I cannot say because I never went to that camp.

Q· Do you mean that Subedar Ahmed Khan's camp was invisible from where you were because there was barbed wire in between?

A There was another line of tents intervening between my tent and the tent in which Subedar Ahmed Khan was Only when we were on fatigue and when we were on the evening roll call did we come to know how many people were with us.

To further questions by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, witness replied that, at the concentration camp there was a garden in which vegetables were cultivated and the prisoners were made to work there He did not know what the cow dung was taken for. He only knew they were made to carry it as a punishment. They

stacked the cow dung near a road in the camp, and on both sides of the road, was the garden. Only for three hours on the first day, they had to carry the cow dung For the remaining days, they were digging and levelling earth and preparing garden plots. Witness did not know who sowed the seeds.

There was a laughter and the Court again warned the spectators against laughing. "I ask you to remember this is a very serious trial and I am not going to allow laughter again," said Maj-Gen. Blaxland.

FIRING IN KARACHI CAMP

HAVILDAR SARWAR'S EVIDENCE

Havildar Mohmmed Sarwar, 7/22nd Indian Regiment, R. I., Artillery, spoke of firing on prisoners in the Kranji Camp. He did not know how many POW's there were in the camp.

One day, two VCOs and a party of Sikh guards came to the camp and ordered them to fall in line and said that they should all join the I. N. A. The prisoners included their Moulvi. The Guard Commandant orderd that those who wanted to join the I N. A. should fall in on the other side. None of the prisoners volunteered. "Thereupon" witness said,"the Jamadar and Subedar took out their pistols and started firing at us and ordered the Sikh guards also to fire on us. Approximately the strength of the guards were 14. They also started firing. When two of us were killed, Lance Naik Mohd. Khan and gunner Alla Ditta, Naik Mohd. Hanif saw them dying cried "Narai-Taqbir", and everybody responded "Allaho Akbar" Every body cried 'Allaho Akbar' and the guards continued to fire and many of us were wounded. Then one of the guards who was firing was hit on the head with a spade and he fell dead on the spot His head was split open For 15 minutes they continued firing and when the ammunition was exhausted, they picked up their dead, put them in a lorry and drove off."

WITNESS' INTENTION TO DESERT I N.A.

After they drove off, witness continued, some Japanese officers accompanied by I.N.A. officers which included a Colonel from the Kapurthala Regiment came to the camp. The Japanese officer told the prisoners "If you kill one I. N. A man we will kill a hundred of you in return."

After that, the Havildars among the prisoners were separated and the rest of the regiment marched from here to Bidadari camp Before the march, the Havildar in charge of the prisoners told the men that, none of them should join the I N.A. whatever might happen to them. Witness was taken to a concentration camp where the internees were treated very badly and often beaten with canes Some of the V.C Os were so badly beaten that they were incapacitated. Witness himself was laid flat on the ground and beaten till he became unconscious and then taken to a hospital Among the Havildars, who were badly beaten, were Nurkhan, Mohammad Sarwar, Mohammad Hanif and Syed Mahmud Witness remained in the hospital for three weeks. When I was discharged from the hospital", he said, "I was taken to Kranji camp. After that, I joined the I.N A because of these troubles I wanted to escape and also I was getting no food or medicine. I made up my mind that when I was detailed to the front, I will desert."

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY DEFENCE COUNSEL

Cross-examined by Mr *Bhulabhai Desai*, witness said that he was in Hospital No. 4. It was a very big hospital and there were patients of all kinds. He was treated well and after discharge, was taken to the Kranji camp. In Kranji camp, he heard a lecture and then joined the I. N A. The only thing that made him join the I N. A was that he wanted to escape bad treatment.

Q. Do you know why the I N. A was formed?

A. I came to know that we were trying to free India.

Q. You were expected to go and fight.

A. Yes I knew it was question of life or death. I thought that death was better than these troubles. I had no faith that they would set India free. I had every faith that if I went to the front, I would be able to go to the other side.

To further questions, witness replied that he was one of the 300 kept in a portion of the camp and besides them, there were many more. The unit commander was Lt. Purshotam Das. It was a Japanese P. O W camp. Often, prisoners were split up into parties and were made to do fatigues The guard who was killed in the scuffle was Sardara Singh of the Kapurthala Regiment.

Q: Did they ask you to surrender the ring-leaders?

A. I do not know.

Q: Was there a scuffle between the guards and the men?

A. Yes. There was a fight between the men of my unit and the guards after they had opened fire on us.

Q: How many guards were there?

A Fourteen.

Q How many of you were killed and wounded?

A Two killed and three wounded.

Q Did these people fire on you unprovoked?

A They only started firing on us because we refused to join the I.N A.

Mr. Desai. Was there any conversation between the guards and your men before they fired?

A No.

Q· They just came in and you did nothing and they started firing.

A We were asked to fall in and they asked us to join the I.N.A. When we refused, they started firing. I do not know anything about the guards trying to arrest anybody.

Questioned by the Advocate-General, Sir N. P. Engineer, witness said that the guards retreated as they fired with rifles. The Jamadar and Subedar were firing with pistols and hence, they could not go near them. For 15 minutes, they fired and when their ammunition was exhausted, they withdrew. Witness and his men had no chance of getting to face them except the one man whom they killed.

The court adjourned till Monday, November 26.

Seventh Day—New Delhi—26th. November 1945

JEMADAR MOHAMAD HAYAT'S EVIDENCE

At the I N. A. Court Martial which was resumed this morning, Jemadar Mohammad Hayat, first Bahawalpur Infantry, describing what happened in Neesoon Camp, said that a majority of Muslims of his battalion who were in that camp refused to join the I N A. Hindus and Sikhs joined it and also a few Muslims. "My attitude towards the I N A was that we should not join it. I always told my officers and men not to join it I carried on propaganda against the INA

He was removed to Bidadari camp. There also his attitude towards the I N.A. was the same. From Bidadari Camp all Muslims in the Battalion who refused to join the I N.A were taken to a concentration camp some time in July 1942. They were about four hundred or five hundred people in that camp. They were searched and their goods were taken away, and their Indian Army badges were removed

Witness said that officers, N C O,'s and other ranks were separated and imprisoned in separate cages The following morning, after their arrival in the camp a subedar, one havildar, a sweeper and about six sepoys came to their camp and took twelve people including the witness separately. The V. C. O.'s and the sepoys had with them sticks five feet long and two inches thick and started beating the twelve men with these sticks. The sweeper beat the witness and after about twenty or twenty-five beatings, he fell unconscious. When he regained consciousness, he found the remaining eleven men also lying in the same place where they were beaten. The men were ordered by the guards to do fatigues immediately. He and the other men were made to fill up sacks with earth and carry them at double march to a place about three hundred yards away. If any one did not double, he was beaten by the sentry. After the fatigue, they were not allowed to sleep at nights They were made to do guard duty inside the enclosure and the I. N. A. sentry outside called for reports every five minutes. They were beaten if they replied too loudly or too softly And in that manner they were kept awake the whole night They were made to salute every member of the I N A. including the sweepers, One day, witness did not notice an I.N.A. sentry while passing by and for that he was recalled and felled with a rifle butt.

"We used to get little rice mixed up with stones,' witness continued. "We did not get enough water to drink except at fixed times. When we found that rice was mixed with stones, we told the camp commandant about it. He said that we would continue getting this type of food. I told him 'Shoot me as I could not put up with these troubles' He said. 'I will not shoot you, but you should join the I N A. If you volunteer, you will be taken out of this camp and treated better. Otherwise you will continue to be treated like this until you die."

Witness and his twelve comrades remained in the camp for seventeen days. When any one of them reported sick to the I.N.A doctor, he always marked them 'A' or 'B' but never "C" and people who were marked "A" or "B" were called forward and were given twelve strokes each by the cane.

From the concentration camp, witness and others were taken to Selator Camp where lectures were given asking them to join the I.N.A. Witness refused. Thereupon, he along with some others, were separated and kept in barracks. They were again taken to the concentration camp.

The same eleven men were with witness The second time they were kept in the concentration camp for 21 days. Every day, they were given lectures and asked to join the I.N.A. The camp commandant told them that if they did not join the I.N A., they would get the same treatment as before They replied that they would not join the I N A. They were given the same fatigue as before. They were not keeping well but no medical treatment was given to them. When they reported sick, the only "treatment" given was strokes by canes. One day, witness felt thirsty and asked for water In reply, witness and a companion of his were given 13 strokes each. When they beat them, they used to call upon Allah and the Prophet. In reply, they were told that God, if He existed, was outside those enclosures and that inside the enclosures, the camp authorities ruled.

CONDITIONS IN SELATOR CAMP

From there they were taken to Selator Camp, where volunteers for the I.N A were kept in a portion called 'D" and non-volunteers were kept in "D-1". After reaching "D" witness was taken to the hospital where he stayed for seven or eight days. In the hospital too, volunteers and non-volunteers were kept separately. Some food used to come from Supreme Head-quarters, but it was given only to the volunteers

From the hospital, witness was taken back to Selator Camp Here too, he was asked to join the I N A. and again he and his party refused to do so He and his party were kept at Selator Camp for about a month

From Selator about 2,500 to 3,000 of them were sent to Buller Camp and here again they said that they would not join the I.N A. They were lectured to and when they refused to volunteer, witness and the eleven others went back to the concentration camp.

The treatment at the concentration camp continued to be the same as on previous occasions While witness was at the camp this time, he saw people being beaten. One night, when he was on duty at 9 o clock, he saw two Sikhs being beaten by a Subedar and five or six others. The beating continued till 1 a.m. when the two Sikhs were removed to a hospital near by. The subedar and the others with him asked a sweeper to report to them if the two Sikhs should die. The Sikhs were in a very bad condition at that time. When witness saw the two men the next morning, they were lying in the hospital tent with fetters on their legs and their faces to the ground. This time, witness was in the concentration camp for 24 days

After this, they were taken back to the "D-1" Camp at Selator and kept in the same place as previously. While there, they did fatigue work in connection with the construction of an aerodrome, i.e. trench digging, etc. They remained there till December 1942.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR DESAI

In the cross-examination by Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai* for the defence, witness said that it was not true that in the Malayan campaign half his battalion ran away. His battalion was divided into two parts, one of which was sent to Kuala Lumpur and the other was sent under Col Tyrell. Witness went with Col. Tyrell's party

Q Is it true that when Singapore surrendered on February 15, 1942, you or any other man of your battalion twitted Col Tyrell and said: 'Now you also are without arms"?—A. No We never said that

Witness said that when he went to Neesoon Camp. Major M Z. Kaiani was Commander. He was succeeded by Capt Shah Nawaz Khan.

Witness was present at a lecture delivered by Col. Shah Nawaz in a mosque in the camp. Col Shah Nawaz said that Sikhs and Hindus had already volunteered and that the Muslims should also join, He said "Muslims must join the I.N.A. because when the Hindus and Sikhs go, they will trouble you in your homes in India." Col. Shah Nawaz said· "I will not give any sort of trouble to you but you should volunteer. I do not want pressed men but want true volunteers." After the lecture, all Mussalmans said "Dua Khair" (prayer for welfare) and with that prayer they begged that they should be excused They said they would not join the I. N. A., meaning that none of them had a right to do so.

Q: Some of the men of your unit were suspected by Major Aziz Ahmed of

having stolen seven cows belonging to the civilians and of having slaughtered and eaten them?

A I deny that. The charge that the cows were stolen is a lie and the charge that the cows were eaten is also a lie.

At this stage Mr. Bhulabhai Desai showed witness the summary of his evidence, wherein witness had stated: "Major Aziz Ahmed told us, 'You are going to a concentration camp because you have killed a cow'." After a number of questions, witness replied: "I admit that I said in the summary that Major Aziz Ahmed told us that we were to go to a concentration camp because we had killed a cow. I am saying the same thing now."

Q: Was an investigation made and were skins and bones found as a result?

A: No investigation made and no skins were found.

Q: Is it true that you actually offered to become a volunteer for the I N A and were rejected because you were regarded as unreliable?

A: No, I never volunteered for the I.N.A.

Q: Two witnesses have said before this court......

ADVOCATE-GENERAL'S OBJECTION OVERRULED

The Advocate-General objected to the question on the ground that witness had nothing to do with statements made by other witnesses. "He should be asked about what he knows."

The Judge-Advocate held that the defence could ask the witness whether statements made by the two previous witnesses were true or not.

Q Two witnesses have said here that in the Neesoon Camp, while Capt Shal Nawaz Khan was the Commandant, there was no difference between the treatment given to volunteers and non-volunteers. Is it true or not there was no difference in the rations given to volunteers and non-volunteers?

A: I was at the camp for two or three months. In July, 1942, in the Bidadari Camp, there was no separate treatment of volunteers and non-volunteers

Witness denied there was any charge against him and his companion of stealing a cow "Major Aziz Ahmed never told us that we were being sent to the concentration camp because we had killed a cow".

Witness was again shown the statement made by him in the summary of evidence. After further questions, he admitted having made that statement.

By July, a large number from among the prisoners of war had volunteered, said witness

Drawing witness' attention to his statement that he was repeatedly pressed to join the I.N.A, Mr Desai asked Do you consider yourself a particularly distinguished soldier?

Witness at first answered that he was an officer now. The question was interpreted to him again and it was explained that the word 'soldier' was used in the larger sense. He replied No.

MUSLIM VOLUNTEERS IN I. N A.

As regards witness' statement about Muslim volunteers, Mr. Desai asked: Are you aware that a number of Muslims volunteered?

Witness As far as I know, only a few Muslims joined the I N. A. I do not know about all Muslims, but I know that only a few Muslims that is, one or two of my battalion, volunteered.

Mr. Desai read to witness the names of seven Muslim officers. Witness said he knew them. Mr Desai asked Did they volunteer?

Witness They volunteered after they had been to the concentration camp.

Mr. Desai. Were any of these officers in the concentration camp?

Witness Yes. Captain Mirza was with me in the concentration camp,

Witness declared that Captain Mirza was in the concentration camp because he did not volunteer and did not allow his unit to volunteer

Mr. Desai Do you know of any other officer sent to the concentration camp? Witness replied he did not know.

To further questions by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, witness denied that he and 12 others were sentenced to three months' imprisonment for stealing and eating a cow These who were detained in the camp were non-volunteers He did not know if he was released because of the intervention of Capt Malik. Witness was shown the summary of his evidence in which he had stated that he was released as a result of the efforts of Capt Malik and asked if it was true. He said he did not make the statement and it must have been a misinterpretation He knew Capt Malik had already joined the I. N. A.

Mr. Desai: I suggest that though you were such a great ring-leader of anti-I. N. A. men, even then Capt. Malik, without your asking, intervened on your behalf.

Witness: I do not know if he has said anything about me. If he had said it must have been to the Camp Commandant.

From December, 1942, to May, 1943, witness was doing fatigue work in Samawan aerodrome. The Commandant of the camp was a Japanese.

RE-EXAMINATION BY ADVOCATE-GENERAL

Re-examined by Sir N. P. Engineer, Advocate-General, witness said that no charge was ever instituted against him or anybody else for stealing or killing cows. No explanation was ever asked of him of such charges On various occasions, witness was asked to join the I.N A.

Questioned by the Court, witness said that while in concentration camp, he was detailed to do sentry duty for six to seven hours a day Other prisoners who were with him relieved him after the duty The I. N. A sentry outside the enclosure used to give the orders and the prisoners changed guards. During nights, some prisoners had to do duty twice.

Some prisoners who were not on duty were allowed to sleep On the first occasion, he was in the concentration camp for 17 days and during all those nights, he was on duty. During his second internment in the concentration camp for 21 days also, he had to do night sentry work.

In the hospital, with the exception of bananas and other fruits that were given to the volunteers, non-volunteers were given the same food

In the hospital, witness added, he took no food because he was ill

Court: No food at all?

A: Whenever I felt, I asked for a little rice.

Q. What were the non-volunteers getting? A: Only rice

Q: You said that while doing fatigue or carrying earth, there were sentries every two yards?

A There were a good many sentries. They might have been posted at distances of two or two and a half yards. I do not know

Q: You were on fatigue every day and on duty evey night?—A Yes

Q And that happened during all the period you were in the concentration camp?—A: Yes

Questioned by the Judge-Advocate, witness replied that Capt Shah Nawaz Khan once addressed them in a mosque and they heard Lt Dhillon once some time in March, 1942. Capt Shah Nawaz said that the Muslims must volunteer because the Hindus and Sikhs had already volunteered. Lt Dhillon said that they should join the Japanese and set India free.

HAVILDAR WOLIT BAHADUR

Havildar Wolit Bahadur of the 2/2 Gurkha Rifles, the next prosecution witness, said that this unit was at Bidadari Camp for one month after the surrender of Singapore and at Buller Camp for two and a half months thereafter While at Buller Camp, they were entertained to a dramatic performance and given lectures. They were told that they had to take up arms against the British Army and form an Indian National Army They were further told that the lectures were given as a pre-intimation, but later, they would have to take up arms

From Buller Camp they were taken to the civil aerodrome and thence to Bidadari Camp No. 2. "Very often they told us that we should join the I N. A. Otherwise, there would be bad results for us " Witness did not see any volunteer to the I. N. A from his unit while he was at the camp

About 14 officers and N. C. Os of his unit were taken to a concentration camp and those who were left behind, including witness, were told that, if they did not volunteer for the I N A, there would be bad consequences for them At the end of these lectures, the audience gave no reply Later, some more men of his unit were taken to the concentration camp.

On September 24, 1942, when witness and other members of his unit were in Bidadari Camp No. 4. they were ordered to collect on the open ground nearby. First, an I. N. A. officer delivered a lecture and said: "We have already informed you about the I N A You people have not accepted what we said in these lectures. I am going to show you the results of your conduct.

REPORTED BEATING BY VOLUNTEERS

Witness could see a group of 14 armed men standing on the left. The I.N A. officer ordered all the sweepers, water-carriers, "mochis" (shoemakers) and other

"followers" of the 2/9 Gurkha Rifles to come forward and asked them whether they were prepared to join the I N. A The followers replied that whatever happened, they would stick to their unit and never join the I N.A On hearing this, the I.N A. officer ordered six or seven sepoys to come forth and said that these were the ring-leaders who would not allow the 2/9 Gurkha Rifles to volunteer for the I.N A. Two people began beating the sepoys on the officer's orders When the beating had lasted 10 or 12 minutes, one of the sepoys fell down and witness' unit stood up and protested about the beating.

The men of the unit said 'Even if you beat us like this, we are not going to join the I N A We are ready to do fatigue for the Japanese" Thereupon, one of the I N A. officers asked them under whose orders they had stood up The Gurkhas replied that as they were not getting justice, they had stood up to make a report

On the Gurkhas making a good deal of noise, one of the I N A. officers ordered the guards on the left flank to open fire Two or three rounds were fired in the air and no shots came towards the Gurkhas. Another I N A officer then asked the guards. "Are these Gurkhas your fathers that you do not shoot them?"

GURKHAS FIRED UPON

"On hearing this, our blood warmed up and we moved forward and the I N A. men fired at us One or two of us fell down. We were unarmed and we only had felt hats and wooden chappals on We threw the chappals at the guards. Then I went a little forward, telling my people not to go towards the guards because they had arms and we would be killed "

"When I had gone a little forward", witness continued, "I could see an I N.A officer pointing the pistol at me I tried to beat a retreat, when the officer fired at me and wounded me on my left knee The firing was going on when I fell." Witness put the casualties in the firing at nine wounded, eight by rifle and one by lathi The wounded were removed to hospital, where I N.A. officers came to him several times and asked him to join the I N A He was told that if he enlisted in the I N A , he could get good medicine and the bullet would be removed from his left knee He refused to volunteer and was sent back to his unit after he had remained in the hospital for about five months. He found his unit stationed at a road camp, where he remained till his liberation by the British

WITNESS CROSS EXAMINED

Cross-examined by Mr *Bhulabhai Desai*, witness said he was present at the Farrar Park meeting in Singapore during the surrender.

Mr Desai· Do you remember that a Japanese officer handed you over to Mohan Singh and told you to obey his orders, thereafter?—Witness Yes.

Witness said that in Buller Camp, lectures were delivered by Indian officers and Gurkha officers

Q Did Jemadar Puran Singh of 21 Gurkha Rifles lecture to you and tell you that the British had run away and left you there?

Witness Yes He said we have now fallen from British into Japanese hands and we have to carry out their orders and do fatigue.

Q Did he say our home is in India and we have to join our brothers in India and fight for our country?—A Yes

Q Did he tell you that we should, therefore, join the I N A ?—A: Yes

Q And that the I.N A was going to be formed for the purpose of freeing India?" A Yes

Q Did he also say that for that reason, you should join the I NA ?—A. Yes.

Q Did the audience acclaim his words?—A One or two people said "We do not know anything about the INA and we are not going to join it "

Q Did you understand why you were being asked to join the I.N A.?—A· At that time, we did not know what the INA was

Q You just told us it was explained to you that the INA was being formed for the freedom of India. Did you understand that?—A I did hear this, but I did not accept it because I was hearing it for the first time

Q· Were you not told to obey Mohan Singh?—A Yes

Q Did you know that Mohan Singh was going to form the INA?—A: I came to know later that Mohan Singh was going to form the INA. In the last lecture at Buller Camp, I realised that Mohan Singh was forming the INA.

In reply to a series of further questions, witness said that Jemadar Til Bahadur Adhikari and a number of other Gurkha officers whose names were mentioned by Mr. Desai were respected men in their units.

Q: Did any of these officers give a lecture?—A: I only remember Jemadar Til Bahadur gave a lecture in B-2 camp.

Q. Did he also explain the object of the I N A. and say that you should join it to free India?—A: Yes.

Witness did not know the exact number of men in the I N A. which was formed by September, but agreed that there was a very large number of volunteers and a large number in the waiting list.

Q. Who staged the drama which you said was performed at Buller camp?—A. It was arranged by the Army as entertainment.

Q Did the drama depict any of the earlier stories of India's heroism?—A No.

Q Do you know the Ramayana and the Mahabharata?—A I know a few stories from the Ramayana, but do not know the Mahabharata

Q Did any of the stories of heroes from the Ramayana, heroes who had ruled and protected India, form the subject-matter of the show?—A No

Further cross-examination was adjourned till the next day

Eighth Day—New Delhi—27th November 1945

At the Indian National Army Court Martial to-day, Havildar Wolit Bahadur was further cross examined by the Defence Counsel, Mr Bhulabhai Desai He said that there was a dispute about the fatigues that they were required to do for the Japanese. Those who did not join the I N A were required to do fatigues Some of their leaders advised them not to object to do the fatigues. In spite of their persuasion, some of them did not obey. They reported that they would do fatigues for the Japanese, but would have nothing to do with the I N A

At this stage, the Court asked the interpreter to withdraw as he was found to be unsatisfactory and Maj Pritham Singh, a member of the Court Martial, was sworn-in as interpreter

Continuing his cross-examination of Havildar Wolit Bahadur Mr Bhulabhai Desai asked Guards were sent to enforce the order because some of you would not do fatigue?—Witness Yes.

Q: Did the guards come to arrest the ring-leaders?—A Yes

Q: How many of you were there?—A We were about 500.

Q: There was some dispute with the guards?—A Yes.

Q The guards warned you not to do so and fired in the air?—A Yes. When we did not obey the guards, they fired The guards spoke to us about the I. N. A

Q First they fired in the air and when you did not obey, they fired at you?—A Yes Two or three men were injured after the firing

Q. Did you pursue the guards?—Y. Yes

DEFENCE OBJECTION OVER-RULED

Sir N. P Engineer, Advocate-General, re-examining the witness, asked what actually happened when the guards came

Mr Bhulabhai Desai I object. This is not re examination.

Major-General Baxland. He has not given the answer. The prosecution must have a true picture

The Judge-Advocate Does not the question arise from the cross-examination?

Mr. Desai Something that is unexplained is re-examination.

The objection was over-ruled.

In reply to the Advocate-General's question witness said that the dispute between the guard and the POW's was that they resented the appearance of the guard during the lecture time

Advocate General Will you tell the Court what was the actual cause of the dispute?

The question was disallowed by the Court

Questioned by the Court, witness said that the bullet was taken out of his knee after one or one and a half months He was in Bidadari hospital then.

RIFLEMAN RAVILAL'S EVIDENCE

Rifleman Ravilal of 2/5 Gurkha Rifles, the next prosecution witness, deposed that while he was in Bidadari Camp after the fall of Singapore, lectures were given asking his battalion to join the I N A The lectures said that the VCO's and NCO's of the battalion had been taken to a concentration camp and anyone who did not join the I.N A, would be sent away likewise to a concentration camp. Witness refused to join the I N A. An I N A officer personally talked to witness and told him that if he did not join the I.N.A, he would be sent to a concentration camp.

On September 24, 1942, at 7 p.m., one I. N. A officer gave his battalion a lecture after which the whole battalion was collected together. One or two men of the battalion who had not collected, because they were having their food, were brought before the gathering and beaten with lathis.

The guard present at the gathering consisted of 15 to 20 men armed with rifles and bayonets and six or seven men armed with lathis.

The I.N.A. officer told the sweepers and followers of the battalion that they belonged to India and should, therefore, come forward to help the cause of the country. The followers replied: "We have served with the Gurkha Regiment for a long time and if the regiment joins the I.N.A., we too shall join it." On hearing this reply, the I.N.A. officer order two I.N.A. men to beat the followers, two of whom fell on the ground as a result of the beating.

The I. N. A. officer then told the battalion that as they were loyal to the British Government, he regarded them as enemies and he would show them the result of their attitude. The I. N. A. officer called out some of the men of the battalion by name and ordered them to be beaten, the fifth man was beaten so severely that he fell on the ground. The I. N. A. officer did not stop beating and himself kicked the fallen man.

Seeing this, the battalion felt very badly and tears came to their eyes. They stood up and protested and said: "If you want to kill us, you may as well kill the whole lot of us. We shall never join the I. N. A."

GUARD ORDERED TO FIRE

The I. N. A. officer asked the battalion why they had stood up without orders and he ordered the guard to fire. The guard fired in air, whereupon another I. N. A. officer asked the guard "Are these Gurkhas your fathers that you are firing in the air? You should beat them." Then the guard opened fire at the Gurkhas. The Gurkhas had no arms or sticks and they had no hopes of remaining alive. Then all proceeded towards the guard and threw their wooden chappals at the guard. The firing lasted about half an hour and eight Gurkhas were wounded. After the firing, the battalion was marched to a concentration camp.

While witness was at Bidadari Camp, some men of his battalion were doing fatigue for the I. N. A. and others were digging trenches. Witness never objected to doing the fatigue and as far as he knew, no other member of his battalion raised any objection.

When witness was taken to the concentration camp, one officer and three or four men of the I. N. A. who were posted at the camp gate, searched the Gurkhas. The Gurkhas were kept in a barbed wire enclosure without roof. It was so small that most of the men could not even sit inside it and had to stand the whole night. They had no clothes either and had to remain in that condition throughout the night.

DETAINED FOR ANTI-I. N. A. ACTIVITIES

The following day, at about 10 or 11 a. m., the officer-in charge of the concentration camp ordered them back to Bidadari Camp after separating 14 men from the party. These 14 men, the I. N. A. officer said were doing anti-I.N.A. propaganda and preventing the battalion from joining the I. N. A. and for that reason, they were being detained in the concentration camp.

Back at Bidadari Camp, the Gurkha battalion did the same fatigue as before. After one month at Bidadari, the battalion was sent again to the concentration camp. The day after the arrival of the Gurkhas, the concentration camp authorities started beating them and making them do fatigues. This continued for five days.

For the first two days there was no arrangement for food and the third day, the battalion was ordered by an I.N.A. officer to take food. The Gurkhas told the officer that they objected to their being brought back to the concentration camp and they would not take their food unless a decision was reached as to where they were to be stationed. After five days at the camp, the battalion was marched back to Bidadari Camp. Most of the staff of the concentration camp belonged to the I.N.A.

Cross-examined by Mr. Asaf Ali, witness said that from August 1941, up to the time of Singapore's fall his unit was under training in Malaya.

Mr. Asaf Ali: Training for what? Training in jungle warfare or for retreat or both? (laughter)

Witness: Training for offensive warfare.

HEATED EXCHANGES BETWEEN COUNSELS

Mr. Asaf Ali proceeded to put a number of questions about the action that followed and the retreat of the battalion and about rations given during the retreat.

Sir N. P. Engineer, prosecution counsel, questioned the relevancy of these questions.

Mr. Asaf Ali: I did not see the relevancy of the questions which you were putting.

Sir Noshirwan: That was your misfortune.

Mr. Asaf Ali: My misfortune or yours? I am tracing the history of the whole incident. There has been a lot of talk of waging war against the King and atrocities and so forth, and I want to show what was actually happening in those days. Sir Noshirwan's talk of misfortune is utterly unprovoked, and I will not have it.

The Judge-Advocate: You will have everything the Court will say you will have, nothing more, nothing less. Let us conduct the proceedings in an atmosphere of calm.

Mr Asaf Ali: I never said a word to merit the remark about misfortune. Why should it be my misfortune any more than his?

The Advocate-General said that if the Court allowed Mr Asaf Ali's questions, he had no objection.

Mr. Asaf Ali repeated his question about rations. Witness stated that during the retreat to Alor Star, sometimes arrangements for rations and other comforts were complete, at other times, they were not.

Witness said that a British regiment joined them at Kuala Lumpur during the retreat. "We did not have any tank support when we retreated. We had no air strength except at Panchi Kichin where 40 planes flew over us." In the River Valley Camp, some men of his battalion made statements to the commanding officer and to the Subedar-Major. Witness himself had made statements twice before to-day, and these statements were written down.

At the time of the retreat, said witness, there was no preferential treatment as regards food and other comforts to British troops.

Mr. Asaf Ali: Do you mean that you were getting the same rations as the British?

Witness: When we were retreating the rations of the British troops and ours were the same, whether we ate them or not.

In reply to the Court's suggestion, Mr Asaf Ali explained that he was trying to show that the witness was making statements to please the prosecution. Witness was saying that the same rations were given to the British and Indians, whereas books had been written about discrimination in these matters.

Mr. Asaf Ali asked whether other amenities were the same for the British and the Indians during the retreat.

Witness: Other amenities were also the same.

In Singapore, witness said, his battalion was put in a defensive position.

INDIAN TROOPS ASKED TO CARRY RATIONS FOR AUSTRALIANS

Mr Asaf Ali: Were you ordered to take rations to the Australians?

Witness replied in the affirmative and added he carried rations only once.

Q: Were Australians or British troops carrying rations for Indian troops?—A: I do not know.

In the Bidadari Camp witness continued, the question of joining or not joining the I. N. A. was being discussed among the prisoners themselves.

Q: Those who were loyal were angry at the suggestion that they should be asked to join the I. N. A.?—A: It is true that those who were loyal resented the the discussion about joining the I. N. A.

When those who had already joined, the I. N. A. persuaded others to join, the latter were angry, witness proceeded. "Every time I. N. A. officers came to address us on the I. N. A., we did not tell them to get out. But in our hearts we resented their coming and giving us advice to join the I. N. A."

Proceeding, Rifleman Ravilal, the witness, said in his section in the Bidadari Camp there were about 600 men. They were required to do fatigues and they were quite willing to do it. He liked doing fatigues. He had not heard in the camp anybody discussing about doing away with fatigues.

Mr Asaf Ali: Was Wolit Bahadur there with you?—A: Until he was wounded he was with us in the camp.

Q: Wolit Bahadur told the Court that there was some fight about the fatigue.—A: I know nothing about it. I do not remember any dispute about fatigues. I never spoke to Wolit Bahadur about fatigues.

There were roughly between 15 to 20 guards at the time of the trouble, witness added. They were armed with rifles and some with lathis.

Q: Is it true that some of the guards ran away?—A: The guards who were armed with lathis ran away when we attacked.

Mr. Asaf Ali: How many of you attacked the guards?—A: We were about 500 to 600. Approximately 300 to 350 were armed with wooden chappals.

Re-examined by the Advocate-General, witness said that the two statements mentioned in the evidence were taken in connection with the case against the three accused officers.

Questioned by the Court, witness reiterated that the two statements referred to were taken in connection with the present case.

SUBEDAR RAM SWARUP

Subedar Ram Swarup of the R. I A. S. C, the next prosecution witness, said that the day before Singapore fell, he left his unit in order to escape, put on civilian clothes and mixed amongst civilians. He remained in Singapore city upto April 13 1942, when he was spotted by one of his unit clerks who appeared suddenly in his room. Because witness was ill, his fellow-clerk told him to go to the Seletar Camp where his own unit was kept at that time.

At Seletar, he was kept in the D-1 Camp for non-volunteers Some lectures were given there asking the inmates to volunteer for the I.N.A But witness did not volunteer. In July 1942, witness and five others were taken to a concentration camp and he was told that he had been taken there for doing Anti-I. N A. propaganda

ALLEGED BEATING BY CAMP STAFF

One or two members of the camp staff called out a man and said in Punjabi "The guests have come for reception, whereupon witness was beaten till he became unconscious. When he came witness was taken to an open cage in a camp and left there for that night Next morning, witness was to do fatigue duty along with 1[illegible] to 20 others belonging to his company Sentries supervised every fatigue worker and ordered them to do their work quickly and energetically. In the evening, witness came back to the concentration camp very tired Half an hour later, one or two camp staff officers asked witness how he was. He replied that he had suffered and was ready to suffer more, but he was not going to volunteer

The officer who questioned witness, abused him, tied his hands, gave him a blow on his face, kicked him and beat him with a stick till he became unconscious When witness regained consciousness, the officer asked him whether he was willing to volunteer This time, witness consented to join the I. N A. because he thought it would be better to do so. The men who beat him, said witness, had no badges of rank or any sort, but were working to make people volunteer

In cross-examination by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai witness said that he was under Capt S. N. Malik in the I. N. A. He infiltrated into India under instructions. After arriving on the Indian border, he returned home and reported to his depot at Ferozpur after about 20 or 30 days

Q. For what purpose were you sent to India?—A: To find out the military situation in the country

Q Were you a secret serviceman of the I. N. A ?—A· Yes.

Q You were a trusted man of the I N. A ?—A: They trusted me.

Q. It was a mistake, is it?

No answer was given by witness.

Q: You were deputed for this work because they trusted you?—A: Yes

Q But you did not really wish to be faithful?—A: If you mean faithful to the I N. A , my answer is "no"

Q But were you not of the earliest to join the I N A.?—A. Yes.

Q And you fully believed in the movement?—A. No. I was told to volunteer and I volunteered

Q. What is your educational qualification?—A. I am a matriculate.

INDIA'S FREEDOM—I N. A.'s OBJECTIVE

Q My question is very simple Was it not the object of the I. N A to free India and did you not accept it?—A Yes.

Q So that you were a willing member of the I N. A ?—A Yes.

Q And when you joined, you believed in the movement?

When witness did not give an immediate reply, Mr. Desai said, 'It does not require much thinking. Come along." Witness replied in the affirmative

In further questions, witness said that the day before the army surrendered, the commanding officer of his unit, Major Weinman from Ceylon, permitted him

and another member of his company to go into civilian clothes. His commanding officer granted him his favour at the suggestion of witness.

Witness said that when he put on civilian clothes, he intended to escape upcountry, but he did not have any chance to do so. When he surrendered at Seletar, Major Weinman continued to command his company and accepted the surrender. While he was free, witness had maintained himself with the money he had with him the day he put on civilian clothes.

When he joined the I. N. A in April 1942, a large number of volunteers had already joined. In Seletar Camp, he heard that the movement had advanced. People were volunteering.

Mr. Desai You have believed the movement?—A I did not believe in the movement at that time.

Q But you came to believe in the movement later on and volunteered It was a matter of free choice?—A I thought it was then a good thing to do so.

Q I put it to you that you voluntarily joined You had no complaints and you invented this story only to save your skin because you wanted to get back to the army ?—A No I did not invent the story.

NO INTENTION OF LEAVING I N A

Q When you came on your secret service, what was your wish?—A My object was to obtain information for the I N. A. and not to leave the I N A

Questioned by the Court, witness said that the cage into which he was put in the concentration camp was about that size that three men could come in. He was in the cage for a day. The concentration camp was about threequarers of a mile from Bidadari Camp.

LANCE-NAIK MOHINDAR SINGH

Lance-Naik Mohindar Singh, giving evidence next, said in reply to the prosecution counsel, that he volunteered for the I N. A in the Seletar Camp in September, 1942, and he was posted to the S S Group, whose functions were disguise penetrating into India and sabotage In December the I N A was dissolved and the commanding officer delivered a lecture to the effect that their leader Mohan Singh, had been arrested and the I N A. was disbanded and it was left to each individual whether to join the second I N. A or not

In Neesoon Camp, his attitude was against joining the I N. A, because their leader, Mohan Singh, had been arrested Later he and two others were taken to a concentration camp by a V. C O and witness was beaten, because he had been doing anti-I N. A propaganda Witness was given six strokes, his back was bruised and blood came out After a few days in the barbed wire cage, he and others were made to do fatigue Food given to them was mixed with lime and dust. He remained there for 15 days He became very weak and he enquired from the sentry how he could escape The sentry advised witness not to do propaganda against the I. N. A, but to join the I N A and in March, 1944 he was at the front and was sent to bring rations from a nearby hill. When he went there, he found a British Regiment, and he surrendered to them

Cross-examined by Mr Desai, witness said that the Captain who explained the Bangkok resolutions did not tell anything about the formation of the I N. A. with the object of liberating India

Q · What did you understand to be the object of the I N A. ?—A. I understood that the I N. A was to liberate India I joined the I N. A. for the first time with this object.

Q That was the principal object ?—A Yes

Q Because you believed in making India free ?—A Because our leader, Mohan Singh, had made us believe that India would be free, I joined the I N. A.

STRESS LAID ON VOLUNTARY NATURE OF RECRUITMENT

Witness, in reply to another question, said that Captain Taj Mohamed Khanzada gave them a lecture making it clear that it was his own option whether they joined the I. N A or not

Q. Did you complain to Captain Taj Mohammed that you were being pressed to join the I. N A. against your will ?—A I did not complain

At the end of March, 1943, witness decided to join the second I N A Three or four days after joining, he went to Batu Pahat as part of an advance party He went as a fitter with a transport

Witness said that he accepted the object of the first as well as the second I. N A He went on to state that he joined the I N A because he could not bear the hardships. He joined with the object of escaping

Q : You believed in Captain Mohan Singh ?—A : Yes
Q : And his object was to fight for the freedom of India ?—A : Yes.
Q : And you accepted that ?—A : Yes.

Witness agreed that the object of the I. N. A. remained suspended in his mind for three months and thereafter, he began to understand But even then he did not believe in it, because their leader, Mohan Singh, was arrested.

Q : When you left Rangoon, were you not told distinctly that you could go forward or remain behind as you pleased ?—A: No.

Q . I put it to you that you were a member of the first I N. A , willingly you joined the second I N A. and your story about beating is false ?—A I joined the first I. N. A. voluntarily. I did not join the second I N. A voluntarily and I am telling the truth about my beating.

The examination of this witness concluded and the Court adjourned till the next morning.

Ninth Day—New Delhi—28th November 1945

STORY OF SUBHAS BRIGADE'S WORK

An address of Mr. Subhas Bose to one of the brigades of the I. N A was recalled at the Court Martial here to-day, when Mr Bhulabhai, defence counsel, cross-examined Sepoy Delass Khan. Sepoy Delass Khan said that he joined the first I. N A. when it was formed in September, 1942

Q Would it be correct to say that the I N. A. consisted then of 15,000 men in training and about 20,000 surplus men ?

A . There were four brigades in training but I do not know their exact strength I heard that there were surplus volunteers but I do not know anything about them.

Witness said that, when the first I N A. was dissolved in December, 1942, he joined the second I N A.

Witness was present when his brigade was assembled and addressed by Subhas Chandra Bose who said that they were soldiers of freedom for the purpose of liberating India He told the people assembled there that they would have to face hardships and even death at the front and they were free to remain behind if they liked

Subhas Chandra Bose also said . "As we are fighting for the liberation of India, we are not well off as regards money and other resources and we are giving you whatever is possible As we are poor, we cannot afford to give you anything better in the way of rations, etc., than what you are getting now and you shall have to carry on short rations".

When witness's patrol sent out from Falam Haka captured Chin prisoners, the patrol took out the bolts from the prisoners' rifles and gave the useless rifles back to them and made them sit alongside the road The patrol did not deprive the Chins of their clothing or boots or anything else. The Chin prisoners were generally treated well. The clothing and other equipment of the patrol, witness said in reply to another question, were in a serviceable condition. Near the village where the Chins were captured, the patrol remained for about 15 minutes

HAVILDAR NAWAB KHAN

Havildar Nawab Khan, 1/13 Frontier Force Rifles, was examined next. He said that he joined the I. N A in October, 1943, and was posted to the Subhas Brigade, No 1, Guerilla Regiment Captain Shah Nawaz Khan was Brigade Commander. In May, 1944, Capt Shah Nawaz ordered Lieut. Abdur Rahaman to proceed to the Japanese Divisional Headquarters at Intangyi Shah Nawaz added that the brigade to which witness belonged would leave for Imphal area and that it was responsible for sending rations for 200 men for about six months A company of Parvanas and another of Garhwalis would attack the British on May 15, their object was to capture rations as much as possible and after that, they were to withdraw to one of their original positions on the Falam Kalemyo track

On May 15, witness was ordered to take a telephone message to Capt Shah Nawaz The message said that all positions had been captured after a little resistance. The message continued . "Spirit of officers and men as high as ever. Our troops, no casualties. Enemy, three or four wounded or dead Captured blankets, matches, cigarettes. Will explain verbally." After remaining there for seven or eight days, witness escaped to the British and went home.

CROSS EXAMINATION BY DEFENCE COUNSEL

Mr. Desai, cross-examining witness, asked . From all the details that you have

given, I take it that you were a member of a properly constituted army (the I. N. A.)? —Witness Yes.

Q: And that its sole purpose and ambition was to fight for India's liberation? —: Before joining, I knew the sole ambition of the I. N. A. was to fight for the freedom of India against any army of the world, but my own idea was not to fight, but to escape.

Q: By the words "any army in the world" was meant even the Japanese?—A: Yes.

Witness said that the Haka Falam front was one of those nearest the Indian border.

Q: So far as your orders went, did you take instructions from Indian officers or the Japanese?—A From our own Indian officers only.

Q: In the area in which you were, there was no Japanese either in command or otherwise in the I N A.?—A. No

Witness said that the rations he had mentioned in the examination-in-chief had to be carried about 48 miles. The rations consisted of rice salt, oil and sugar Sugar was scarce. Rations were short.

Q I take it that the I. N A was fighting under great hardships on that front?—A: Yes

Q Apart from your intentions, I take it while you were serving, you carried out your duties faithfully?—A Yes

Witness said that he was present at a meeting in Rangoon addressed by Subhas Bose, who had taken command of the I N A

Q And he told you that the I. N A. was fighting for India's liberation?—A · Yes.

Q That was the sole object; and not for the benefit of the Japanese?—A Yes.

Q That you were merely taking the aid of the Japanese as an ally so that India may be free?—A Yes

Q He said in the conditions then existing, we were poor in resources and that the I. N A. was no bed of roses for any one to join?—A Yes

Q That it was no inducement to join the I N A to get better material things of life?—A Yes

Q And that people should remain in the I N A if they had genuine patriotism?—A Yes.

Q And that anybody who did not wish to go forward need not do so?—A Yes.

Q As far as you are aware, did any people fall back?—A None of the people in No I Guerilla Regiment stood back Later on, battalion and company commanders asked for the names of those who did not know whether any gave their names

Falam was about 35 miles from the India border, witness said in reply to another question

Q After you escaped to the British, did you fight the I N A.?—A When I rejoined the British army, I went home

Q You were allowed to do so?—A Yes

In reply to the Court's questions, witness said that the maximum rice ration was ten or eleven ounces There was however, no fixed scale of rations and sometimes there was no ration at all Rations were not supplemented by forages, but when there were no rations, people went to the jungle and got bananas and whatever else could be found

SEPOY HANUMAN PERSHAD

Sepoy Hanuman Pershad, a nursing orderly, in his evidence said that he joined the I N A in April, 1943 and was posted to the Seventh Battalion, Nehru Brigade In October-November, 1944 his brigade moved to Myingan in Burma Major Dhillon was the commanding officer of his brigade By February 14, 1945 his brigade received instructions to move to Popa where it remained for three days They then went to Kyaukpadaung and opened a hospital but it was soon disbanded and witness was sent to the Brigade Headquarters which was some 30 miles away from Popa They took up position near a tank On March 16 he heard a burst of gun-fire After about half an hour, they were attacked by two tanks and about 40 Gurkhas of the Indian Army

Witness added Our men began to retreat and the company commander told us not to run away but stand fast and return the fire, which we did This firing lasted about four to five minutes Our company commander was killed and we surrendered The strength of our company was [illegible]0 Including the wounded,

of us were captured by the Gurkhas I do not know what happened to the rest of the company

Cross-examined by Mr Bhulabhai Desai witness said that he was in a hospital in Neeson Camp The camp consisted of non-volunteers The hospital served non-volunteers and every care was taken of patients admitted there, belonging to the non-volunteer class Witness did not know whether one was free to join or leave the I N. A

GUNNER BHAL SINGH

Gunner Bhal Singh, H K S R A, the next prosecution witness, deposed that he joined the I. N A on February 11, 1944, and was posted to No 5 Battery He was transferred to 1/5 Guerilla Regiment in January, 1945 His battalion commander was Khazin Shah The name of the Fifth Guerilla Regiment was subsequently changed to No 2 Infantry Regiment The regiment arrived at Popa Hill (Burma) on February 24, 1945 On March 3, he went on patrol duty along with 15 or 16 men under Sub-Officer Abdulla Khan They were told by Abdulla Khan that the object of the patrol was to to reconnoitre enemy positions and bring some *gur* from a village on the way

The patrol was armed with Bren guns, rifles and four bayonets Starting at 9 p. m, the patrol halted at a village on the way till 3 p m the next da After buying *gur* at this village, they proceeded to another place Here the patro was split into two parties, one under Abdulla Khan and another under Ibrahim Khan Witness was fired upon from a village When witness returned from his mission, he saw a Madrasi member of his patrol wounded in the leg and both sides were firing at each other Abdulla Khan sent back witness to the village to find out how many men were near a jeep which had been located there

At the village, witness saw a British soldier lying dead behind his Bren Gun and another British soldier lying wounded nearby There were two sets of equipment in the jeep Witness signalled to Abdulla Khan that there was no enemy present near the jeep and that this party could come forward When Abdulla Khan came near the wounded man the condition of the wounded man was very bad and he was shouting, "Shoot me, shoot me," and pointed to his head He was wounded on his left side One sentry of the patrol was left at the village

About 100 yards from the village, another jeep was located and five men, including witness, were sent for reconnaissance Witness was posted between the location of the jeep and the village so that if any message came from the advance patrol, he could convey it back to Abdulla Khan The patrol was withdrawn to the village about 9 p m Witness and a Madrasi were sent from the village to Battalion Headquarters at Popa at 10 p m The two jeeps were brought back to Battalion Headquarters

Cross-examined by Mr Bhulabhai Desai, witness said that he joined the I N A in February, 1924 Before joining the I N.A. he was first at Neesoon Camp and then at Seletar

Q You were aware that the I N A. was formed for the purpose of fighting for the liberation of India? - A No

Q You joined the I N A, is it not? A Yes

Q Of whom was it made of ?—A Indians and Malayans.

Q They were meant to fight?—A Yes

Q Fight for what?

Witness replied that he had limited intelligence and he could not understand the question Whereupon Mr Desai ended his cross-examination saying, "All right, I leave you there" There was no re-examination.

SEPOY SAIDULLAH KHAN

Sepoy Saidullah Khan of 2/9 Regiment stated that he enlisted in the Indian Army on December 12 1940, and reached Malaya on January 29, 1942 He was posted at Singapore and was there when it fell He joined the I N A in September or October, 1943 and was posted to the Seventh Battalion, Nehru Brigade commanded by Jagdish Singh It arrived in Rangoon in April, 1940 He went straight to hospital and remained there for nine or ten months. He rejoined his batalion on March 2 1945, at a place in the Popa hill area His company carried out patrolling in order to locate the positions of American and British forces. Witness did patrolling for nine or ten days, and then returned to Brigade Headquarters

His battalion was then detailed to accompany a Japanese platoon. Orders in this connection were given by Brigade Commander Major Gurbaksh Singh Dhillon who also said that 16 or 17 men of the battalion were killed on the 16th or 17th

of the month and that the platoon had to accompany the Japanese and obey their orders. The commander warned them that if any of the men deserted, he would deserve the death penalty.

When they came up with Japanese platoon, the Japanese ordered the men of the platoon to dig trenches "In the absence of digging tools" witness said, "we scratched up cover with our bayonets The following morning, the Japanese told us to cook our food and eat". At about 4 p m the village in which they were was fired upon Witness and two others took cover in an A R P trench When firing ceased they found themselves left alone Neither the Japanese nor Indians were there They then surrendered to a Gurkha battalion of the Indian Army

Cross-examined by Mr Desai, witness said he knew that the Indian National Army meant the Azad Hind Fouz

Q Meaning that it was the army of the Provisional Government of free India?—A I was told so by officers

Q And you joined in that belief?—A I joined the I N A because I was ill and I had to do lots of fatigue for the Japanese on short rations

Witness added that when a party went over to join the I N A he also joined with them

Q When you said you were ill, did you mean you were in hospital, or were just not doing well?—I was not in hospital, but I was ill

Q You said that you joined along with a party What do you mean by the party?—A The party to which I referred consisted of roughly 50 men

Q And you also decided to join the I N A along with the others?

Witness tried to explain that he joined the I N A because he was ill

Mr Bhulabhai I have heard this story often enough I want to know whether you decided to join the I N A along with the others- Witness Yes

Q Do you keep any diary?—A I am an illiterate man and do not keep any diary

Q Then how do you remember all the dates you have reeled off—I find at least two dozen dates

No answer was given Mr Desai repeated the question and said 'You did not keep any diary I would like to know how you gave the dates one after another so accurately?

REPORTED TUTORING OF WITNESS

As witness hesitated, Mr Desai said I put it to you straight You have been taught this evidence before you came to the Court Answer 'Yes or No'

Witness I was told what evidence to give

Q And that how you remember all the dates?—A Yes

Q The name of your platoon commander was Second Lieutenant Radha Ram?—A Yes

Q You acted according to his orders? A Yes

Q You have been made to memorise all these dates?—A Yes

Q Do you know any Japanese language?—A No

Q You took no orders from any Japanese Did you? A I was given no orders by any Japanese

Q All that you know is, I take it that you your platoon and the Japanese platoon went together —A Yes I do not know anything more

Q You said that you joined the Nehru Brigade Why was it so named?—A The brigade was named after Jawaharlal Nehru

Q Why was it so named? For fighting for the freedom of India —A Yes

That ended the cross-examination

LANCE NAIK M SAYEED

Lance Naik Muhammad Sayeed of the Indian Signal Corps said he joined the I N A in June 1943 as Second Lieutenant and was attached to the Fifth Guerilla Regiment Afterwards, he was transferred to No 1 Infant Regiment and was brought to Rangoon towards the end of 1944 On arrival in Rangoon towards the end of December, 1944, or early in 1945, his regiment was assembled at Mingaladon and was addressed by Lt-Col Sehgal, the accused who was then Regimental Commander Lt Col Sehgal said that it had been his desire for a long time to command a fighting unit and that he had requested Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, to give him the command of such unit He considered himself fortunate that he had been given command over the Guerilla Regiment which was noted for its good name. If any officer or men had any complaint or trouble which could not be redressed by the battalion commanders, they should approach him (Lt-Col Sehgal) who would try to remove them

Witness said that the Guerilla Regiment consisted of three Battalions,—one S S Company, a Signal Battalion—and a Regimental Headquarters Before they moved to the front line, they were addressed by Subhas Chandra Bose The Netaji said that, from the previous experience of the fighting of the I N A, it was apparent that Indians could fight for their freedom He hoped that the troubles which they suffered last year had now been either removed or were being gradually removed Those of them who could not bear hardships or otherwise would not go to forward areas, should give their names to him and he would post them to some other area.

MINGALADON CONFERENCE

At Mingaladon, a conference was called by Lt-Col Sehgal which was attended by battalion commanders and staff officers Witness was also present The conference discussed the question of equipments After that they moved to the front line. They assembled at Popa Hill Lt-Col Sehgal gave him a wireless set which, he said, had been captured by an I. N A patrol Code numbers were given to battalions in Popa Hill

Lt-Col Sehgal held another conference at Popa Hill on March 28 where he explained the operational order and the position they had to take up It was to attack Pyinbin and he gave the dispositions of the enemy and the I N A After they moved out, he went to a place about a mile away from Legyi village He heard the sound of firing He spend the night and the following day in the village In the afternoon he received orders to move to a place 900 yards away He remained in the village for another day, whereafter he escaped He reported himself to the Second British Division at Walaung

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR DESAI

Cross-examined by Mr Bhulabhai Desai, witness said, that in this address at Popa Hill Lt-Col Sehgal told them that those who were unable to withstand the rigours of the campaign could give their names to him and they would be sent to rear areas He also asked if any officers or men wanted to go over to the other side But nobody said he wanted to do so Witness did not remember if Lt-Col Sehgal said he would give safe conduct to those who wanted to go to the other side. After the lectures two men said they were not willing to go forward One was physically unfit and the other was frightened of air attacks They were sent to the Brigade Headquarters

To further questions, witness replied The Netaji gave us a long lecture He exhorted us to fight for the freedom of India At that time, I accepted that as the object for which I, along with others was fighting He also said that he represented the poverty-stricken millions of India and that we should be content with small sums of pocket money and such rations as he could procure with the limited means at the disposal of the States

Mr Desai He also told that very soon the whole regiment would be at the front and we should do our duty by the country of our birth? A Yes

Q And for your part at least, you accepted that as being our obligation Did you not?—A Yes At this stage, the Court adjourned

Tenth Day —New Delhi—29th November 1945

STORY OF DESERTION AND SHOOTING

The story of the shooting of an Indian National Army man who was charged with the intention to desert to the British was told before the I N A. Court Martial to-day The witness who narrated it, Sepoy Jagiri Ram, a nursing orderly, stated that he was one of the three men who did the shooting The man who was shot was Mohammed Hussain, who confessed before Col Shah Nawaz Khan in Popa Hill area that he was in difficulties and had intended to escape, but asked for forgiveness

Witness said Mohammed Hussain was blind-folded and made to sit on the ground with his back against a tree stump, his hands tied behind him Lieut Aya Singh gave the order to witness and two others to shoot Mohammed Hussain All three fired, and Mohammed Hussain fell dead Witness eventually escaped to the British

An earlier witness, Havildar Ghulam Mohamed, 1/13 Frontier Force Rifles, described an action on the Burma Front in March this year in which, he said, a Japanese section under the command of an I N. A. officer ran away at the sound of enemy fire

Witness said that on joining the I. N A. in Singapore in October, 1942, he was posted to No. 1 Heavy Gun Battalion as Quarter-Master. He was transferred

in January, 1944, to No 2 Battalion of the Fifth Guerilla Regiment as Adjutant. Maj r Dhillon was Second-in-Command of the No 2 Battalion during this period. Witness's Regiment moved to the Burma front in July, 1944 In December, Lt.-Col. Sehgal took over command of the Regiment and told his officers: "I have been ordered to take over command of this Regiment I hope that you will co-operate with me in the same manner as you co-operated with my predecessor and that you will enhance the name of the Regiment. I hope that you will help in raising the standard of discipline among the troops"

The fifth Guerilla Regiment was re-named the second Infantry Regiment and instead of adopting guerilla tactics, it became a regular fighting force

SUBHAS BOSE'S ADDRESS RECALLED

In January, 1945, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose inspected the regiment and addressed it as follows "Last year, the I N A faced the enemy on the battlefield for the first time The deeds of the I. N A were so glorious that they were beyond my expectations and won the praise of both friend and foe We dealt the enemy a crushing defeat wherever we fought them Without being defeated, we had, as a tactical move, to bring back our forces from the Imphal front owing to bad weather and other handicaps. Now we have tried to overcome these difficulties But everyone should remember that our army is a revolutionary army We are not so well-equipped in man-power as our enemies are Our enemies have decided that they will fight their first battle for the defence of India in Assam and they have made this area India's Stalingard This year will be the decisive year of the war. The fate of India's freedom will be decided near the hills of Imphal and on the plains of Chittagong"

Subhas Bose continued "Last year, some of our men joined the enemy. I do not want even a single man to go over to the enemy this time when we go to the front Therefore if anyone thinks that he is incapable of going to the front owing to weakness or cowardice or for any other reason he should report to his regimental commander and arrangements will be made to keep him at the base

'I do not wish to paint a very rosy picture to you You will have to face hunger, thirst and other hardships and even death when you go to the front. Because the enemy has made the utmost preparation, we too shall have to mobilise all our resources

'In addition to the present slogan of the I N A 'Chalo Delhi' another slogan will be added from to-day, and that will be 'blood, blood and more blood'. This means that we shall shed our blood for the freedom of 40 crores of people of India. Similarly, we shall shed the blood of the enemy for the same cause The slogan for Indian civilians who are in the south will be 'Nichawar Subkaro Rao Sub Fakir' (Sacrifice everything, give your all)"

Subhas Chandra Bose ended his speech with the slogans "Inquilab Zindabad" "Chalo Delhi" and "Blood, blood and more blood."

The slogans were repeated very loudly by 2,300 men of the Second Infantry Regiment as well as by the visitors.

The regiment assembled at Popa in the third week of March The second Division under Col Shah Nawaz Khan had its head-quarters at Popa Hill

The units of witness's regiment were disposed in various sectors on patrol duties. Witness was Staff Officer to Lt.-Col Sehgal, the Regimental Commander, and witness's duties related to office routine, promotion and discipline One report dated March, 4, 1945, from the First Battalion patrols under Sub-Officer Abdullah Khan had an en-counter with a British patrol According to the report, two jeeps and one wireless set were captured by the I N. A patrol, two B. O R's were killed and one I N. A man was slightly wounded

One of the two captured jeeps was sent to Divisional Headquarters and another was kept in the Regimental Headquarters, where it was used by the Regimental Commander, Lt-Col Sehgal, and his staff officers.

COL. SHAH NAWAZ'S EXHORTATION

On March 14, Lt-Col Sehgal moved two companies for the purpose of raiding Pyinbin Witness and the regimental medical officer accompanied Sehgal. Before the two companies had left, the Division Commander, Col Shah Nawaz came to say Good-bye Col Shah Nawaz said, 'All eyes are fixed on the No 2 Infantry Regiment This is the first time that two of its companies are being sent to the front. From my experience gained during last year's battle, I can say that the enemy is very cowardly I hope and expect that you will not bring any blot on the name of India in any respect. My prayers are with you."

The two companies arrived at Myene on March 16 and from there one column of "A" company was sent west of Tounggoo under an I.N.A. officer for the purpose of carrying out the raid. One Japanese officer and two Japanese sections were also placed under the command of the I.N.A. officer.

A platoon with a Japanese section set out under the command of an I. N. A. officer to draw the enemy's attention. The platoon later reported that when they arrived east of Tounggoo they were being led by the Japanese section which knew the country. Firing started unexpectedly from the front and the Japanese ran away. The commander of the I N.A. admonished them and ordered them not to run away. He then took out his pistol and fired a few shots towards the enemy. He reported that on hearing his shots, the enemy left their position and ran away As his role was only to divert the enemy's attention, he did not consider it advisable to follow the enemy. He therefore came back. A man from the battalion was missing.

Witness went on to state that at the Regimental Headquarters, he saw Mohammed Hussain and two others kept under arrest. It was stated in the presence of witness that Mohammed Hussain had tried to desert and had instigated others to desert and that the other two conspired to desert. Col. Sehgal asked them whether they were guilty or not guilty. Once or twice, after some evasion, Mohammed Hussain admitted his guilt, the other two pleaded not guilty Witness was told by Col Sehgal to ask the Liaison Officer to investigate the case The next morning the three were again brought up Mohammed Hussain pleaded guilty and the other two not guilty. Three separate charge-sheets were prepared and the three men were sent back to Divisional Headquarters

Defence Counsel's Objection

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Defence Counsel, objected to the prosecution putting in as evidence statements attributed by witness to others who were themselves not called to give evidence before the Court After some argument, Sir Noshirwan Engineer, Prosecution Counsel, agreed not to press his question

Witness proceeded to speak of an engagement at Legyi in March and April. He stated that he joined the main body of No. 1 Battalion, Guerilla Regiment near Legyi on March 30. Three hours after he joined them, Sehgal arrived. He told witness that when his cars were proceeding towards the section, they were heavily fired upon from a range of 25 or 30 yards on a front of 300 or 400 yards. According to the report he had received earlier, Sehgal was under the impression that there were no British troops in that area On being fired upon, his cars stopped and the occupants got out and Sehgal shouted: 'We are I.N A. men. Stop firing."

The Japanese Liaison Officer also shouted in Japanese that he belonged to Hikari Kikan Liaison section. Firing increased in volume thereafter, but was in the air Sehgal said, "If even a single burst had been fired straight, the whole lot of us would have been killed. We had to leave all our cars and run back to save our lives." Later a company of No. 1 Battalion arrived there. They saw some of the enemy sitting in the cars and lorries and talking among themselves On seeing the I N A. the enemy shouted "The I N A. men are coming. Let us run away" The platoon attacked the enemy, who then got into their lorries and drove off, leaving the cars behind Everything was intact in these cars except that Sehgal's badge and cap were missing

Bombing of Legyi

The Regimental Headquarters were, on Sehgal's orders, taken back to Legyi. On March 31 Legyi was bombed by 12 British planes for three or four hours On April 1 or 2, witness came to know that a British Brigade was trying to surround Legyi. The British started shelling Legyi heavily and on April 3 a British battalion captured the I N A. Echelon in the rear. Sehgal ordered No. I Battalion to keep a reserve company ready The Battalion Commander reported that two platoons had gone over to the enemy After consideration Sehgal ordered two platoons should be raised by thinning out the men from the defence.

After the shelling of Legyi, there was a certain amount of desertion, witness continued

Sehgal wanted that the First Battalion should attack the enemy and recapture the Echelon area. Thirty minutes later, the Company Commander reported to Sehgal that his men had attacked the enemy with such vigour, shouting 'Jai Hind' and 'Delhi Chalo', that the enemy had left and run away. After some time news was received that the Battalion Commander Lt. Khazin Shah, with two officers and men, had deserted. Sehgal tried to contract Divisional Headquarters by telephone, but did not succeed. Then on his own initiative, he withdrew his forces to Popa

Hill. While there, they were bombed by British planes but the units remained in their positions. They stayed there about eight days. On April 9, Sehgal called a conference attended by Regimental Staff Officers and Battalion officers. Witness was present.

Sehgal told the conference that the regiment would move from Popa to Taungwingi on April 12 They left accordingly, and on their way learnt that Taungwingi had fallen to the enemy Sehgal ordered the regiment to proceed to Prome. On April 26 or 27, they arrived at a village north of Allanmyo and witness was ordered to go to Allanmyo and get the necessary information for withdrawal. Witness had not gone two miles when he heard fire exchanged from two sides. He thought it useless to go forward and so returned and reported to Sehgal that Allanmyo had been captured by the enemy.

At Magyingan village, which had been selected as a defensive position, Sehgal called a conference and explained that Allanmyo had been captured by the enemy and the main route to Prome way blocked by the enemy There were, he added, three courses open to them first, fight their way out of the enemy lines as they had done before. secondly, disguise themselves as civilians thirdly become prisoners of war. After an hour's consideration, all officers unanimously decided to become prisoners of war.

Thereafter, Sehgal sent a note to be handed to any officers of the Allied forces. An hour later news came through that Gurkhas troops were advancing from the north. Sehgal went forward and ordered his men not to get excited or open fire. Five or six minutes later, the regiment was fired upon from the north and at the same time, a Gurkha officer and an I N A Battalion Commander were coming towards them. Sehgal met them and later, ordered his men to assemble All the troops then surrendered.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR DESAI

Cross-examined by Mr Bhulabhai Desai, witness said that when Sehgal's regiment decided to surrender at Magyingan village, Sehgal sent a note to Allied commander through Capt Banta Singh and Second Lieutenant Umrao Singh.

Q Did you come to know the contents of the note?—A I did not see the note, but Col Sehgal told me that he had written to the Allied Commander that we wished to become prisoners of war

Sehgal told his officers that if the Allied Commander did not accept the offer to become P O W., they would continue to fight Capt Banta Singh and Second Lieutenant Umrao Singh returned with a Gurkha officer. Witness said that in March 1945, when the regiment reached Popa, Capt Sehgal told the regiment that those who did not wish to stay in the I N A and wished to go over to the enemy should tell him so and arrangements would be made to send those people in one party to the enemy Such men would not be permitted to take arms or papers with them.

Captain Sehgal said that he did not wish that men should desert one by one or two at a time As far as witness could understand, it was Sehgal's intention that after the party had gone over to the enemy lines, I. N A. men should not go over in driblets and thus cause demoralisation

Q: In March 1945 did the Commander of No 3 Battalion report that two officers, Narender Singh and Mohammad Ismail, were conspiring to desert?—A. Yes.

Q Did Capt Sehgal send for them?—Yes They were questioned in my presence Sehgal told them that if they apologised and promised not to desert, he would excuse them and transfer them to another battalion.

Q: About the same time were five persons including one Ahmed Khan, belonging to No. 2 Battalion produced before Capt Sehgal?—A. Yes

Q. There was a charge against them?—A. These five men were accused of intending to desert

Q: Did they admit their guilt?—A: Yes They said if they were excused, they would in future fight as true servants and they should be put to test.

Q: Were they pardoned?—A. Yes.

Witness said that the First Battalion Commander reported that Havildar Ganga Saran refused to obey orders and Ganga Saran was tried for this offence and sentenced to death. Afterwards, Ganga Saran was pardoned and released

SHAH NAWAZ'S ADDRESS RECALLED

Answering further questions witness said that Col. Shah Nawaz Khan addressed the inmates of Neesoon Camp, including witness in August, 1943. Col. Shah Nawaz

said that the I N. A. was raised for the liberation of India and that it would fight not only British imperialism, but also those who put obstacles in the way of India's freedom and any other power that wished to subjugate India Shah Nawaz said that he belonged to a family which had rendered great services to the British Government.

Just as Hazrat Imam decided to wage a war of right and justice, similarly the speaker (Shah Nawaz) had decided to sacrifice his life for the independence of India It was the right of every Indian to aspire to freedom and fight for it

In February 1945 Col Shah Nawaz told an Indian meeting at Popa that some men of the Fourth Guerilla Regiment had gone over to the enemy and this had pained the Netaji (Subhas Bose) a great deal The Netaji himself wanted to go to Popa, but the speaker had assured the Netaji that he would personally investigate the matter Col Shah Nawaz said at that moment, the eyes of the world were set on the I N A "If we cannot win freedom this time, we shall not be able to win it for a hundred years Therefore tell me which one of you is cent per cent prepared to sacrifice his life under the command of the Netaji?"

Re-examined by the Advocate-General, witness said that Havildar Ganga Saran was sentenced to death by Lt-Col Sehgal Sehgal subsequently pardoned and released Ganga Saran after consultation with the first battalion Commander, Lt Khazin Shah and on the promise that Ganga Saran would work well in future

SEPOY ALLAH DITTA

Sepoy Allah Ditta, 5/7 Rajput Regiment said that he was taken prisoner in Hongkong in December, 1941 In December 1943, he joined the I N A and was moved to Popa Hill on February 24 1945 He knew Sepoy Mohammed Hussain who was attached to the "C" Company at the Headquarters On March 26, 1945 between 2 and 3 p m, Mohammed Hussain came to witness and told him that he intended to desert that day Witness told him that that day was not opportune and some other day might be chosen The same evening, he was taken to Brigade Headquarters where he saw Sepoy Jagiri Ram, Sepoy Mohammed Hussain and Lt Khazin Shah Khazin told witness that Muslims like him betrayed even the Prophet and that he was discovered trying to desert He was then shut up in the quarter guard Next day he said the two others were brought before Sehgal who asked them if they had any statement to make Witness told him that he did not intend to escape and that Muhammed Hussain visited him regarding his intention to escape

Khazin Shah asked Ghulam Mohammed the Brigade Adjutant, to question Allah Ditta and six others who were suspected of desertion The Brigade Adjutant detailed Lt. Aya Singh to beat the witness and others and to interrogate them On March 22 the battalion moved to Legyi Camp He was present when Khazin Shah told Ghulam Mohammed that if he (witness) and two others were not punished he would give up command of the battalion Khazin Shah and Maj Negi took witness, Mohammed Hussain and Jagiri Ram to Col Shah Nawaz at the Divisional Headquarters Maj Negi gave the crime reports against each one of them to Shah Nawaz. Shah Nawaz read out the reports and first questioned Jagiri Ram, who said he did not intend to desert Witness was next questioned as to why as an N C O., he did not report the matter when Muhammed Hussain came to him Witness pleaded guilty Shah Nawaz asked Mohammed Hussain if he intended to desert and made others to desert with him Mohammed Hussain replied he did not do so

Shah Nawaz asked Mohammed Hussain to speak the truth He said that he had some difficulties and, therefore wanted to desert. No enquiries were made of his complaints Then, Shah Nawaz told Mohammed Hussain that men of his type deserved to be shot

Asked by the Advocate-General what exactly Shah Nawaz said, witness replied: Shah Nawaz said, "You are sentenced to death by shooting because you intended not only to desert, but you asked others also to desert Therefore you are not pardoned"

Witness also heard Col Shah Nawaz saying in English "Put off the case to the Regimental Commander" After about ten minutes, witness, Mohammed Hussain and Jagiri Ram were taken back to the Brigade Headquarters Mohammed Hussain and witness were put in the same cell they were before and Jagiri Ram was taken away The same evening, Sardar Mohammed, Adjutant of the Battalion and Aya Singh came to his cell and took away Mohammed Hussain. Witness never saw Mohammed Hussain since then.

After two or three days witness was reduced to the ranks On April 7, witness, with 10 others, was sent to Rangoon by march route. They were under arrest and

were guarded by armed sentries They reached Magwe on April 19, when the British attacked the place. The armed guards ran away and witness reported himself to the British.

Cross-examined by Mr Bhulabhai Desai witness said that Col Shah Nawaz told Mohammed Hussain "You deserved to be shot Rebels like you will be sentenced to death by shooting" He saw Col Shah Nawaz writing some thing on the crime reports He did not read the crime reports as they were lying on the table Witness did not know English

No decision was arrived at either in his case or in the case of Jagiri Ram

SEPOY JAGIRI RAM

Sepoy Jagiri Ram, 13th Ambulance I M C, said that he joined the I N A. in October of the year of Singapore's fall When he was in the Popa area his Battalion Commander was Khazin Shah, the Regimental Commander was Sehgal, and the Divisional Commander was Shah Nawaz Khan One day witness, Mohammed Hussain and Allah Ditta were talking about escape, when Khazin Shah arrived and asked them what they were talking about. Mohammed Hussain said that he had mentioned to witness and Allah Ditta jokingly about escape All the three were questioned by Khazin Shah and they said that none of them intended to escape. They were produced before Capt Sehgal at the Headquarters and there again they gave the same reply Then Lt Aya Singh of Brigade Headquarters gave them a beating and said that he would release them if they would tell the truth Next they were taken to the Divisional Commander, Shah Nawaz by Khazin Shah. When questioned why he attempted to desert, he said he did so because he was in difficulties and asked to be forgiven

Shah Nawaz replied 'You are not for our country and you are our enemy. I will give you death by shooting ' Mohammed Hussain again asked for pardon

After that witness, Mohammed Hussain and Allah Ditta were sent away.

Advocate-General. Did Capt Shah Nawaz Khan say anything else before you were sent away?

OBJECTION BY DEFENCE

Mr Bhulabhai Desai I object to that question It is a most leading question Witness has already said that he was asked to leave the room His (the Advocate-General's) is a direct suggestion that something else happened before he marched out of the room This, I submit, is improper

The Judge-Advocate suggested that the witness's mind could be directed to any point which was not clear

Mr Bhulabhai Desai The position is this This is a serious matter Witness has said what passed between Shah Nawaz and Mohammed Hussain Witness further said "Then we were asked to march out of the room" It is entirely improper to suggest to him that anything else happened

The Judge-Advocate said that if the prosecution counsel thought that there was anything more, he could ask witness, Is that all that you saw?"

Mr Bhulabhai Desai I have no objection to the Advocate-General asking that question

Advocate General What I want to ask witness is whether, when Mohammed Hussain asked for pardon, Shah Nawaz said anything

Witness said that Shah Nawaz did not say anything.

Mohammed Hussain, Allah Ditta and witness were taken to Battalion Headquarters They were accompanied by Negi and Khazin Shah Khazin Shah told witness to collect his kit

Witness said that when he went to Battalion Headquarters he saw Mohammed Hussain, Khazin Shah and Aya Singh Khazin Shah asked witness to shoot Mohammed Hussain When witness declined, Khazin Shah repeated this order and said "You will shoot Mohammed Hussain because you were one of the men who were trying to escape with him ' Witness replied, "I will not shoot I do not know how to fire a rifle " Khazin Shah then told witness, "If you do not shoot Mohammed Hussain, he and yourself will be shot "

Witness refused again and Khazin Shah put a rifle to witness's shoulder and put witness's finger round the trigger Khazin Shah then told Lt Aya Singh to give the order to fire. In addition to witness there were two others including a Sikh. Lt Aya Singh blindfolded Mohammed Hussain, tied his hands behind his back and made him sit on the ground with his back against a tree stump. Lt Aya Singh ordered the three to fire and all the three fired and Mohammed Hussain dropped dead. Khazin Shah ordered witness to go back to his company and report.

The same evening, witness's company marched off to Legyi village After three days at this village, witness went over to the British

The cross examination of the witness was reserved till to-morrow and the Court rose for the day

Eleventh Day—New Delhi—30th November 1945

At the end of to-day's sitting, the Indian National Army Court Matrial provisionally adjourned till December 7, in order to give time to the prosecution to to secure the attendance of their last witness, Lt-Col. A Kitson, who is now engaged in operations in Java This officer commanded the unit to which Captain Sehgal surrendered in April this year in Burma

In asking for adjournment, Sir Noshirwan Engineer, prosecution counsel, stated that Col Kitson's evidence would relate to what happened when Capt. Sehgal surrendered

In reply to the Court, Sir Noshirwan said that apart from this witness, they had only some formal evidence to tender, which would not take much time

Two witnesses to day gave an account of the shooting, which, they said they saw, of four I N A. men who were charged with attempting to escape to the British in March this year Witness said the incident took place in a narrow 20-feet deep nullah in the Popa area The order for shooting was given by Dhillon and was carried out in his presence. Witness did not know the names of the four men, but knew they were Jats.

Following evidence to support the charge of abetment of murder against Capt Shah Nawaz Khan, the prosecution in the I N A trial introduced testimony this afternoon bearing on the four charges of murder against Gurbaksh Singh Dhillon, another of the three accused before the Court Martial

The Advocate General, Sir Noshirwan P Engineer, told newspapermen that the defence had raised a suggestion that Capt Sehgal in a surrender letter to the British, had specified certain surrender terms The prosecution witness, Lieut Col T A Kisten for whom a signal had been sent to Java, is expected to testify as to the circumstances of Capt Sehgal's surrender

Major-General Baxland, President of the Court, granted adjournment until Friday unless the witness appeared and could testify earlier

Twelfth Day - New Delhi—7th December 1945

LT COL KITSON'S EVIDENCE

At to-day's resumed hearing of the Court Martial of the three I N A. Officers, Lt-Col. J A Kitson of the 4/2, Gurkha Rifles, who had been specially flown from Java, gave details of Captain Sehgal's surrender with about 40 officers and 500 men of the I N A during an attack of his company on a village on the left bank of the Irrawaddy

Col Kitson said that at about 10 a m. on April 28, 1945, as a result of information received from one of his advanced guard he halted this advance guard about 600 yards north of a village, named Magygal He sent another company on an outflanking movement to get to the south side of the village. About half an hour later, he heard firing and, believing the enemy to be in the village, he gave orders for the company north of the village to move forward

Later as a result of further information, he went forward to the east corner of the village where he met his leading company Commander together with Captain Sehgal and a number of officers of the I N A. with about 100 Indian troops of the I.N A More I N A troops appeared later

His company Commander handed Col Kitson a note which he had received from the surrender party under a white flag This note he destroyed when going through his papers about two months later It was addressed to the Commander of the British or Allied Forces and said that approximately 30 officers and 500 troops of the I N A. wished to surrender as prisoners of war

Sehgal, he said told him that he was in the 5/10 Baluch Regiment in the Indian Army and that he now commanded a regiment of the I N.A and that he had with him regimental headquarters and one battalion of his regiment

CONVERSATIONS WITH CAPT SEHGAL

After arranging for the disarming, counting and harbouring of the prisoners, about 50 of whom were wounded, Col. Kitson said he sat and talked with Captain Sehgal

"I asked him a number of questions including why he had joined the I. N A. and he talked about the last two years of his war and the disagreements the I N.A. were having with the Japanese. I asked him whether he liked the British and he

said that he had two or three very great friends among British officers. The reason he fought he said was because he disliked the system of British imperialism in India. He told me that he had fought for what he considered to be right and now that he had lost, he was prepared to take the consequences"

Col Kitson said that he told Sehgal his disposal would be for Brigade Headquarters Sehgal was very lame and the Colonel arranged for him to be sent back by car

Mr Bhulabhai Desai, counsel for defence, said that he had no cross-examination to make.

The Judge Advocate said to Sir N P Engineer, Advocate General, that a number of witnesses who appeared in the summary of evidence had not been called and asked whether he wished to call them The prosecutor replied that he did not.

Mr Desai, however, said that he wished to cross-examine two of these witnesses and the Court adjourned for three-quarters of an hour to enable them to be brought.

Gangasaran, of the 4/19 Hyderabad Regiment, whose evidence was contained in the summary, cross-examined by defence, said that he was at Popa on February 26 and 27 as a Signal Officer of No 1 Battalion of the I N A He was arrested for refusing to take out a fighting patrol Jodh Singh, he said presented a crime report with three crimes and was sentenced to death Thereafter he was pardoned by Captain Sehgal

Capt Shah Nawaz's Statement

Capt Shah Nawaz Khan, one of the accused read out a statement to the Court in which he said that he had committed no offence for being tried by a Court Martial or by any other court "I do not deny having taken part in the fight" he said, "but I did so as a member of the fighting forces of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, who waged war for the liberation of the motherland according to the rules of civilised warfare and to whom the status of belligerency was accorded by the British forces opposing us"

Referring to the charge of abetment of murder, Capt Shah Nawaz Khan denied that he had caused the death of Mohamed Hussein

"When I decided to join the I N A" said Captain Shah Nawaz, "I decided to sacrifice my everything—my life, my home, my family and its traditions (of loyalty to the King) I made up my mind to fight even against my brother if he stood in my way and in the fighting that followed in 1944 we actually fought against each other. He was wounded My cousin and I were opposing each other in the Chin Hills almost daily for two months The question before us was loyalty to the King or the country I decided to be loyal to my country and I gave my word of honour to my Netaji (Subhas Chandra Bose) that I would sacrifice myself for my country's sake"

Denying the charge of abetment of murder, Capt Shah Nawaz Khan said, "Even if the facts alleged by the prosecution were true, I could not be held to have committed any offence Mohammed Hussain who had voluntarily joined the I N A and submitted himself to its discipline, had admittedly attempted to desert and induce others to desert at a very critical juncture If he had succeeded in his attempt, he would have carried information about the forces under my command to the British which would have meant complete disaster for us. Under the I.N A Act as under the Military Act of all civilised nations the offence attempted to be committed was a most serious and heinous one punishable with death It is, however, in fact wrong that I sentenced him to death or that he was shot in the execution of a sentence passed by me Mohammed Hussain and his companions were informally produced before me. They had no crime reports drawn up I only very strongly admonished Mohammed Hussain and told him that he had committed an offence for which he could, and should, be shot I however, left the matter there and asked the accused to be put up again before me or before the Regimental Commander, who had, in the meanwhile, been invested with the power to try such cases of the men concerned who attempted to misbehave a second time The case never came up before me again, presumably because the contingency never arose"

Tracing his family connection with the British, Shah Nawaz said that his father had served the Indian Army for 39 years In the first and second World Wars every able-bodied member of his family joined the army At present there were about 80 of them serving as officers in the Indian Army He belonged to a family in which loyalty to the Crown had always been a valued tradition

After his capture by the Japanese, Capt. Shah Nawaz decided at one stage in

the interests of his men to volunteer for the I N. A with the full determination to do everything possible to break it or to sabotage it from within, as soon as he felt it would submit to Japanese exploitation.

TRIBUTE TO SUBHAS BOSE

Shah Nawaz said he had never seen Mr. Subhas Bose in India and knew nothing about his activities But in Malay he heard a number of Mr Bose's speech which had profound effect upon him "It will not be wrong to say that I was hypnotised by his personality and his speeches. He placed the true picture of India through the eyes of an Indian. I was most impressed by his selflessness, his absolute devotion to our country, his frankness and his refusal to bow before the Japanese wishes". Shah Nawaz said he had realized that "whether we liked it or not, the Japanese were definitely going into India I also realised that the fight would, in all probability, be carried into Indian territory as I did not think that the British forces would be able to stop the Japanese advance"

He had seen the invasion of Malaya and he did not wish it to happen to India "I thought I would be much more useful to my country with rifle in my hand to save the life, property and honour of Indians, than as a helpless prisoner of war in Malya" In recruiting men for the I N A he collected such men as would be prepared to fight even against the Japanese if they proved dishonest and this fact had been established beyond doubt even by the prosecution witnesses

He denied there was any pressure on any prisoners of war to join the I N A. He had forbidden forced enlistment and actually warned officers with punishment if anyone was forced to join the I N A Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose gave free choice to every one in the I N A to leave its ranks if they were not prepared to make extreme sacrifices and his warning to those who stayed in the I N A was to be prepared to face thirst, hunger, forced marches and in the end death

"With my own eyes I saw," Capt Shah Nawaz continued, 'the enthusiasm of thousands of poverty stricken Indians in the Far East, who gave to the I N A all that they possessed and whole families joined the Azad Hind Fouj and became "Fakirs" for the sake of their country I know we had a real leader, and when he in the name of millions of poverty-stricken unarmed and helpless Indians, appealed to us to come forward and sacrifice our lives for their liberation, no honourable Indian could have refused this much to him

I found a leader and decided to follow him, and for me it was the greatest decision of my life of fighting against my kith and kin, who were in the British Indian army in very large numbers, and whom I was certain, I could ever induce to see eye to eye with me "

Capt Shah Nawaz next dealt at length with 'differential treatment" in the army.

"When I thought of the starving millions," Capt Shah Nawaz added, 'who were being ruthlessly exploited by the British, and were being deliberately kept illiterate and ignorant to make this exploitation easier, I developed a great hatred for the system of rule in India which to me, it seemed, was based on injustice and to remove this injustice I decided to sacrifice my everything—my life, my home, my family and its traditions '

"I wish to bring to your notice," Captain Shah Nawaz said, "and to the notice of my countrymen that, no mercenary or puppet army could have faced the hardships as the I N A. did. We fought only for India's Independence "

Capt Sehgal's Statement

LT-COL HUNT'S SURRENDER TO JAPS RECALLED

Captain Sehgal in his statement recounted the circumstances in which he said he felt compelled to join the I N A He referred to the meeting held at the Farrar Park in Singapore on February 17, 1942, and said, that there, "Lt Col Hunt as the representative of the British handed over the Indian officers and men to the Japanese like a flock of sheep " 'This', Captain Sehgal went on, "came as a great blow to us all. The Indian Army had fought bravely against the heaviest odds, and in return, the British High Command had left them completely at the mercy of the Japanese"

'We felt that the British Government had on its own cut off all the bonds that had bound us to the British Crown and relieved us of all obligations to it. The Japanese handed us over to Captain Mohan Singh who was styled as the G O C of the Indian National Army and we were left free under him to fashion our own destiny. We sincerely believed that the British Crown having ceased to provide any protection to us could not any longer demand allegiance from us.

Captain Sehgal proceeded to refer to the happenings in India in August 1942 after the passing of the 'Quit India' resolution The All-India Radio, Delhi, and the B. B. C. drew a curtain over the happenings in India However, certain secret stations, supposed to be functioning somewhere in India, and the Japanese and other Axis-controlled radio stations outside India broadcast freely about these happenings and the measures taken by the Government to suppress the freedom movement. From the details broadcast by these stations, a veritable reign of terror similar to the one that had followed the Revolt of 1857 seemed to have set in.

"In view of the complete reticence of the British and the Indian Press and the official broadcasting agency on the subject, we had no reason to doubt the correctness of the broadcasts Needless to say that they filled us with most terrible anxiety concerning our near and dear ones whom we had left behind and with the bitterest resentment against British imperialism which seemed to be bent upon keeping us and our country under perpetual subjection "

Captain Sehgal said that the information they had about the state of defence in India was by no means encouraging and the most optimistic among them could not be sure of the ability of the British to stop the Japanese advance. After protracted discussion, the only solution they could think of was the formation of a strong and well disciplined armed body which should march into India side by side with the Japanese army and while fighting for the liberation of India from the existing alien rule it should also be able and ready to provide protection to their countrymen against any possible molestation by the Japanese and to resist any attempt by the latter to establish themselves as rulers of the country in the place of the British.

PREPARED TO FACE THE WORST FOR COUNTRY'S SAKE

'I did not join the I N A, through any fear of Japanese ill-treatment or from any ulterior or mercenary motives In September 1942, as an I N A Captain, I only received 80 dollars a month, whereas if I had stayed out of the I N A., I would have received 120 dollars a month. I joined the I N A from truly patriotic motives "

Captain Sehgal claimed he was entitled to all the privileges of a prisoner of war. In his note of April 18, 1945, to the Commander of the British Forces to whom he and other officers and men fighting under his command surrendered at Popa (receipt of which note is admitted by the Headquarters, Bahadurgarh Area, in their letter dated 12th October 1945 but which was stated to be unavailable), he said quite plainly that, we were ready to surrender only as prisoners of war." 'On receipt of this note surrender was accepted without objection to the terms on which we had offered to surrender, and after surrender we were actually treated as prisoners of war.

'Had we been told that surrender on the terms offered by us was not acceptable to the British Commander, we were determined to fight on and were in a position to do so because we were nearly 500 strong fully armed and equipped and each one of us was prepared to shed the last drop of his blood for the sake of his country '

CHARGE OF ABETMENT OF MURDER DENIED

On the charge of abetment of murder, Captain Sehgal said, he tried four sepoys mentioned in the charge sheet They were found guilty and were sentenced to death. The sentence was, however not carried out, the convicts like many others who were similarly tried and sentenced about that time having been pardoned on their expressing regret and giving an assurance not to misbehave in future The fact of the sentence having been passed was of course used for its propaganda value in order to deter others from deserting.

Even, however, if the sentence had been carried out, he could not be charged with the offence of abetment of murder The four culprits had voluntarily joined the I N A and had submitted to its discipline and had voluntarily and willingly agreed to participate in the coming fight They having shamefully deserted while in action and in the face of the enemy, had committed an offence punishable with death under the I N A Act and under the military law all the world over

"Although the I N. A failed to achieve its primary object of liberating India, everyone of us has the satisfaction that it fully accomplished its objective of protecting Indian life, property and honour in Malaya, against all aggressors The telegrams I have received after the commencement of this trial from the President of the Indian Christian Association, Rangoon, and the President of the Burma Indian Association bear ample testimony to this "

Lt. Dhillon's Statement

Lieut. Dhillon recalled that, in the Chetwode Hall in the Indian Military Academy, Dehra Dun, were engraved the words: "The honour, welfare and safety of your country comes first, always and every time The comfort, safety and welfare of the men you command comes next Your own safety and comfort comes last, always and every time" It was with this motto in front of him that he served his country as an officer in the Indian army

He narrated the events leading up to the surrender of Singapore and the formation of the I N. A. by Mohan Singh and said. "I had seen how people in Malaya had suffered as a result of the Japanese invasion in consequence of the utter lack of preparation on the part of the British Government which had undertaken responsibility for her defence and I shuddered to think of the plight of my own countrymen on the invasion of India.

"It was at this time that I got to realise the full significance of the havoc done to my unfortunate country by the one and a half century of British rule While the British, I thought to myself, had exploited all our material resources for their own benefit and had freely drawn upon our man-power to fight their own imperialistic wars, they had not only done nothing to prepare us for the defence of our motherland in case of need but had in order to keep us in bondage for all time to come, completely emasculated us

"In the Indian National Army proposed to be organised by Mohan Singh I saw a new hope for India. I felt that, if a strong and willing national army could be raised at that juncture, it could not only liberate India from foreign rule but could also resist the Japanese in case they should try to go back upon their word and instead of helping us to win our freedom should seek to exploit our country for their own purpose"

"RESPONDED TO MOTHER INDIA'S CALL

"Mother India seemed to be calling me and I decided to respond to her call and threw in my lot with Mohan Singh"

Lieut Dhillon went on to explain his decision to continue in the Second I. N. A under Mr Subhas Bose. Referring to the I N A, Lt Dhillon said, to his knowledge no coercion or force was ever used to induce any prisoner of war to join the I N A "In fact, the use of force or coercion for such a purpose was wholly unnecessary, because we always had a very large number of surplus volunteers whom we were unable to arm or put under training for want of equipment.

In all lectures delivered by him, Lt Dhillon said, he told his audience that they should volunteer only if they loved their country and were willing and able to bear all kinds of hardships and sufferings in her cause At the time of going into action, he again wanted the men under his command Some of the officers and men did show their unwillingness and about 200 such men were sent back to Rangoon before his regiment left Myingyan.

Lt. Dhillon declared "The evidence given by some of the prosecution witnesses that prisoners of war were sent to concentration or detention camps to coerce them into volunteering is absolutely false There was no concentration camp in existence at all. There was a detention camp to which only persons found guilty of indiscipline or other offences were sent by way of punishment That camp had, however, nothing to do in the I. N A On the contrary, persons confined in the detention camp were not accepted as volunteers even if they offered to do so, because detention in that camp for any period indicated some defect of character and was a disqualification for membership of the I N A These prosecution witnesses have told false and distorted tales to save their own skins and to curry favour with the Government.

This option he gave his command at every stage of the campaign and it was due to this particular reason that although for weeks, he stayed within two miles of the enemy lines, yet none of his men ever went and reported his location to the enemy Many a time I had to go without water for 20 to 30 hours and without food for two or three days If as a Brigade Commander, I had to undergo these hardships, my men must have suffered much more and yet they accompanied me No men who had joined under duress or coercion could have done so."

DEATH SENTENCE COMMUTED

It was true that he committed four men for trial on charges of desertion and attempting to communicate with the enemy. "It is, however, quite untrue that those men were shot at my instance or under my orders. On one day and at the time they are said to have been shot, I was confined to bed and unable to

move. In fact, the sentences of death passed on these men were subsequently remitted by the Divisional Commander and were never executed."

"Whatever I did, I did as the member of a regularly organised force fighting under the Provisional Government of Free India and I am therefore not liable to be charged with or tried under the Indian Army Act and the Criminal Law of India for any offence on account of any act done by me in the discharge of my duties as a member of such force

"I am further advised that, in point of law, my trial by the Court Martial is illegal. I joined the I. N. A. with the best and purest of motives. As a member of the I. N. A., I was able to help a number of prisoners of war with money and materials. The I. N. A. was able to protect life, property and honour of the Indians residing in the Far East. I saved the lives of many civilians and prisoners of war who had been sentenced to death by the Japanese on different charges.

"I successfully persuaded the Japanese to refrain from bombing civilians and their properties in towns in India. Indians in the Far East showed their appreciation of the services rendered to them by the I. N. A. by contributing crores of rupees to the funds of the Provisional Government of Free India which was actuated by the most patriotic motives."

Thirteenth Day—New Delhi—8th December 1945

Japanese Officials' Evidence

At to-day's hearing of the I. N. A. Court Martial trying three I. N. A. officers, Mr. Saburo Ohta of the Japanese Foreign Office, produced documents relating to the Japanese Government's recognition of the Provisional Government of Free India.

Mr. Ohta, who was the first defence witness, said that the Provisional Government of Free India was proclaimed on October 21, 1943 the Japanese Government treated the Provisional Government as an independent and free Government and wished to render it all possible assistance.

Witness produced a copy of the announcement made by the Japanese Board of Information on October 23, 1943. This stated that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose established the Provisional Government of Azad Hind on October 21, 1943, and that the Imperial Japanese Government recognised the new Government on October 23.

Mr. Ohta said that he himself had drafted the document. A copy of the document and subsequent documents were admitted by the Court on the assurance by defence counsel that the absence of the original copies would be proved later. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai explained that the documents were asked for by defence and copies of these documents were forwarded by U. S. A. Army sources in Tokyo. Lt.-Col. E. K. Square had been cited to confirm this statement.

Witness next produced a statement made by the Japanese Government on October 23, 1943. This stated that the Provisional Government of Azad Hind had been established under the leadership of Mr. Subhas Bose and the Imperial Japanese Government were confident that this marked an epoch-making step towards the long-cherished aspiration of the people of India for Independence. "The Japanese Government recognise the Government as the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and hereby declare that every possible assistance on its part will be afforded to the latter for the achievement of its aim."

Fourteenth Day—New Delhi—10th December 1945

Major-General Katakura, who planned the Imphal campaign of 1944 which brought the Japanese and the I. N. A. forces into Indian territory, gave evidence to-day before the Court-Martial trying Captain Shah Nawaz, Captain Sehgal and Lt. Dhillon.

Strongly built, impetuous, General Katakura spoke in Japanese exuberantly and with a wealth of picturesque gestures, which kept the Judges and the audience interested and sometimes amused. At one stage, he drew a diagram to explain the role assigned to an I. N. A. Regiment in the Imphal campaign. He said that, so far as India was concerned, the arrangement between the Japanese and the I. N. A. was that all liberated territory and all booty captured from there was to be handed over to the Provisional Government of Free India. During operations, I. N. A. forces came under the Japanese High Command, while, when operations were not in progress, both were independent. Major Katakura denied that I. N. A. troops were used as labourers.

Two more Japanese diplomats were examined earlier. They were Mr. Renzo Sawada and Mr. T. Hachiya. Mr. Sawada spoke in English. Both when they entered and when they left the court room, the three witnesses bowed gravely to the Judges and to the defence counsel.

CREDENTIALS SIGNED BY JAP EMPEROR

Mr *Sawada*, in the course of cross-examination, said that Mr Hachiya paid a formal visit to the Foreign Minister of Mr Bose's Provisional Government and the Foreign Minister paid a return call on him even before the presentation of credentials "I believe that he (Mr. Hachiya) was in a position to function as Minister"

Q Except for paying this visit and receiving the return visit, did Mr Hachiya act at all as Minister?

A: I do not know what official dealing he had with the Foreign Minister

Q: All that you know is that he paid a visit?—A: Yes.

Q: Do you know the name of the Foreign Minister of the Provisional Government?—A No.

Q: How do you know that the Foreign Minister paid a return visit?—A From a report from Mr Hachiya.

Q: I am putting it to you that Mr. Subhas Bose refused to have anything to do with Mr. Hachiya because he had no credentials. Is that correct?—A Yes, according to reports from Mr Hachiya.

Q And you say that at the instance of Mr. Subhas Bose, that Japanese Government took a decision to send credentials?—A: Yes

Q: Was that request in writing?—A No

Q: Was there any report from Mr. Hachiya to that effect?—A Yes

Q: The credentials never actually reached him in Rangoon?—A No

Q. Can you give the date when the credentials were sent from Tokyo?—A: About the middle of May, 1945

Q. You know that the British army entered Rangoon on May 3? A Yes

Q: And the Japanese army completed the evacuation of Rangoon by April 30?

A: Yes

Q: Subhas Chandra Bose himself left Rangoon on April 24? A I do not know.

Q I suppose you have no personal knowledge of what happened in Rangoon say from the middle of April and the time of the British entry?

A I have no personal knowledge.

Q When did Mr Hachiya leave Rangoon? A: About the end of April

Q And the credentials were meant for Mr Hachiya?

A Yes They were to be transmitted to him, where he was.

Q Do you know to what place they were actually transmitted? A No

Q Did he return to Japan? A No, he went to Bangkok.

Q He remained in Bangkok till the end of the war, i.e., upto the middle of August? A. Yes

Q You did not receive any report from him from Bangkok?

A. There was no communication at all

T HACHIYA'S EVIDENCE

Mr *T. Hachiya*, who spoke to his having been sent by the Japanese Government as Minister to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind at Rangoon said that before he was deputed to the Azad Hind Government he was in the Japanese Diplomatic Service. He was attached to the Japanese Embassy in Poland, was Minister to Bulgaria and was for some time Chief of the Cultural Department of the Foreign Office in Tokyo He did not take any credentials with him to Rangoon because he was not given any It was not issued because the Azad Hind Government was a provisional Government and he was informed about that.

Q Did you inquire why credentials were not given to you?

A I was told in the course of conversation that no credentials were necessary Later I received a telegram that the credentials were on their way but I did not receive them

Cross examined by the Advocate-General Sir N P Engineer, Mr Hachiya said that he was Japanese Minister to Bulgaria in 1939 From Poland he went to Bulgaria and his credentials were sent to him from Tokyo to Bulgaria

Q Did you take any papers with you when you left for Rangoon?—A: No

Q No letters addressed by anybody from the Japanese Government.

A No I did not take any papers with us But on arrival in Rangoon, I called on Col. Chatterjee, the Foreign Minister and told him that I was appointed Minister Subsequently I saw Mr. Aiyar.

Q When did you see Col Chatterjee first?

A I do not remember the exact date, but it was after a few days of my arrival

Q You saw Col Chatterjee and Mr. Aiyar only once or twice?

A Col. Chatterjee came to my place once and I think I saw Mr Aiyar once

REFUSED INTERVIEW BY BOSE

Mr *Hachiya* said he did not see Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose in Rangoon

Q Did he refuse to see you?

A Yes, he refused to see me.

Q I suppose some reasons were given to you

A : I think he refused to see me because I did not have any credentials with me. I was told about it by Col. Chatterjee.

Q It was thereupon you asked the Japanese Government to send your credentials.

A . I sent a telegram to Tokyo asking for my credentials at the request of Mr Bose conveyed through Col. Chatterjee The telegram was sent four or five days after my arrival in Rangoon. I received a telegram from the Japanese Government stating that they were sending the credentials

Q Have you got that telegram?

A : No.

Q · That was the only communication you received relating to this matter

A Yes.

Witness said that when he was in Bangkok he received a telegram that the credentials were sent He did not remember the date but it was at the end of May or the beginning of June. He left Rangoon with a party of three including his Personal Secretary and an interpreter. He did not know if the Japanese commercial firms in Rangoon had commenced evacuation by April 21 He did not know when the Japanese army started evacuation of Rangoon but he heard a part of the Japanese Army Headquarters were evacuating Rangoon

Q : As Japanese Minister, were you not directly concerned with the move of the Headquarters or the Japanese troops?

A : I was not directly concerned with the move.

Witness said that on April 24 he met the Japanese Chief of Staff, Tanaka

Re-examined by Mr Bhulabhai Desai, Mr Hachiya said that the Provisional Government moved from Rangoon to Bangkok He knew it from his personal knowledge because he met Col Chatterjee in Bangkok

GEN. KATAKURA EXAMINED

General *Tadashi Katakura*, who was Chief of the General Staff, Supreme Headquarters, Burma during the Imphal campaign, was next examined He said he was in Rangoon in 1943 and knew the Indian National Army He had heard of the Provisional Government of Free India but knew no details He met Subhas Chandra Bose in Rangoon in July 1943, in connection with Bose's establishment of the Provisional Government

Mr Desai. Did Bose talk to you anything about the Provisional Government's activities?

The Judge-Advocate held that what witness had heard was not evidence Mr. Desai quoted the Evidence Act in support of his stand that the question was in order.

After some argument, the question was put in a different form, and witness stated that Bose said that for India to obtain independence, they had to have soldiers and a Provisional Government

I. N A.'s ROLE IN IMPHAL CAMPAIGN

Witness said he planned the Imphal campaign under the orders of the Commander of the Japanese Southern Army

Q What was the part which the I N A was to play in that campaign?

A The I N A fought as a separate army from the Japanese and were fighting for independence The I N A were allotted a separate operational role in the Imphal campaign under the control of the Japanese

Witness knew that the first troops of the first Guerilla Regiment of the I N A. arrived in Rangoon in January, 1944 and that Captain Shah Nawaz was the Commander.

Witness thought the Regiment went to the front in February or March, 1944 Asked to explain the task assigned to this regiment, witness drew a diagram on paper and explained that the task given to the regiment was to cut a line indicated by him by an arrow.

Q In that area, was Shah Nawaz solely in command or was any Japanese officer with him?

A: I am not sure, but I think there was a Japanese Liaison Officer with Shah Nawaz's Regiment. Shah Nawaz was in command

Q: What was the arrangement or understanding about the unified command of the I N A and the Japanese army?

A: Ordinarily, that is when there were no operations in progress, the I N A and the Japanese were absolutely independent When an operation was in progress, they came under the command of the Japanese High Command.

Q: When the Japanese and the I.N.A stepped into Indian territorry, was there any arrangement to your personal knowledge as to what was to happen with reference to any part of Indian territory conquered either by the I.N A or by the Japanese?

A The arrangement was that whatever territory they captured in India would be handed over to the I N A.

ADMINISTRATION OF TERRITORY CONQUERED

Q Was there any arrangement between the Japanese High Command and the I N A as to who was to administer the territory which was conquered and handed over to the I N A?

A It was to be controlled by the Provisional Government

Q What was the arrangement with reference to booty in the captured territory?

A All booty was to be handed over to the Provisional Government

Q Have you personal knowledge of a proclamation which was issued at the time when the Japanese and the I N A entered Indian territory

A One proclamation was signed by Subhas Chandra Bose and the other by the Japanese General The Japanese proclamation said that the Japanese were to fight the British and not fight the Indians and that whatever booty they obtained and territory they liberated would be handed over to the Provisional Government The proclamation signed by Subhas Chandra Bose said that they were fighting for Indian Independence and that all territory captured by the Japanese would be handed over to Indians

Witness said that he was unable to produce these proclamations

Q Was there any arrangement about unified command in the Imphal campaign?

A Before the Imphal battle, the officers of the I N A and the Japanese officers including myself, met and made the arrangements They formed a joint Committee after the meeting The salient features of the arrangement were exchange of information, and disposition of troops and so forth before battle

Witness said that this was all that he remembered about the arrangement but Japanese and I N A officers used to meet quite often

Cross-examined by Sir N P Engineer, witness said that he was in Rangoon from October 1942 to April 1944, when he left for Maymyo From October 1942 until July 1944, he was Staff Officer in charge of operations at the Japanese Supreme Headquarters in Rangoon and in Maymyo.

Q After July 1944, you had no connection with the Japanese army in Burma?

A No

Q Have you any personal knowledge about the constitution of the I N. A except from what you saw of the regiment which came in January 1944 to Rangoon?

A I did not know anything, but I had heard quite a lot.

Witness thought that the Imphal Campaign was planned about January 1944 He knew this from personal knowledge.

Witness said that the Imphal campaign began about March 1944 He did not know when it ended, because he was not in the campaign till the end In January 1944, there were about 250 000 Japanese troops—seven divisions, all told, in Burma

STRENGTH OF I N A TROOPS IN BURMA

Q: The strength of the I N A in Burma was 10,000 in January?

A: At the most, about ten thousand

Q: You know what were the I N. A's Regiments which actually took part in the Imphal campaign?

A All told, there were about three divisions

Witness thought that one division of the I. N A. comprised about seven to eight thousand troops, but he was not sure

Q: You said that in January the I N. A strength in Burma was about 10,000 men Do you suggest that the I N A's fighting strength on the Imphal front was more than 10,000?

A: I think, there were more than 10,000 I. N A. troops in the Imphal battle.

Q: Where did they come from?

A: I think, many came from Singapore and the original number of 10,000 was thus increased. Some people came from Burma. I think, some came from India to join up, but I do not know how many.

Q: What is your source of knowledge for saying that some came from India to join up?

A: I heard about it. Those who came from Singapore started coming from about January 1944.

Witness did not know the names of the I. N A. regiments which fought on the Imphal front

Q: Were the I. N. A. regiments on the Imphal front Nos. 1, 2 and 3 Guerilla Regiments?

A: I think they were.

Besides the three regiments witness thought, there were other small units in the I N. A. He could not mention any of them.

Q. I put it to you, that the total strength of the I. N. A. troops taking part in the Imphal operations was 10,000 and not more

A. I think there were about 10,000 I N A troops in the first place, but the number was increased from time to time

Q: There were some ancillary units with three regiments, known as the S. S. Group, the intelligence Group and the Reinforcement Group?

A: I do not remember the S S Group, but I remember the other two.

Q: The S. S Group was also known as the Bahadur Group

A: I have not heard about the Bahadur Group

Q: On the Imphal front three ancillary units worked with the Japanese forces?

A: I saw some people of the Intelligence Group. They were attached to the Japanese.

Q Are you in a position to say to what number the I. N. A. troops were reduced as a result of the Imphal campaign?

A. No

Major-General Katakura replying to further questions by the Advocate General said that it was decided in the month of January 1944 that the I N. A. should participate in the Imphal campaign. Witness was present when the decision was made and as long as he was there (Burma) no change in that decision was made.

"I N. A NEVER USED AS LABOURERS"

The Japanese army never used the I N A as labourers, said witness.

Q I put it to you that the type of duties given to the I N A up to the end of March 1944 was road making, road-repairing, repairing bridges, extinguishing jungle fires and driving bullock carts carrying rations to Japanese troops?

A As far as I am aware, the I N A was not used for these purposes. Witness was shown an entry in Shah Nawaz's diary dated March 30, 1944 It read 'Bobby returned from Kennedy Peak His report is distressing The Japanese are using I. N A. crack troops as labourers I am going to Haka to day to see Kimiwari in this connection. I wonder what is going to happen to all this one-sided co-prosperity?' Witness said that he knew nothing of the conditions described

JAP TREATMENT OF INDIAN WAR PRISONERS

Witness was shown another document pertaining to the collection and disposition of Indian troops before the Imphal operations commenced It classified Indian troops into four categories: those who were regular I. N A personnel, those who were willing to join the I. N. A but required some "mental s, irit", those who were not willing to join the I. N. A. and those who refused to join I N A at all. The first two categories were to be clothed and equipped and the second two categories were to be handed over to the Japanese as P. O. W. The scheme was drawn up in August 1943.

Witness said that he knew nothing about the scheme The only thing he knew was that of the Indian prisoners the Japanese army captured, those who wanted to join the I N. A. were transferred to the I. N. A. and the rest were sent to P O. W camps

Q: Do you know that no officer or other rank of the I. N. A. could send any communication to anybody except through the Hikari Kikan?

A: All communications could have been sent without being sent to the Hikari-Kikan.

Officers of the I. N A, witness said, broadcast from Rangoon The Japanese authorities never instructed the I. N A officers to broadcast or that they should broadcast as planned by the Japanese. Japanese and I. N. A. personnel saluted each other

Q You stated in your evidence that there was an arrangement by which all booty captured in India must be made over to the Azad Hind Government Between whom was this arrangement arrived at?

A. I think, the arrangement was made between the Southern Army and Subhas Chandra Bose, but I am not sure. I have no personal knowledge of the arrangement, but I have seen an order from Field-Marshal Terauchi to General Kawabe to this effect. The order is not available now It was dated some time in the Autumn of 1943

Q: How did you come to know of the proclamations of Subhas Chandra Bose and of the Japanese Government?

A: Before the proclamations were made I met Subhas Chandra Bose and I also saw Major-General Yamamoto, the head of the Hikari Kikan I saw a translation of Bose's proclamation and I saw the Japanese proclamation in the original. This was in January 1944

Re examined by Mr Bhulabhai Desai witness said that Capt. Shah Nawaz arrived at Hakafalan about the end of March 1944 That was a part of the Imphal campaign. According to a report witness had received, No II regiment of the I. N. A. was at Palel in April 1944

Q Was any fighting going on there?

A I saw a report that the I N. A had crossed the border into India.

To further questions, witness replied that the duty assigned to Capt Shah Nawaz Khan's Regiment was an important military duty. The Japanese Government and Subhas Chandra Bose sent a message of congratulations to Capt Shah Nawaz Khan It was in congratulation of the I N. A having crossed into India.

The Court adjourned till the next morning.

Fifteenth Day—New Delhi—11th December 1945

EVIDENCE OF BOSE GOVT MEMBERS

Two former members of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, Mr S A Aiyar and Lt.-Col. Loganadhan, gave evidence to-day before the Court Martial trying Capt. Shah Nawaz Khan, Capt Sehgal and Lt. Dhillon Mr Aiyar referred to an offer made by the Provisional Government to send hundred thousand tons of rice to Bengal to relieve the 1943 famine He said the offer was not accepted

Col Loganadhan said 'When I surrendered myself at Rangoon, for about a fortnight, we took charge of the whole of Rangoon area and maintained law and order. When the Japanese invaded, nearly ten thousand Indians were murdered, and to prevent such a calamity, we were charged by Subhas Chandra Bose with the responsibility of safeguarding the life and property of all civilians, be they Chinese, Burmese or Indians."

Mr. Aiyar said that he was in Bangkok when the Japanese declared war in December 1941 On December 10, he left Bangkok and tried to get back to India via Burma, but he found the frontier closed and had to return to Bangkok

In the middle of June 1942 a conference of Japanese from all over East Asia, Thailand Burma, Malaya and Singapore, Indo China, Java, Sumatra, Philippines Shanghai and Japan was held in Bangkok The Indian population of these countries was two and a half to three million Witness attended the conference as one of the spectators

In July 1942 witness joined the headquarters of the Indian Independence League in East Asia which was established in Bangkok

As far as he understood it at that time, the primary object of the League was to win India's independence Witness was appointed to take charge of the Publicity Department of the headquarters of the Independence League Towards the end of February 1943, he left Bangkok for Singapore, where he met Sri Rash Bihari Bose, the League President. Bose told witness that he had decided to shift the headquarters of the Indian Independence League to Singapore as early as possible. The shifting started some time in April 1943 and witness gave the necessary instruction to his men in Bangkok

Witness said that the Indian Independence League had branches in Burma, Thailand, Malaya and Singapore, Indo-China, Java, Sumatra Philippines, Shanghai, Hongkong and Japan. The League had regular membership in all these countries. Witness put the League's membership at about 750,000.

SINGAPORE CONFERENCE

Subhas Chandra Bose arrived in Singapore in July 1943. On July 4, a conference of delegates representing Indian Independence League branches all over East Asia was held at Singapore. At that conference Sri Rash Bihari Bose formally handed over the presidentship of the League to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Witness was present at the conference "When Sri Rash Bihari Bose told the delegates and the audience that he was handing over the presidentship of the League to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose there was an outburst of frenzied cheering. In the course of his address to the delegates, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose made a rather important announcement, namely, that he intended to establish a Provisional Government of free India as early as possible This announcement was received with very enthusiastic cheering from all parts of the House

Q. Was Subhas Chandra Bose's proposal publicly discussed?

A It was discussed freely On October 21, 1943, another conference of the League delegates was held in Singapore. Witness was present at that conference. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose announced the establishment of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the announcement was received with a tremendous outburst of applause and cheering After announcing the names of the members of this Government, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose took the oath of allegiance to India After that the other members of the Government took the oath of allegiance to India and to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose The entire proceedings were punctuated with outburst of cheering and shouts of 'Subhas Chandra Bose Ki Jai" and 'Arzi Hukumat Azad Hind Ki Jai"

Witness was Minister of Publicity and Propaganda in the Provisional Government The Provisional Government declared war on Britain and America Witness said that the Provisional Government used the machinery of the Indian Independence League as its own executive.

The formation of the Provisional Government was welcomed by the Indians in Malaya in particular Apart from the fight for independence, Indians in Malaya had a natural feeling of security by reason of the formation of the Provisional Government provided for education on national lines and medical and other relief for Indians The Provisional Government gave directions to the I N A to give protection to Indian nationals wherever and whenever it might be needed, particularly against lawlessness

Witness produced the December 1943 issue of the Monthly Bulletin of the Indian Independence League. In this issue, it was stated among other things, "Indians in East Asia to-day are no more the citizens of an alien Power. They are proud citizens of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. To bring this home to the mind of every Indian in Malaya and to rouse our community to a full realisation of the responsibilities of the new status, it has been decided to ask each member of the oath of allegiance to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind."

Witness produced the August 1944 issue of the Bulletin which gave the number of persons who took the oath of allegiance to the Provisional Government upto June 1944 as 232,562

The Provisional Government witness said, maintained its activities by collecting donations from Indians throughout East Asia. The collections were kept in the National Bank of Azad Hind, which was opened in Rangoon by the Provisional Government in April 1944.

Witness produced a statement issued by Mr Dinanath, a Director of the Bank giving the amount deposited on the Provisional Government's account upto July 31, 1944 as 15353141 dollars (one dollar, witness explained, was worth more than a rupee before the war) An earlier statement also produced by witness, put cash collections at about 53½ lakh dollars and the value of donations in kind—articles of gold, jewellery silver-ware, etc.—at 86,310 dollars

Witness said that Subhas Chandra Bose took over command of the I. N. A. when he assumed presidentship of the Indian Independence League. Later, he became Supreme Commander of the I. N. A As Member for Information, witness said, he was informed from time to time about recruitment to the I N. A.

Q. As far as you are aware, was recruitment purely voluntary?

A Absolutely voluntary. Always there were surplus volunteers who could not be trained or armed A training school for civil administrators was established two or three months after Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose had arrived in Singapore, said witness.

The relations between the Nippon Government and the Provisional Government were as between two Allies having dealings on a footing of equality.

Witness said that he arrived at Rangoon on February 1. The Provisional Government had moved to Rangoon a month earlier Witness lived in Subhas Chandra Bose's bungalow from April 1944 to April 1945.

Witness gave three instances to show that the relations between the Japanese and the Provisional Government were on terms of equality. In March 1944, there was a conference between Subhas Chandra Bose and the Japanese Witness attended the conference. The Japanese suggested a Japanese Chairman for the War Co-operation Council which was to be set up in connection with operations to be carried out on Indian soil.

The Japanese said that it would be much better to have a Japanese Chairman for practical convenience. Subhas Chandra Bose resisted the suggestion on grounds of principle and said that he could not accept anything that he knew very well could not be acceptable to the people of India. Subhas Chandra Bose made the counter-suggestion that if they could not have an Indian Chairman, both sides should meet on a footing of absolute equality without a Chairman. To the best of witness's recollections, no Japanese Chairman was appointed

At another conference, which was attended by witness, the Japanese said that they would be glad to receive advance intimation of the appointments of the Minister of Supply and Manpower of the Provisional Government before they were actually made Bose maintained that the appointment of these Ministers was purely an internal affair of his. He would, of course, not mind informing them as a matter of courtesy after the appointments had been made. Bose maintained that attitude to the end.

In another instance, which came to witness' official knowledge Bose made it clear in a scheme drawn up for the administration of liberated areas, that no Japanese firms should be allowed to move into the areas. No other Bank except the Azad Hind Bank would be allowed to function in the liberated area.

There were four Broadcasting Stations attached to the Azad Hind Government. Witness was responsible for the functioning of these stations. There was no outside control over these stations

Besides P. O W.'s the I N A was composed of very large numbers of civilians who volunteered from Malaya A comparatively smaller number volunteered from Burma and proportionate numbers from other parts of East Asia.

Witness said that cash donations given to the Provisional Government included grain from merchants

OFFER OF RICE FOR RELIEF OF BENGAL FAMINE

On behalf of the Provisional Government, Subhas Chandra Bose offered one lakh tons of rice for relief in Bengal at the time of the Bengal Famine but the offer was not accepted

Cross-examined by Sir N. P Engineer, Mr. Aiyar said that in December 1940 he was a Press correspondent at Bangkok.

The Advocate General put a series of questions on the Bangkok Conference resolutions. Witness said that he remembered a resolution being passed which sought clarification of the Japanese Imperial Government's attitude towards Indians in East Asia. The Conference appointed a Council of Action. He was not aware of the proceedings of the Council. In December 1942, there were rumours that all the members of the Council of Action had resigned. He did not know why they resigned

Q : In spite of your position in the League how is it that you did not know why the members of the Council of Action resigned?

A. I was then in Bangkok. The president of the Indian Independence League, Rash Bihari Bose, has shifted to Singapore and everything was taking place in Singapore. The members of the Council of Action were in Singapore The President was in touch with the League headquarters in Bangkok for the carrying on of its normal functions.

Sir N. P Engineer read out another resolution relating to the disposal of the property left behind by Indians in East Asia. It requested the Japanese Government to hand over to the Indian Independence League such properties belonging to Indians who have left them behind without making any arrangement for its care. The League would utilise the income from such property to original owners.

Witness said that he did not remember the details but a resolution was passed concerning properties belonging to Indians in East Asia.

Q : You know as a matter of fact the Japanese authorities never arranged to hand over properties of Indians either to the Council of Action or to the Indian Independence League?

A: I do not know about that, but I do know in Burma the properties of absentee Indians were handed over to the Absentee Indian Property Association and they looked after the interests of the absentee proprietors. That Association was working under the direction of the Indian Independence League and it was formed by Indians in Burma.

Witness identified another resolution which requested Mr Subhas Chandra Bose to come to East Asia and appealed to the Japanese Government to request the German Government to enable Mr. Bose to reach East India.

In regard to the three quarter million membership of the Indian Independence League, witness said his computation of the figure was from periodicals published by the League branches.

Q. What were your exact duties as Minister of the Provisional Government?

A. To give publicity to the activities of the Provisional Government and the I. N. A., to carry on propaganda directed to the people of India, to arrange public meetings through the Indian Independence League and generally to do propaganda for the Provisional Government.

Q: As regards donations to the Provisional Government of Free India, is it a fact that people were made to contribute 20 per cent of their capital?

A. A certain percentage was fixed by voluntary consent of the Indians themselves as their donations to the Provisional Government. The percentage varied.

Q. I put it to you that this was fixed by the person who was collecting the donations?

A. Persons who were in charge of collections called Indian merchants and monied people for a discussion. The ways and means of collecting funds were considered by them and with their consent and on their suggestion a percentage was fixed. Such percentages differed from place to place. It was higher in Burma than in Malaya. A Board of management of the League headquarters was entrusted with the collections in Malaya, while in Burma, a Netaji Fund Committee of prominent Indians was in charge of the collections.

Q. Had Karim Gani anything to do with these collections?

A. At a very late stage between January and April 1945, he became a member of the Netaji Fund Committee.

Q. Was he ever arrested?

A. No. He was kept in detention for some time.

Q. Why was he detained?

A: I am not aware of the specific charges, but it was in connection with the collection of materials for the celebration of Netaji's birthday.

CLOTH COLLECTIONS FOR THE I. N. A.

Witness said that no order was issued that every Indian should pay Rs. 50 or give a yard of cloth to the Provisional Government. An appeal to that effect was issued for the collection of cloth for the army. There was no compulsion in the collections.

Replying to questions regarding the I. N. A. witness said that it was a volunteer army. He knew it from the many speeches which Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose had made to the I. N. A. personnel.

Q. As a matter of fact, you know that compulsion was used to make them join the I. N. A?

A. As far as I am aware no compulsion was used.

Witness said that he was not personally aware of the Japanese having taken any part in the formation of the I. N. A. He was not aware if the Japanese authorities had put a limit to the number of troops in the I. N. A. He did not know if the Japanese authorities ever paid the soldiers of the I. N. A. Japanese recognition of the Provisional Government was publicly announced by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose himself and the Gazette of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind published the declaration.

The Indian Independence League had various departments and the Provisional Government got its policy executed through the staff and other machinery of the League.

Broadcasts were not controlled by the Japanese, witness stated. Officers of the I. N. A. were not made to broadcast. But they voluntarily offered to broadcast. He denied that I. N. A. officers were made to broadcast on plans laid down by the Japanese.

Q. You had referred to the famine in Bengal. How was the offer to send rice made?

A: The offer was made through the Radio to the people of India for infor-

mation and to the British authorities in India to consider the offer. The offer was broadcast from Singapore either in July or August 1943. He could not tell whether it was announced on the Radio that the rice was to be sent from any port in Burma, but he remembered that it could be sent from any port in Burma if the British authorities in India could vouchsafe safe conduct. The people of Burma were not starving for want of rice.

RASH BIHARI BOSE'S PAMPHLET

Earlier, witness identified a pamphlet entitled 'Our Struggle" by Rash Bihari Bose, President, Council of Action, Indian Independence League It was published in February 1942.

Sir N. P Engineer, the prosecutor, read out an extract from the pamphlet which stated "Prior to election, Mr. Mohan Singh in his speech made statements which now appear to be misrepresentation of facts, because he solemnly gave us to understand that the majority of the Indian Army personnel were prepared to join this movement without any threat or force and that they had acclaimed him as their military leader. I was horrified later to learn of the atrocities meted out to officers and men of the Indian Army for Mohan Singh. Many of our poor brethren were shot, while many were tortured, humiliated or sent to the concentration camp and thus by sheer threat and violence, he demoralised the majority of officers and compelled them to become volunteers, which is against our principle I for one will be the last man to see my countrymen shot in cold blood This is what we are fighting for against the British, and I personally cannot afford to see Indians tortured in this manner "

Witness said that he had seen the pamphlet, but had not read the whole of it

Q. You were Minister for Propaganda. You must have known about that

A This pamphlet was published by the League Headquarters in Singapore and I was then in Bangkok I became Minister in July 1943 I did not read the pamphlet in detail, but just glanced at it

Q In spite of the professions of the voluntary nature of recruitment, in fact, the grossest atrocities were committed to compel people to join the I N A.? Do you deny it?

A. I am not personally aware of any atrocities of any nature committed on Indians to join the I. N A I categorically deny that any atrocities were committed.

Q. Do you know the pamphlet was widely distributed and published in Roman Urdu?

A I do not know I was at Bangkok at that time.

To a further question witness said that he had no reason to doubt that the pamphlet was published by the Indian Independence League Headquarters in Singapore.

LT-COL LOGANADAN EXAMINED

Lt Col. A Loganadan, one of the Cabinet Ministers and Chief Commissioner of the Andamans of the Provisional Government of Free India, was the next witness.

Col Loganadan said that he was in charge of the No 19. Indian General Hospital when Singapore fell About September 1942, he became a member of the I. N A. In the interval, he continued in charge of his hospital, which was situated at Neesoon Camp.

Witness attended the Bangkok Conference which was attended by about 110 delegates from all over the Far East, Burma, Philippines, Hongkong, Sumatra, Java, the Celebes, Borneo, Shanghai Canton and Indo-China.

The Bangkok conference passed sixty or seventy resolutions The chief resolution called on all Indians, especially the civilians, to organise themselves to have one organisation, to enable them to have security and safety of life and property and for their general welfare. They were to come under one organisation called the Indian Independence League and the various branches were to be called regional or local branches of the League One of the resolutions sought to raise an army. Anything done by the Independence movement, it was declared in the resolution, should be in conformity with the activities of the Indian National Congress. It was understood that when the Congress asked the I. N A. to go to India, they ought to take steps to do that

CRISIS IN I. N A IN 1942

Describing the crisis in the I. N. A. in December 1942, witness said that the relations between Captain Mohan Singh, G. O C. of the I. N A. and Mr. Rash Bihari Bose, President of the Indian Independence League and Chairman of the Council of Action, were not very happy. From his personal knowledge, witness thought that Rash Bihari Bose, having lived so long with the Japanese, was inclined

to be guided and controlled by them, whereas Mohan Singh felt that the Japanese should be dealt with a firmer hand than what Rash Behari Bose would be able to do. The I. N. A. was a branch of the Independence League. As Mohan Singh was not very happy with Rash Behari Bose, he took a lot of responsibility on his own shoulder in dealing with the Japanese. At the time of the crisis, Mohan Singh used to ask some of the senior officers to meet him in his bungalow. Witness was one of them. Mohan Singh explained to them that the Bangkok Conference resolutions had not so far been ratified by the Japanese.

ARREST OF MOHAN SINGH

Mohan Singh's demand that the I. N. A. should be treated as an Allied army had not been met. Mohan Singh protested strongly against the use of Indian A. A. companies by the Japanese for defence purposes, because he thought that they should be handed over to him. The Japanese did not hand over these A. A. batteries till Subhas Chandra Bose came. The Japanese had arranged for a ship to transfer some I. N. A. troops to Burma and members of the council objected to the troops being sent without their knowledge. Mohan Singh told his senior officers that it was impossible to carry on in those circumstances and that he was going to dissolve the I. N. A. Mohan Singh was arrested and taken away. The I. N. A. was then dissolved according to Mohan Singh's instructions. The members of the Council of Action at this stage were Mr. K. P. K. Menon, General Mohan Singh and Col. Gilani. The President was Rash Bihari Bose.

After December 1942, witness was at Bidadari, the I. N. A. headquarters. He was in charge of the Medical department. Witness met Subhas Chandra Bose when he arrived in Singapore on July 2, 1943.

Witness was present when the Provisional Government of Free India was formed. He was one of the Cabinet Ministers and Director of the Medical Services I. N. A.

CEDING OF ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS

Witness said that at the Far Eastern Asiatic Conference, the Andamans and Nicobar islands were ceded to the Provisional Government.

On February 17, 1944, witness went to Port Blair. After he had been there two or three weeks there was a ceremony at the Independence League Head-quarters at Port Blair, at which the Andamans and Nicobars were formally handed over to him. The ceremony was attended by the Japanese Rear Admiral in charge as well as the army commander there. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose appointed witness as chief Commissioner of the Islands.

Before leaving Singapore, witness' instructions were to take five persons with him, and he left for the Andamans with Major Alvi, Lt. Subha Singh, Lt. Mohd. Iqbal and a stenotypist Mr. Srinivasan.

Witness said that after the ceremony at Port Blair, he took charge of the civil administration, which was functioning there. Major Alvi was given charge of the Education Department in the Andamans, Lt. Subha Singh of Revenue and Finance, and Lt. Iqual Singh of Police.

Witness administered the islands until September 1944, when he returned to Singapore. In November 1944, he submitted a report of his administration to Subhas Chandra Bose. Netaji wanted him to go to Rangoon to give him the report personally and to accompany him to Tokyo where he was going, so that witness might represent any difficulties to the Japanese Foreign Office. As witness was too ill at that time and confined to bed, he could not go and when Subhas Chandra Bose returned from Tokyo to Singapore, he gave Bose his report. Witness produced the report which he submitted on that occasion.

Major Alvi was appointed officiating Chief Commissioner in witness' absence. During witness' administration the islands were renamed Shahid (Andamans) and Swaraj (Nicobars).

Witness said that the Provisional Government of Free India was recognised by all the Axis Powers—Germany, Italy, Japan, Croatia, Manchuria, Philippines, the Nanking Government, Siam and Burma.

The Indian National Army was purely voluntary. As far as witness was aware, no coercive methods were used in recruiting. He was aware as a member of the Provisional Government that the Provisional Government declared war on Britain and America.

"I. N. A.—SOURCE OF STRENGTH TO CIVILIAN POPULATION"

The I. N. A., said Col. Loganadan, was a source of great strength to the civilian population. When witness surrendered himself at Rangoon, for about a fort-

night, the I. N A. took charge of the whole of the Rangoon area and maintained law and order in accordance with instructions left behind by Netaji When the Japanese invaded, nearly ten thousand Indians were murdered, and to prevent such a calamity, the I N A was charged with the responsibility of safeguarding the life and property of all civilians, be they Chinese Burmese or Indians Both in Malaya and in Burma, civilians were recruited to the I N A.

Cross-examined by Sir N. P Engineer, Col Loganadan said that his authority for the statement that the Andamans and Nicobars were ceded to the Provisional Government was a broadcast from Tokyo He did not remember the exact wording of the broadcast

Q: I put it to you that the Andamans and Nicobars were never ceded by the Japanese to the Provisional Government of Free India

A. I would not have gone there, if they had not been ceded

Q: I put it to you that all that the Japanese did was to promise to give them after the war was over.

A No

Q: I put it to you that they said that for the duration of the war they would only transfer such departments as did not interfere with the defence of the islands

A: That is true.

Q: I put it to you that the only department which was more or less completely handed over was the Education Department

A I had taken over the Education Department

Sir N. P Engineer repeated the question twice, and said with some warmth, "Please listen to my question properly before you give your answer"

Thereupon, Col Loganadan said 'I cannot follow what you mean by "more or less completely handed over"

Sir N P Engineer I put it to you that the only department which was completely handed over to you was the Education Department?

A: The only department which I took over was the Education Department?

Q. You refused to take over the other departments?

A I was not prepared to take over the other departments if the Police department was not handed over to me

Q The Police department was in fact, not handed over?

A: I was trying to take it over

Sir Noshirwan I put it to you that the Police department was in fact not handed over?

A It was not handed over upto the time I left

Q I put to you that the other departments also were not handed over?

A I refused to take over the other departments That makes a lot of difference

The Advocate-General "We shall presently see what difference it makes"

Q Even as regards the education department the Japanese insisted upon sending all children of school age to what was known as the Nippongo School

A It is not correct that the Japanese took all children of full age to their own Nippongo school The Japanese had a Nippongo school and they had a few students. They had nothing to do with our Education department at all

Q While you were in the Andamans you could not send any communication to Subhas Chandra Bose except through the Japanese?

A I used to submit a monthly report to the head of the State

Sir Noshirvan Col Loganadan, is this an answer to my question? May I repeat it again

Col Loganadan I don t understand your question

The Advocate-General repeated his question and witness replied There was no other means of communication So I had to send my reports through the Japanese

JAP CENSORSHIP

Q Were your reports censored by the Japanese?

A: I used to give them sealed and ask the Japanese to forward them to the Head of the State.

Q It is not correct to say, is it, that some of your reports had to be changed because the Japanese would not agree to the wording?

A. In one case, the Japanese sent me my report with the request that I

should change it in one or two places, because there were one or two points which might be dangerous if they got into enemy hands

Q You were not allowed to have a radio set for yourself?

A. I asked for a radio set, and the Japanese said that they would get me one. There was a great shortage, and the Japanese said they could not find one immediately

Q: You were not allowed to see any of the defence works?

A Your question suggests that I tried to see the defence works and was refused That is not so, because I did not care to see the defence works

Witness said that, when he was sent by Subhas Chandra Bose to the Andamans and Nicobars a letter of authority was given to him

There was a passage at arms between Mr Desai and Sir Noshirwan Engineer, when the Advocate-General drew witness' attention to the following sentence in the letter written by Japanese authorities to Subhas Bose "It is to be understood that pending the completion of the transfer of all departments, an official of the Provisional Government bearing some such title as Chief Commissioner of the Andamans and Nicobar Islands should be despatched to co-operate fully with the military administration of the islands under the direction of the Naval Commandant there" Sir Noshirwan asked 'That was all the authority given to you"

Mr Desai objected to the question The document speaks for itself" he remarked 'It is for the court to construe that document"

Sir Noshirwan maintained that he was entitled to get from witness how he got his authority.

The President ruled it was in order to ask witness to say where he derived his authority from

Sir Noshirwan repeated his question, and witness replied that, so far as that particular letter was concerned, his instructions were as given therein but he contended that these instructions were governed by the letter given to him by Subhas Bose, because Bose's letter gave him wide powers

Witness added that, apart from the letter from Bose, he received verbal instructions from Bose before witness went to the Andamans These verbal instructions were, that consistent with local difficulties witness should take over the whole of the Islands as soon as possible

REPORTS TO SUBHAS BOSE

Witness put in a number of monthly reports which, as Chief Commissioner of the Andamans he had made to Subhas Bose One of the reports mentioned the arrest and trial by the Japanese of alleged spies, many of whom were hanged or shot and others imprisoned Another report s[illegible] of a few being understood to have died of illness developed during detention By that sentence, witness said he meant they died of torture while in police custody

A third report referred to Japanese methods, by which witness said he meant atrocities. Witness said he could not put these things plainly because his letters were being scrutinised by the Japanese and he wanted that the Head of the State (Subhas Bose) should know the position

Q: During the time you were there, gross atrocities were committed by the Japanese in spying cases?

A Yes

Q: You were aware of that, and you were unable to remedy the matter.

A. Yes

From time to time, witness held discussions with the Japanese civil administrator on the feasibility of taking over all the departments, one by one He was asked to take over all the departments except the Police and his attitude was that, without the Police Department, he was not prepared to take other departments

Sir Noshirwan put a series of questions about the exact scope of the administration of the Provisional Government in the Andamans

Q The civil administration of the Islands was in the hands of Hoshi, the head of the civil administration, and the military and naval administration was in the hands of the Japanese Rear Admiral. Then what were you doing, apart from running schools and the self-sufficiency programme?

SELF-SUFFICIENCY PROGRAMME

Witness explained the work done under education and the self-sufficiency programme. Sir Noshirwan impatiently exclaimed. Your mentioning it six times does not increase the importance of your work.

Col. Loganadan : You have asked me the same question six times.

Witness went on to explain that, besides education and the self-sufficiency programme, he got as much information as possible about spying, and used to make representation to the Japanese authorities and also receive reports from Mohammed Iqbal who was the Chief Justice in civil matters

Further cross-examination was adjourned till the next day

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Col. Loganadhan, continuing to-day, said that Lt Mohd Iqbal, who was trying civil cases in the Andamans during witness's administration, used to deal with small cases concerning loans of money, mortgages on buildings and family disputes, more or less social Witness did not remember details because there were so many cases

When witness went to the Andamans, the Japanese had a Supply Department, which was continued after his arrival. The self-sufficiency programme which witness had mentioned yesterday was carried out under instructions from the Japanese Supply Department

Witness was shown his monthly report for August 1944

Q You have mentioned in the report. "It is hoped greater trust will be the result." So long as you were there, there was no trust between you and the Japanese?

Mr Bhulabhai Desai objected and said that Sir Nosbirwan was misinterpreting the words "greater trust".

Sir N P. Engineer denied that he was misinterpreting, and the objection was overruled

Witness said that in that particular instance Lt Iqbal was investigating a case of spying and the Japanese were not very happy about the Provincial Government's interference "There was not lack of trust in every case between the Japanese and ourselves This was only in reference to police cases "

Witness said that he left the Andamans on receipt of a message from Subhas Bose towards the end of September 1944 Subhas Bose called witness in order to make a personal report about his progress in the Andamans Major Alvi was appointed officiating Commissioner in the Andamans during witness's absence

MAJOR ALVI'S LETTER

Before witness returned to Singapore, Major Alvi gave him a letter. Major Alvi wanted to go to the front rather than stay behind in the Andamans

Witness was shown a copy of the letter, which Major Alvi gave him on that occasion The letter described, among other things, the difficulties the Provisional Government were having with the Japanese and the atrocities committed by the Japanese. Other points from the letter were "If I cannot help the people in the least, I cannot expect to work them into a patriotic frenzy and make them go all out to help the Government's war effort Already, the local population is losing all confidence in us as is evident by their attitude towards the League's activities For months past not a single volunteer has turned up for training and few people dare to come near any of us lest they may be suspected. The last 'Provisional Government Day' meeting was attended by a score of men or so I also agree with Your Excellency's views that, under the present circumstances, our Netaji's intervention will only stiffen the attitude of the local Japanese officials towards us Once Your Excellency takes off, my communication with headquarters will, if necessary, be limited to 'all is well here' reports "

Q It is correct, is it not that you had taken Major Alvi on your staff in order to recruit and train any local volunteers into I N A trust?

A Before I left for the Andamans, I had no idea of what my duties would be Therefore I took with me educated men so that they might fit in anywhere. There were already about 50 volunteers in the Andamans when I arrived. There were no further additions after that

Q It is correct, is it not, that for months past not a single volunteer had turned up for training?

A Probably, volunteers did not turn up in the particular month Major Alvi is talking about

Q It is correct is it not that few people dared to come near any one of you lest they may be suspected

A It is true as a general statement that civilians feared to come near anyone of us They were anxious to expose themselves to the risk of being seen with us.

Witness said that he could not say exactly how many attended the last "Provisional Government Day' meeting referred to by Major Alvi, The crowd might have been smaller compared to previous months

Q: The letter says: "I also agree with Your Excellency's view that under the present circumstances our Netaji's intervention will only stiffen the attitude of the local Japanese officials towards us" That was your view?

A. It is true in a general way I did not give my view specifically.

Defence Objection Over-ruled

At this stage, Mr Bhulabhai Desai submitted that the only matter at issue was whether or not the islands were ceded by the Japanese to the Provisional Government. "There is a limit upto which it may be said that details of administration might have some relevancy, but I submit to the Court that the questions which are now being put have no relevancy whatever. In saying this, I am merely assisting you to save your valuable time.

The Court however, held that the questions put by the prosecution were relevant

Q It is fact, is it not, that in spite of your efforts, there was absolute insecurity of life and liberty while you were there?

A There were cases under espionage, for which I was trying—"

Sir N. P Engineer. My question was different I am not refusing your credit for what you did as regards cases of spying

Col Loganadhan· I am not demanding any credit

When the question was repeated, witness said that, in spite of his efforts, there was insecurity of life as regards cases of spying.

Q. The letter says, "Once your Excellency takes off, my communications will be limited to 'all is well here' reports" That is correct?

A· He is just making a statement before he had started doing his work. How can that be correct? He is anticipating.

Q In fact, your reports were also of the category 'All is well here.'

A: That is your interpretation, I deny it I cannot follow the way in which questions are put to me

Q You have said already, that if you insert in your report anything which the Japanese did not like, they would hold back the report or ask you to modify it.

A Certainly, I did not say so. I deny that my reports were 'all right" reports, merely because the Japanese would either object to something unpleasant to them or would ask me to modify them.

Q Before leaving the Andamans, did you tell the Vice-Admiral and the Civil Administrator that you were going to recommend withdrawal of the Provisional Government from the Andamans?

A No.

Witness said in answer to a further question, that after his arrival in Singapore he did not send any telegram to Subhas Chandra Bose recommending the withdrawal of the Provisional Government from the islands

Report to Subhas Bose

Witness was shown the report he submitted to Subhas Bose Witness said that when he said in the report that 'All propaganda required by the Japanese administration is carried out", he was referring to spying and self-sufficiency.

Q You have said in the report, "We will be rendering a very valuable service to the local war effort by relieving the local authorities of unnecessary anxieties and worries and thus concentrating on military measures". What do you mean by "relieving the local authorities"?

Mr. Desai interjected. The English language is not a matter for cross-examination

Col Loganadhan to the Advocate-General Am I to explain the English to make you understand what I meant?

Sir Noshirwan paused for a while and indicated that he would not give up the question in spite of witness's attitude

The Advocate-General repeated the question and witness said that the words "relieving them of unnecessary anxieties and worries' meant that 'if we took over the Police Department and other Departments they would be free to carry out their defence operations."

Q: You were never of the opinion that the Provisional Government of free India should be withdrawn from the Andamans?

Mr. Desai: I object to that question. Witness has answered positively that they wanted to remain in the Andamans and they wanted to carry on the whole civil administration I submit that this question is completely futile

Sir Noshirwan: In five minutes, I will show whether it is futile or not. My

learned friend ought to have some patience. I am not wasting the time of the Court.

FIGHT TO SECURE CONTROL OF POLICE DEPARTMENT

Witness explained that he had been fighting to get control of the Police Department "If they would not hand it over then the withdrawal of the Provisional Government had to be considered"

Q. Did you send or did you ask anybody to send a telegram to Subhas Chandra Bose asking for the withdrawal of the Provisional Government from the Andamans?

A. I might have discussed with some of the officers of the staff the question of withdrawal. I did not send the telegram to Subhas Chandra Bose recommending the withdrawal of the Provisional Government"

Witness was shown his diary for 1944 One entry read. "Copy of telegram which Bhonsle sent to Netaji Col. Loganadhan is strongly of the opinion that the entire Provisional Government staff from Andamans be withdrawn, as they have not got any useful work to do there,—J K Bhonsle"

Answering a further question by the Advocate-General, witness said that he had discussed the subject with Bhonsle and Bhonsle sent witness a copy for his perusal· "I did not very much like the wording of the telegram. It is not correct that I caused the telegram to be sent. I would have sent it differently I did not approve of the words, 'As they have not got any useful work to do there' When I got this copy, I knew that the telegram had been sent to Netaji I did not think it worthwhile taking steps to correct the false impression on a telegram which had already been sent Naturally, I entered a copy of the telegram in my diary in order to keep a record."

MEETING OF OFFICERS AT BIDADARI

Answering further questions, witness said he was present at the meeting of officers at Bidadari on the return of the Good-will Mission from Tokyo. At that meeting, the question of I. N A. was discussed No Japanese officers were present at the meeting.

Sir Noshirwan As a matter of fact, the basis of the I. N. A. organisation was a scheme prepared by the Japanese?

Col. Loganadan No At the Bidadari meeting, we were told that the question of the formation of the I N. A. would be considered at a bigger conference at Bangkok, which was to come off There was no plan, as far as I know, at that time

Witness said there was no concentration camp. but there was a detention camp which he used to visit occasionally. To his knowledge, the method of recruitment to the I N A did not include bribery or taking refractory persons to concentration camps, where special methods were adopted, such as, ducking individuals through manholes into sewers and other forms of torture There was a case reported to him of gangrene in the ankle, said to have been caused by something tied there. He saw a medical report He attended to the case and sent it to army headquarters for investigation. He had no knowledge of patients being admitted to hospital suffering from injuries caused by severe beating Witness was appointed G O C, Burma Command The appointment was to take effect after Subhas Bose's departure from Burma He held the post till he surrendered.

"CABINET" MEETINGS

The Advocate-General asked some questions about the functions of the officers appointed by the Head of the State. "Have you any personal knowledge of what the Provisional Government did?", he asked

Witness The question is too vague and general for me to reply

Mr. Desai. It is like asking what the Government of India did to-day. (Laughter).

The President explaining the question, asked whether there were Cabinet meetings held and what matters were discussed.

Witness replied that subjects discussed included activities of the Independence League branches, expansion of the army, recruitment and training, national songs, language, and so on.

Seventeenth Day—New Delhi—13th December 1945

The defence closed their evidence to day at the end of the examination of Captain Arshad, former Chief of Staff of the I. N A. in Burma, in the I. N. A. Court Martial trial of Captain Sehgal and Lieut Dhillon. The Court adjourned till Monday, December 17, when Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Chief Defence Counsel, began his address.

The defence had originally cited about 112 witnesses and interviewed over 70 of them, but Mr. Desai decided against calling more than eleven because he felt that the 28 prosecution witnesses had made statements which served his purpose equally well.

To-day's evidence related mainly to the closing days of the I. N. A. and of the Provisional Government and the part played by the I. N. A in keeping order in Rangoon in co-operation with some Allied personnel in Burma immediately before its re-occupation by British forces in May this year Captain Arshad, who is a brother officer in the Indian Army and a college-mate of accused Capt. Sehgal, spoke of the administration of 'liberated areas" in Manipur and Vishnupur which, he said, covered some 1,500 square miles.

Mr B N. Nanda of the Commonwealth Relations Department read out official records of the Indian population in various countries of East Asia before the outbreak of the Japanese war.

Lt.-Col. E K. Squire of the Jumna Area Headquarters, produced formal evidence regarding documents from Japan asked for by the defence He also produced certain radio transcripts made at the monitoring section, G H. Q, India.

Mr. Desai read out from the transcripts a broadcast made on the B.B C. on July 15, 1944, stating that General Eisenhower had announced that the French Forces of the Interior constituted a combatant force as an integral part of the Allied Expeditionary Force, and warned the Germans against committing any atrocities against them Mr Desai also read out the German reply from Berlin Radio that the French partisans could not be regarded as a regular fighting force because they had revolted against the legal French Government and violated French laws.

The admission of this document was objected to by the Advocate-General.

Mr Desai offered to prove its authenticity

The Court then admitted the document

Eighteenth Day—New Delhi—17th December 1945

MR. DESAI ARGUES CASE FOR DEFENCE

Mr Bhulabhai Desai, in his address to the first I. N. A. Court Martial to-day, argued that the very charge of waging war brought against the three accused, Capt Shah Nawaz, Captain Sehgal and Lieut. Dhillon, carried with it recognition of the insurgent Government of Free India. Quoting extensively from authorities on international law, Mr Desai asked the Court to accept the proposition that, if it was recognised that a war was being carried on, then the recognition of the insurgent Government followed as a necessary consequence. Such a recognition meant the grant of belligerent rights to the I. N A. That, in turn, meant the grant of immunities and privileges to members of the I N A for acts done in the due prosecution of war

Speaking with sustained eloquence, Mr. Desai took his stand on the right of a subject race to wage war for its liberation "The question of allegiance is irrelevant" he declared. "Legal allegiance cannot be a matter of perpetuity. If it is, no subject race will ever attain freedom '

ACCUSED PART OF AN ORGANISED ARMY

"This case", said Mr. Desai, 'raises issues which are not of the normal type that probably a Court Martial is called upon to decide Generally a Court Martial decides cases of individual dereliction or individual offences. I venture to say—and the evidence supports it—that this is not a case of three individuals waging war against the King. The evidence amply bears out the fact that these three men charged before you are part of an organised army who waged war against the King, according to the prosecution. What is on trial before the Court now is the right to wage war with immunity on the part of a subject race for their liberation. I shall be able to cite accepted authorities on international law that a nation or a part of a nation does reach a stage where it is entitled to wage war for its liberation I shall be able to make that good to the Court's satisfaction '

Proceeding, Mr. Desai said "There is another thing that I wish to say with a certain degree of earnestness. This case has, naturally, aroused a considerable amount of public interest. It is not for me to say whether it is right or wrong but the fact remains that it is so. Opinions have been expressed from the point of view of the public and from the point of view of what I may call official sources, beginning with the Viceroy of India. You, sirs having sworn to do justice to the three men on the evidence before you, will, I have not the smallest doubt, come to your own decision guided by your conscience, entirely unaffected by opinions for or against. In all trials of this kind—and in not a few of them I have had the honour

to be engaged—it is very difficult for a human mind to maintain that detachment which essential justice requires

"In the case of juries, I have had to caution them against the use or abuse of the effect of public expressions of opinions on matters which it is for them to decide. Having studied the rules which guide the proceedings before this Court, I find that you sirs, are the judges both of law and of fact I am aware that the Judge-Advocate, who is your adviser will take care to do justice to everything that I or the prosecution, will place before you on questions of law and fact and while you will very seriously regard his advice, in the end the final decision is your privilege and responsibility I must confess that before a trained judge it is easier to deal with a question of law than before a tribunal of this character At the same time, I have the consolation that sometimes if the law is plain—as I submit it is in this case—it will probably be much easier, without subtlety, and by appealing to commonsense, to establish the law on which I reply, and I desire to ask your indulgence and attention in the somewhat difficult task which I am undertaking

"THE MOST IMPORTANT MATERIAL EVENT"

Detailing "a few important facts", Mr Desai said "In December, 1941 war was declared by Japan against Britain and America Then followed certain events which are the subject matter of controversy to a certain extent before this Court." The British Indian forces surrendered at Singapore on February 15, 1942, and the most important material event took place on February 17 at Farrar Park The First Indian National Army was formed in September 1942 and dissolved in December 1943 Mr Subhas Chandra Bose arrived at Singapore and later took command of the second I.N A. There was a Greater East Asia Conference attended by Indians with their delegates belonging to the Indian Independence League from different parts of the Far Eastern countries One of the resolutions at the Conference was that a Provisional Government of Free India should be established On December 21, 1943, a Provisional Government of Free India was proclaimed and the different Ministers concerned with the functions of State took the oath of allegiance, of course headed by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose as the Head of the State

The Provisional Government declared war on Britain and America, and the second I N A. began to carry out its functions under the orders of the new State. Other events of importance were the movement of the I N A and the events which took place in Rangoon slightly before during and slightly after the occupation of Burma by the British forces

"The first conclusion of fact which I ask this Court to accept is that the Provisional Government of Free India was formally established and proclaimed. I submit that there can be no doubt about this event and no cross-examination of witness who have been called to prove that event has, as far as I can see, been seriously intended"

Mr Desai read out a Proclamation of the Provisional Government, which declared that it would be the task of the Provisional Government to launch and conduct the struggle that would bring about the expulsion of the British and their Allies from the soil of India and that the next task would be the establishment of a Provisional Government constituted in accordance with the will of the Indian people

"PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT AN ORGANISED GOVERNMENT"

"The fact that the Provisional Government failed to achieve its purpose is entirely irrelevant to the issue before the Court" said Mr Desai "The second fact which we say, has been established is that the Provisional Government was an organised Government It does not require many words to establish this proposition. Witnesses have spoken before the Court as to the allocation of the duties of the Ministers, and it is also in evidence that the Indian Independence League became the Executive of the Provisional Government which organised, so far as it was possible, to do in those warlike conditions, the care of the people who owed allegiance to it

"In June, 1944, as the evidence is quite clear, in Malaya alone, 2,30,000 persons had taken written oath of allegiance to the Provisional Government It is in evidence that the process continued after June, 1944 The object of stating the figures is that it was not a case of a Government of what you may call, or what somebody being my opponent may factiously call, a set of rebels a desultory sort of crowd of no consequence I wish to give the lie to that kind of suggestion, and that is why I suggest that the Provisional Government was an organised Government

to whom the whole of the two million odd people owed allegiance and out of whom 2 30,000 persons actually took the oath of allegiance in Malaya.

"The next fact which I submit, is established before the Court is that this Provisional Government was recognised by the Axis Powers I use that expression briefly because it is quite unnecessary either in law or in fact to prove that recognition must be by a particular number or class of Governments The recognition is only proof, and no more than that, that the Government so recognised had the right to declare war for the purpose for which it intended to fight and the Government, having the right to declare war, its armies are subject to its orders

"There could, of course, be no cross-examination on the recognition of the Provisional Government by Germany or Italy, and none was attempted by the prosecution But with reference to recognition by certain East Asia Governments, a suggestion was made that these Governments were under the control of Japan I fail to understand the significance of the suggestion because even if Japan had succeeded in keeping the conquered territories without giving them liberty, the recognition would, none-the-less, be effective.

ONLY WAR CRIMES COULD BE TRIED

The point still remains that the recognition is proof of Statehood There was no question, said Mr Desai, that any two Independent States had a right to declare war and any act done in the due prosecution of that war was justified by the mere fact of the war itself

"It may be asked why trials are going on in parts of the East and in Germany In fact, they just emphasise the truth and correctness of the proposition that any act done in the due prosecution of the war cannot be the subject of any municipal law. What has happened in the case of these trials is that, in addition to the due prosecution of the war according to civilised laws, individuals have been found guilty of acts popularly called war crimes, outside the pale of civilised warfare

"The very fact that you can deal only with war crimes emphatically and clearly proves that the normal civilised conduct of the war, including the use of the Atomic Bomb, is outside the pale of examination of right or wrong by any municipal tribunal"

The next point which Mr Desai submitted, had been established was that "this State (Provisional Government) had an army which was properly organised, and had its own distinctive badges and emblems and functioned under regularly appointed officers I am obliged to the Prosecution for saving the necessity of proving this proposition They put in documents after documents to show that the I. N. A was properly organised and that it was regulated by an I N A Act"

"The only attack made by the Advocate General on the I N A Act was a provision with reference to whipping" continued Mr Desai "Perhaps the Prosecution forgot that Sec. 45 of the Indian Army Act of 1911 states that it is lawful for a Court Martial to award corporal punishment not exceeding 30 lashes to a person under the rank of a warrant officer found guilty of a civil offence, punishable with whipping under the British Indian Law It is true that, at or about the time of the war, this particular provision was omitted, but it is a mistake to think that similar provision does not exist in the Indian Statute law" Mr Desai read out the Defence of India Rules which provided for corporal punishment

"Taken in the aggregate, Indian legislation gives sanction to corporal punishment throughout the period with which we are concerned Therefore, I submit that the I. N A. was a properly organised army having a code of its own which was, for all practical purposes, the same as the Indian army Act and any condemnation of the rules in the I N A Act is condemnation of the Indian Army Act, which, I submit, is not the purpose of the prosecution in this case"

AIMS OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVT

"The next fact which had been established beyond doubt", said Mr Desai, "is that the object of the declaration of war by the Provisional Government was the liberation of India The next important fact that has been amply proved is that the I N. A was formed with two purposes— the liberation of India and the protection of the lives honour and property of the people residing in East Asia at that time

"A further point established was that the Japanese Government ceded to the new Indian State the island of Andamans and Nicobars, that the Provisional Government acquired the territory of Ziawadi about 50 square miles in area, and that it administered for four to six months the Manipur and Vishnupur areas covering some 1,500 square miles." Taking the Andamans and Nicobar Islands first, Mr. Desai said that the prosecution witness Lieut Nag, gave definite evidence that the two islands were ceded.

"Lieut. P Nag's evidence included testimony as to the declaration made by General Tojo that the Japanese Government would shortly place the Islands under the jurisdiction of the Provisional Government as an initial evidence of readiness to help in India's struggle for Independence. Events followed, which clearly showed that this purpose was carried out The new Indian State was called upon to administer the Islands by means of a Commissioner a Commissioner was in fact appointed; he went, and a ceremony took place at Port Blair at which the naval and military authorities then in charge handed the Islands over to the Commissioner on behalf of the Indian State."

EXTENT OF ADMINISTRATION

The point on which some difference between the prosecution and defence existed was the actual form and extent of the administration of the Islands. But it was a misconception Mr Desai observed, to confuse the ceding of a territory with taking over every item of administration of that territory, particularly under the conditions then prevailing. Mr Desai gave the illustration of a house which might well be sold completely and outright, and yet possession of it for a time not to be given. It was true that Col. Loganadan did not take over anything more than two items of administration One of these was education.

With regard to the argument that the area was small, expenditure was little, the number of schools few hardly detracted from the fact of possession, Mr. Desai said "I dare say in other countries where the standard of literacy is something like 99 per cent, there are many more schools than in this unfortunate country where the standard of literacy is probably 15 per cent" A significant fact, Mr Desai went on was the re-naming of the islands—Shahid and Swaraj Similarly Ziawadi, with 15,000 inhabitants who were Indians, was administered by a man appointed by the I N A and belonging to the Azad Hind Dal By right of conquest the Japanese were in a position to dispose as they liked of the whole or any portion of any territory and by reason of the agreement between the Provisional Government and the Nippon Government this territory was handed over as a part of the liberated territory to the I N A and Azad Hind Dal

"It had been proved before the Court that as soon as the I N A. crossed the borders of Burma into India a Proclamation was issued in two parts, one signed by the Head of the Indian State, and the other by General Kawabe under the orders of the South Eastern Commander, declaring that any part of Indian territory acquired by conquest or otherwise by the Japanese Army would be handed over to the I N A to form part of the liberated territory and to be administered by them.

Evidence had been given without demur from the prosecution that during the time the Japanese and the I N A were operating there Manipur and Vishnupur areas were, in fact, administered by the I N A through the Azad Hind Dal The duration of this administration had no bearing on the issue, for it could happen in this war, that territories were as easily acquired as lost"

Referring to the resources of the State, Mr Desai mentioned that evidence before the Court showed that some Rs 20 crores were, in fact donated to the State and out of this amount, the civil Government and the Army were maintained

It was remarkable he went on that in the re-occupation of Burma and Malaya every single document which was in the possession of this Indian State was found intact These included documents on the administration of the Andamans and Nicobars

It only emphasised, said the counsel, that there was a complete organisation and that organisation was as good as could reasonably be expected Mr Desai proceeded to refer to a document which had not been put in as evidence, but of which he submitted the Court should take judicial notice The document was an article in a weekly magazine called "Stamp Collecting"

PROSECUTION COUNSEL'S OBJECTION OVERRULED

Sir Noshirwan Engineer objected to Mr Desai reading from a document which had not been accepted

Mr Desai declared it was ridiculous to suggest that if a book on law was read, it should be put in as an exhibit Quoting the Evidence Act, Mr Desai said that in all matters of published history, literature, science or art, the Court might resort for help to appropriate books or documents of reference "And", said Mr Desai, "if the learned Advocate-General solemnly suggests that every single book of history, literature, art, is to be on exhibit before it can be referred to, I am sorry, it is a statement which defeats itself"

The Judge-Advocate asked Mr Desai to read out what he wanted the Court to take judicial notice of

Mr. Desai read an article in the weekly which quoted the journal's correspondent, Flying Officer T. A Broomhead, as saying he had seen proof impressions of a special issue of stamps for use in Imphal Two denominations, namely, three pice and one anna, seemed to have been prepared The subject of the vignette was the old Moghul fortress at Old Delhi accompanied by the slogan "On to Delhi".

The bilingual inscription read "Provisional Government of Free India" When it became evident that the Imphal stamps would not be required, the article went on, the dies were destroyed and the bulk supply of sheets printed in readiness was burnt, with the exception of a small quantity salvaged by the printer

The Advocate-General rose to make his observations, but the Judge-Advocate suggested that it would be more convenient to deal with the point in his arguments

Mr. Desai added that it appeared from the evidence that the Indian State had a Civil and an Army Gazette of its own

"PROVISIONAL GOVT ENTITLED TO MAKE WAR"

On these facts, the first question of law, Mr Desai wished to raise was this: Having regard to the conditions in which this free Government of India had been formed and was functioning, it was entitled to make war and it did make war for the purpose of liberating this country

Mr Desai elaborated his contention that when two States declared war, any acts done in the prosecution of that war were outside the pale of municipal law and said "Supposing a German who in the prosecution of war had shot two or three or ten Britishers, was found in England, the question is who would be charged with having committed murder? I submit, never, for the simple reason that those acts were done during the due prosecution of the war, which unfortunately in the present world of infirmities, International Law accepts What International Law accepts is that two independent countries or two States, as they are called, may make war on each other, and those who carry out any action in due prosecution of that war—apart from war criminals—are outside the pale of municipal law Alternately, if that is not sufficient for this Court, Sec 79 of the Indian Penal Code completely bears it out This Section says Nothing is an offence which is done by any person who is justified by law.'

'Law, in this section, included international law For that reason, the German in the illustration would defend himself as follows 'My State was at war with your State. Under the orders of my State and in due prosecution of the war I did the acts which under normal circumstances might be offences but which having regard to the circumstances of war, are not offences at all "

It was obvious, Mr Desai said, that during the prosecution of the war, the municipal law relating to that country did not apply, except, for example, when one soldier stole the pocket book of another The documents accepted by the prosecution clearly bore out that whatever the three accused did, was as part of the prosecution of war Addressing the Judges, Mr Desai said. "If you, gentlemen, in the due prosecution of war comitted murders, could the civil laws as propounded by the other side, be put into operation against you when in all honour you acted in the prosecution of your duties as members of the organised army of a State that had declared war?"

Mr Desai quoted extensively from books on International Law In Wheaton's "International Law," he said, it was stated that 'War in the absence of any international authority competent to supress effectively international laws has always been held legal by International Law" This should be remembered as a definite proposition, said Mr Desai, that so long as there were two States, if they declared war against each other, there was no higher justification required for it, and once there was a war, any person being a member of the organised army of one of the warring States could not be called upon individually to account for facts which in civil matters or civil times would, if done individually in a private capacity for private motives, be considered an offence.

SANCTION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

"The position now" said Mr Desai, "is that the International Law has reached a stage at which if liberty and democracy are to have any meaning at all, all over the world and not merely just for part of it—and this is not politics it is law—any war made for the purpose of liberating oneself from foreign yoke is completely justified by modern International Law, and it will be a travesty of justice if we are to be told as the result of any decision arrived here, or otherwise, that Indians may go as soldiers and fight for the freedom of England against Germany, against Italy, against Japan, and yet a stage may not arise when a free Indian State may

not wish to free itself from any country including England itself. Therefore it is that we maintain that this particular war requires no justification."

"There was at one time" Mr. Desai said, "the old idea that you had to be an *independent* State or a sovereign State in order to be able to declare war. But modern International Law held it was settled that it is unnecessary in order to constitute a war that both parties should be acknowledged as independent nations or sovereign States" 'A war may certainly exist between a State and its suzerain as in the Boer war.'

"My appeal to this court and all of you who are familiar with British history," Mr Desai added, "is 'What about Charles the First and his death? What about the Magna Charta? What about James the Second?"

"I put", Mr. Desai continued, "a very simple question 'What about the acts of those who fought on the side of the British in the war? They killed lots of people. Would they be put up before this Court under Section 302?'"

"It was a proper war fought on either side," Mr. Desai went on. "No doubt, as in other wars, one or the other side loses and the fact that a war is lost has no effect on the immunity from the consequences of the acts done in due prosecution of the war. The test by which the Court must judge the case is Has the Defence proved or not proved the existence of a *de facto* political organisation of insurgents?"

"I do not deny that they were insurgents," Mr Desai stated "I will assure against myself that the people who declared war and who declared the Provisional Government of Free India were a set of insurgents, a set of rebels But as President Grant of America said in his message of June 13, 1870, the question of belligerency is one of fact, not to be decided by sympathies for or prejudices against either party The relation between the parent state and the insurgents must amount, in fact, to a war in the sense of International Law"

"I call upon you to do the same", said Mr. Desai, addressing the Judges "It is not a question of prejudice, it is not a question of prestige or what happens to the Army, to this or the other person. Please remember that you are here as Judges, you are not politicians. I agree and I do not want you to be such If you find that there is a *de facto* political organisation sufficient in numbers, sufficient in character and sufficient in resources to declare war as an organised Army your verdict must be in favour of these men—no more less than the verdict on your own men killing others, of which acts you are justly proud"

U S FEDERAL COURT JUDGMENT QUOTED

Mr Desai went on to quote from a judgment of Chief Justice Fuller of the United States Federal Court who said. 'Where a civil war prevails, that is, where the people of a country are divided into two hostile parties, who take up arms and oppose one another by military forces, generally speaking, foreign nations do not assume to judge of the merits of the quarrel If the party seeking to dislodge the existing Government it has set up is recognised, then the acts of such a Government from the commencement of its existence are regarded as those of an independent nation. If the political revolt fails to succeed, still if an actual war has been waged, acts of legitimate warfare cannot be made the basis of individual liability"

Mr. Desai quoted from the British Year Book of International Law, 1937 which said "What we call belligerent recognition is not so much recognition, even temporary and provisional, of a new Government as the recognition of the existence of a war"

"The recognition" said Mr. Desai, "comes at a stage when it has not yet succeeded in establishing its own Government Of course, if for instance, this very Army had succeeded in its aim, then under the accepted maxim of International Law, a successful revolution is the Government established by law

'But earlier than that there is the stage at which it is in a state of war and that is all that is necessary for the purpose of my case', Mr Desai said. "If I can establish that they were making war, which is regarded as a stage of belligerency by International Law, they are entitled to the same privileges and immunities as would be accorded to the armies of two independent nations"

Mr. Desai quoted the following further passage from the British Year Book. 'The existence of war is purely a question of fact, but if we recognise the fact that a war is being carried on, then the recognition of the insurgent Government follows as a necessary consequence. Wars can only be carried on by Governments and there must be at least two parties to every war Much of the confusion which obscures the current discussion of the Spanish problem arises from the failure to observe this correct logical consequence The true doctrine is that recognition of

the insurgent Government is the necessary and logical consequence of recognising the fact of war."

The distinction that was sought to be made was that you might recognise the state of belligerency without necessarily recognising the State, but, said Mr Desai, you need not necessarily recognise your opponent as a Government and yet, if during the course of the war, you recognise that it was a proper state of belligerency, then the immunities and privileges followed.

SUBJECT RACE'S RIGHT TO FREE ITSELF

"In the revolt of the Spanish American Colonies," Mr Desai said, "Britain recognised the belligerent rights of the Colonies who actually revolted against their Government for their freedom. One need not be apologetic in this period of world history to-day to show that a subject race may free itself The question of allegiance cannot be a matter of perpetuity because if it is, then no subject race will ever attain freedom I hope that in these days of global war for democracy and freedom, no such issue will be raised before this Court

"While insisting that territory was ceded by the Japanese to the Provisional Government, I wish to point out that from the point of view of belligerency, it is quite unnecessary that a particular Government for the time being need have any territory in its possession at all. Did the Emigre Governments residing in London during the last war have an inch of territory? Yet, who dare say that a member of the French or Yugoslav or Belgian Army may not fight to liberate his own country? The last war has, I think, illustrated more than any other that some of the old principles may be overdone, and that it is quite unnecessary that to be in a state of war, you should necessarily have a local habitation The fact that any of the Emigre Governments were deprived of their territory temporarily, or the fact that the Indians were deprived of their territory for 150 years, makes not the slightest difference to the point before the Court.

"I hope there is no such thing as a law of limitation in dealings between nations Supposing, for example, any of the Emigre Governments had failed to get back its territory, could it be said in a British Court that the immunities granted to the army belonging to that Government did not exist? I urge you not to regard the instance before you as being in a different category because we happen to be Indians"

Mr. Desai read out General Eisenhower's declaration that the Maquis of France were to be regarded as a regular fighting force and the German reply that the French Partisans had revolted against the legal French Government and hence did not constitute a fighting force Mr Desai said that he had included the German reply in the exhibit on the insistence of the Advocate General 'I submit that the view put forward by General Eisenhower is correct You are asked by the Advocate-General to adopt what the Germans say in a similar situation With what face could such an argument as that advanced by the prosecution be presented to a British Court?

Mr. Desai submitted that if the Maquis were entitled to all the privileges and immunities of a fighting force seeking to liberate their own country, I cannot see how you can fail to accord similar treatment to the I N. A.

Mr. Desai read out a statement made in Parliament by Mr Henderson, Under Secretary of State for India, that only those cases of I N A men would be brought to trial where there were serious charges apart from that of waging war against the King. 'I am not trying to take refuge behind any executive statement, but the fact remains that behind the statement is a reluctant admission that waging war is not to be seriously treated as an offence."

QUESTION OF ALLEGIANCE

If ever the question of allegiance was raised by the prosecution Mr. Desai would submit as follows. 'The most important fact of the Singapore surrender was the separation of the British officers and British ranks from the Indians. Lt.-Col Hunt handed over the Indians to Major Fujiwara, who told them that if they wanted to fight for the liberation of their country, they could do so. Mohan Singh's statement that he was prepared to organise the I N A. for fighting for India's liberation was acclaimed by the whole of the Indian P O W's present. Captain Arshad had made the emphatic statement that 'we believed that the only allegiance which was left was allegiance to our country."

Referring to Mr. John Amery's recent trial, Mr. Desai said that in England working against the King and country amounted to treason. In the situation in

which India found herself, it was a question under what circumstances and to what extent the question of allegiance could be raised at all, because once you divided the King from the country, it became a very difficult issue for any human being. Hence, I prefer to base my argument on the happenings at Farrar Park.

"I am going to submit to the Court that inasmuch as the King and the country coincide, there is no question of any alternative. But where those fighting for freedom have, for the time being, imposed upon them what is called the duty of allegiance to the King, then the question does arise"

"I shall later read passages to show to what extent the world has progressed in the matter of recognition of human rights. Where you are nominally fighting against the King but really fighting to liberate your country, does the question of allegiance arise at all? Can it arise at all? Without selling your own soul, how can you ever say that if you are fighting to liberate your own country, there is some other allegiance which prevents you from doing so? I submit that the choice of allegiance to King or country was presented by the force of circumstances to those prisoners of war who were surrendered by Britain."

The prosecution, Mr. Desai said, might argue that the I. N A were "puppets" or "stooges" of the Japanese Even accepting "this somewhat unenviable expression", the question was one of fact namely, whether or not the I. N. A was a regular army All that the prosecution had insisted upon was that the I N. A. was small compared to the Japanese Army. I submit we have established that the I. N A., small though it was, was fighting as allies of the Japanese Army.

"There was no ignominy in that because the objective at that time of both armies was undoubtedly to free India from British rule. The I N. A and the Japanese armies fought side by side with the same objective as that of the armies of the Allies in France, Belgium or any other country. "If during that process there is unified command between two armies, it does not make one of the armies the stooge of the other. If the British troops and the Americans could fight under the command of General Eisenhower the British could not be called the stooges of the Americans."

Mr. Desai said that at the instance of the prosecution, Lt.-Nag came to prove that the I. N. A. was well organised and fought a regular war

"That is precisely my defence and with very great respect, I would say that the prosecution probably did not perceive it at that time. Lt Nag told this Court —and certainly he was qualified to say so because he was the Legal Adviser to the I. N. A—that the Japanese and the I. N A. fought as two allies. Whether the allegiance was right or wrong, is not the question. The only question is whether or not the I N. A. fought as an organised army. Should it be said that the I N. A. fought for any other objective than the liberation of India, we have given the lie to that. The prosecution witnesses have from beginning to end—willing or unwilling volunteer or non-volunteer—admitted that the object of the I. N A was to fight for the liberation of India.

"In defence of the honour of those whom I am defending and the group to which they belong, I must say that they were not stooges of the Japanese as might be said cheaply by the prosecution". The Court at this stage adjourned.

Nineteenth Day—New Delhi—18th. December 1945

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, in the course of the arguments to-day, hoped that the prosecution would not bring in any 'principles of treason' because, unlike the codes of other countries, the Indian Penal Code contained no such loose expression as 'treason". Mr. Desai quoted an old English authority of 1827 for the statement that where a powerful nation failed to protect a weaker nation which was under its protection, the weaker nation automatically recovered its independence. Mr. Desai submitted that this condition was fulfilled in the case of the I. N A.

The authority was Vatells 'Law of Nations" It declared: When a nation has placed itself under the protection of another that is more powerful or has even entered into subjection to with a view to receiving its protection,—if the latter does not effectually protect the other in case of need, it is manifest that by failing in its engagement, it loses all the rights it had acquired by the convention and that the other being disengaged from the obligation it had contracted re-enters into the possession of all its rights and recovers its independence or its liberty It is to be observed that this takes place even in cases where the protector does not fail in his engagements through want of good faith but merely through inability. For, the weaker nation having submitted only for the sake of obtaining protection, if the other proves unable to fulfil that essential condition, the compact is dissolved, the

weaker resumes its right and may, if it thinks proper, have recourse to a more effectual protection: e, g. the Duke of Austria who had acquired the right of protection and in some sort a sovereignty over the city of Lucerne, being unwilling or unable to protect it effectually, the city concluded an alliance with the three first Cantons. The Duke having carried their complaints to the Emperor, the inhabitants of Lucerne replied that they had used the natural right common to all men by which everyone is permitted to endeavour to procure his own safety when he is abandoned by those who are obliged to grant him assistance.

I. N. A. NOT A TOOL OF THE JAPS

Mr Desai submitted that, assuming for the purpose of argument that the accused were just prisoners of war of the Japanese and the events which took place had not taken place, they had not violated the obligations of prisoners of war. The accused did not, within the meaning of Rules for prisoners of war, even allow themselves to be the tools or instruments of the enemy. 'I wish to make the point that there is no obligation whatever which prevents a person who was a prisoner of war from fighting on his own account for the liberty of his own country. I wish to re-emphasise the relation between the Japanese Army and the I. N A., the objective of the I. N. A. and the sworn objective of the Japanese as regards India Unless these are borne in mind, the Court may easily go into a wrong track.

"I quite agree that the Court or any member of it may say, 'You were fools in believing the Japanese' That has nothing to do with the issue. The question is whether those who formed the I. N. A. *bona fide* did believe that they would be able to secure the freedom of the Country. On this point many prosecution witnesses have testified that the I. N. A. was prepared to fight anyone who came in the way of the Independence of India, including the Japanese. I ask the Court to hold that the I, N. A honestly believed in the propriety of the step which they took and the justice of their cause".

Tracing the history of the I N. A. Mr. Desai said that, according to evidence when the Japanese realised Mohan Singh's anxiety that the I. N A. should not serve as tools of the Japanese, they got him arrested through Rash Behari Bose The Japanese, sa'd Mr. Desai, might have been very unwilling in their relations with the Second I. N A "but some time when you find strong men on the other side, you have to make your choice" The Second I. N. A. under the head of the Provisional Government was not an instrument of the Japanese. Its object was to liberate India, getting all the assistance it could from the Japanese as an allied army.

COMPLETELY OFFICERED BY INDIANS

The next point about the I. N. A. was that it was completely officered by Indians. Mr. Desai did not deny that in so far as the higher strategy was concerned, it was no doubt in the hands of the Japanese, who claimed better judgment in that matter. Mr. Desai quoted statements made by prosecution witnesses that the officers were all Indians and that the men took their orders from Indian officers and not from the Japanese.

The prosecution idea of contrasting the comforts available in the I N. A. with those available as prisoners of war under the Japanese did not carry the matter very far, suggested Mr. Desai.

All that men in the I. N. A. got by way of rations were rice, oil and a small quantity of sugar. The prosecution could not suggest that this was a luxury which attracted men to the I. N A. It must further be remembered that those who joined the I N. A., were certainly facing the possibility of death which every soldier faced, unless he wished to avoid it, as he would by remaining a prisoner of war. A further point was that the I. N A. was a purely voluntary army. The utmost efforts made by the prosecution had failed to prove anything to the contrary.

Evidence had been given before the Court to show that the three accused had from time to time made speeches giving opportunities at every stage to every mem-ber of the I. N. A. to witdraw if he chose so to do. It was common grou[nd that] only a portion of the men who had vo'unteered to join could be [armed and] equipped, because of paucity of material There was thus a large [number of] surplus volunteers Then where was the need to coerce men to join th[e I. N. A.]

Refering to the evidence of torture and atrocities, which the [defence...] admitted, Mr. Desai presented an application to be added as an ann[exure to his] address, asking that such evidence be excluded from the Court's con[sideration]. [The] accused, he said, were not charged with having committed any to[rture] on any prisoner of war. On the other hand, it was distinctiv[ely stated by the] Advocate-General that there was no suggestion that any of th[e accused ...]

[...]rectly, the [...]efined as an [...]y a criminal [...]ure Code. He [...]plicable to the [...] would be found [...]able of trying or

mitted any torture or atrocity, that he was concerned with their commission or was even present at the time they were alleged to have been committed.

Proceeding, Mr. Desai said that evidence of alleged tortures and atrocities was sought to be produced and was allowed to be produced on the ground that the prosecution alleged, and offered to prove, that the accused had knowledge of these tortures and atrocities, and with that knowledge, had been persuading prisoners of war to join the I. N. A, by giving them the veiled threat: "If you do not join the I. N. A you know what will happen to you."

The prosecution, Mr Desai continued, had concluded all their evidence and none what-ever had been produced by them to prove that any of the accused had any knowledge of the alleged tortures and atrocities Nor was there any evidence that any of them held out any such veiled threat to any prisoner of war

Indeed, there was evidence given by many prosecution witnesses to the contrary, Mr. Desai said. He urged that the only ground on which this evidence was admitted had not been substantiated and therefore, this evidence should be excluded from consideration.

Mr Desai asked that the Court might give its ruling on the application at this stage, so that if his plea was accepted it would not be necessary to deal in his address with the evidence bearing on torture and atrocities.

The Judge Advocate said that it was not the practice to give piecemeal decisions of that kind.

Atrocity and Murder Charges not Proved

Mr Desai went on to analyse the evidence regarding persecution and contended that witnesses who had alleged persecution had failed to substantiate it in cross-examination. The persecution which was alleged was really punishment given for disobedience of orders or other acts of indiscipline, and not in order to compel men to join the I. N. A In one case men were sent to a concentration camp because they were suspected of having stolen and killed a cow. In another case the guard came to arrest ring leaders of men who were guilty of indiscipline. Some men had been put to do fatigues, which were commonly awarded to all prisoners of war, and which really was the same work that the men used to do in their own villages.

Mohammed Nawaz (P. W 11), for instance, complained that he had been put to gathering dry cowdung and mixing it with soda for manuring a vegetable garden. It was ridiculous to suggest that this was an atrocity, Mr. Desai declared. Every-one who had had to undergo punishment for indiscipline came forward as a martyr and claimed glory as one who resisted attempts to dragoon him into the I. N. A. Mr. Desai, therefore, asked the Court to reject such evidence.

Mr Desai submitted that the prosecution had entirely failed to prove the charge of murder and abetment of murder

The charges, Mr. Desai said, fell into two categories—one dealing with the alleged shooting of four persons and the other with the alleged shooting of Mohd. Hussain With regard to the four persons there was a crime report. There was no crime report as regards Mohd Hussain. "In fact there is no document whatever relating either to the sentences being passed or the sentence being carried out. Further, there is not even a casualty report in either case."

Mr Desai said that Alla Ditta, prosecution witness on the charge of abetment of murder of Mohd. Hussain, said in his examination-in-chief that he saw Capt. Shah Nawaz Khan write something on a crime report In cross-examination, witness admitted that he did not know the word 'crime', but that he knew that something about a report was said.

Sepoy Jagiri Ram had said that he had never handled a weapon before but was made to school Mohd Hussain with a rifle along with two others. All the three shots were said to have lodged in the chest of the deceased. "It seems that this untutored rifleman was extraordinarily accurate. It will be for the Court to judge story. I can only express may inability to understand the particular psychology witness, except that his statement was a very foolish invention."

…e Naik Sardar Mohd had said that he did not see any blood on Mohd, "With the absence of Khazin Shah and Aya Singh," said Mr. Desai, "with …ole alleged joining of Jagiri Ram, with the complete unidentification of persons who joined in these shootings and with the most extraordinary shots having gone into the body of Mohd. Hussain in one and the not a single drop of blood being found, I submit to the Court that …s short of any proof of the execution of the sentence."

Lack of Evidence Regarding Shooting

that none of the witnesses had even by the remotest possible

description been able to identify the four persons who were alleged to have been shot The order for the shooting of these men was said to have been given by Lt. Dhillon, but there was clear contemporaneous evidence that the condition in which Lt. Dhillon was on the date of the alleged shooting, was such that he could not have been present. "I submit that this event did not take place because the whole of the story hinges round whether the four orders to shoot were given by Lt. Dhillon" There were two witnesses who said that they were present at the shooting as spectators, but one of them said that the other man was not present at the scene.,"

Mr. Desai said that in a trial of this kind before a criminal court, no jury would ever venture to convict the accused who was ill and weak on the day he was said to have given the orders for the shooting "I will not deny that you are the judges in this case, but I ask you to be judges of the material before you And the material before you, I submit, shows that it is impossible that Lt Dhillon could have been present at the shooting."

All that the prosecution witness had said about identification of the four men who had been shot was that they were Jats Mr Desai continued, 'Unless there is definite evidence that the four particular individuals named in the crime report are identified as having been shot, the Court cannot possibly hold that these particular four persons were shot. You do not establish a charge of shooting 'A' by saying that a Hindu was shot A Hindu may have been shot for all I knew or care but you do not prove the charge it was 'A'. "The charge in this case was not that four men had been shot, but that the four men mentioned in the crime report had been shot and that charge had not been proved"

Mr Desai hoped that the prosecution would not resort to the "absolutely vicious process of reasoning", that, merely because four persons were seen to have been shot, the charge against the accused had been proved "Considering the evidence on record, there is such lack of evidence of identity that the Court should hold that there is at least reasonable doubt whether this particular event alleged by the prosecution took place I, of course, am more affirmative, but pleading as I do in a case of this kind, it is my duty to put the case at the very lowest 'The burden of proof was completely on the prosecution to show that the persons named in the charge were killed under orders issued by the accused. Taking the evidence completely on its face value, all that had been proved was that four unidentified Jats were shot."

Mr. Desai said that the most important point which appeared from the evidence of Jagiri Ram was that both Jaya Singh and Khazan Shah—the other two persons who were said to have taken part in the shooting of Mohd Hussain—were alive and they were the only real and proper witnesses to that particular transaction Neither of them had been produced

As regards the alleged shooting of four men, Mr Desai submitted that though, in fact, the sentence was passed it was not carried out There was evidence on record to show that in many similar cases sentences were passed but not carried out

"A charge of murder", said Mr Desai, "has got to be proved by proving completely what is called the *corpus delicti* of that particular person. If there is reasonable doubt in your mind that the prosecution has failed to prove that actual execution of the sentence, my clients are entitled to the benefit of that doubt."

Mr Desai next submitted that the terms of surrender as prisoners of war offered by Captain Sehgal to Col Kitson had been accepted and therefore Sehgal was entitled to the privileges of a prisoner of war, and to be released

As regards what happened prior to and after the re-occupation of **Rangoon**, Mr. Desai said that the four documents produced by the last **defence witness**, Captain Arshad clearly showed that British officers in Rangoon, **at that time**, recognised the existence of an organised army called the I. N A. **These documents** were addressed by the British officers to "officers commanding the I. N. A" in **each** case and to the extent to which it was necessary to prove that the I **N. A. was an** organised army and was treated as such, these documents were **sufficient**.

JURISDICTION ISSUE

Mr. Desai made a few further submissions on points of **law. Firstly, the** Court Martial could not try a civil offence. Civil offence had been **defined as an** offence, which was triable by a criminal court. What **was triable by a criminal** court could only be discovered by reference to the **Criminal Procedure Code. He** did not thereby **mean** that the Criminal Procedure Code **was applicable to the proceedings** of the Court Martial. By **referring** to that Code, it **would be found that** a criminal court on its **own** motion or **authority was incapable of trying or**

taking cognizance of the offence of waging war. If a criminal court was incapable, the Court Martial was also incapable of trying the offence

Mr Desai pointed out that a criminal court was capable of trying the offence only on a complaint made by a Local Government or other authority empowered for this purpose. No such complaint had been made and, therefore, the Court Martial was incompetent to try the charge. Secondly, even assuming that shooting was done, it had not been suggested that it was done in any private or individual capacity. It was part of action taken by members of an organised army. If, however, the Court was of the contrary opinion, then the charges of murder and abetment were independent charges and, Mr Desai submitted, under Rule 24 of the Rules of Conduct of Trials before this Court, the joint trial of the three accused was completely illegal

Mr Desai cited a Privy Council decision in which it was held that any trial, which was in contravention of Rule 24 was illegal. In other words, you could not, in one trial charge people collectively unless they had committed all the offences collectively. The three accused in the case had not been charged with the same offence Lieut Dhillon, for instance, had nothing to do with the alleged murder of Mohd. Hussain with which the other accused were said to be connected.

It was too late, Mr Desai said, for even this Court to say "We will either strike out the charges of waging war or strike out the charges of murder and abet ment of murder in which some of the accused are uninterested"

DEFENCE SUBMISSIONS

Summing up the points on which he relied, Mr. Desai said. This is a case of men not acting on their own in any struggle or waging war at all. This is a case of men forming part of a regular, organised army, accepted as such by their opponents, fighting a war under the directions of a regularly formed Government. They are, therefore, subject to the ordinary laws of war and are entitled to all the rights and privileges and immunities of beligerents.

The question of allegiance is irrelevant to the issue out to the extent to which it is relevant the time arrives in the relations between the Crown and the Colonies when the Colonies are entitled to throw off their allegiance on the outbreak of war for the purpose of their liberation, and there is the classical instance of those who are now the friends of Britain and their warmest and greatest supporters in the task of sparing civilisation

On the question of facts, the I N. A was a voluntary organisation Even if there were conscription, it does not make any difference, because there are countries, where there is conscription and punishment attached to it even to-day.

As regards charges of murder, they are covered by the fact that they are part of the prosecution of war in that the people were sentenced by courts under a proper law

The next thing is that there was an organised Government, that a very large number of Indians in the Far East owed allegiance to it and territories were ceded to it and it was by this Government that war was declared and the I. N. A. fought the campaign.

The I N A was governed by a code which is substantially, if not actually the same as the Indian Army Act. The exception was with reference to whipping Though whipping as a punishment does not exist in the Indian Army Act wholly, it exists in three Ordinances issued under the Defence of India Act. If the I. N. A. Act contained provision for a large number of strokes, it did not make the I N. A. an uncivilised Army because of that.

As regards atrocities said to have been committed for the purpose of enrolling men to the I. N A, the accused are not charged with them. They neither did it, nor had they any knowledge of it

"TRIAL WHOLLY ILLEGAL"

Next, this trial is wholly illegal The charge is not triable by the Court at all. Alternatively, this charge is not triable except on the complaint of a Local Government or an officer authorised on that behalf and such a complaint does not exist. And for this reason, the accused should be declared innocent of the charges against them.

Mr Desai expressed appreciation of the courtesy and attention shown to his submissions before the Court and urged that if any new authorities were cited by the Advocate-General in his address, Mr Desai should be permitted to hand in a brief reply if he desired to show how those authorities were not applicable. Mr Desai made it clear he did not wish to address the Court again, but merely put in a written reply of not more than one sheet

In reply to the Judge-Advocate, Mr. Desai said there was no rule under which he could claim authority to reply after Sir Noshirwan's address, but he would take his stand on common fairness.

The Judge-Advocate explaining the position of the Court, said that a Court Martial was bound by rigid rules, which they could not waive These rules did not permit an address by Counsel for the accused after the Prosecution Counsel had made his reply

Mr. Desai, intervening, asked with some warmth that in that case the rule should be equally rigidly applied to the Advocate General, who should confine himself completely to replying to the points raised by the Defence and should not cite new authorities.

The Court ruled that Mr. Desai could not address them after the Advocate-General's reply.

Mr. Desai urged that the Court should also direct that the Advocate-General's reply should be confined to points raised by the Defence.

Sir Noshirwan said that that was not the meaning of the word 'reply'. He went on to ask for adjournment till Saturday to enable him to make his reply and added he expected to finish his address on that day if the Court would sit about an hour longer than usual. The Court at this stage adjourned till Saturday the 22nd. December.

Twentieth Day—New Delhi—22nd. December 1945

SIR N. P. ENGINEER'S ARGUMENTS

Sir Noshirwan P. Engineer, Counsel for the prosecution in the first I. N. A. trial, delivered to-day his reply to the Defence Counsel's address.

Sir *Noshirwan* first dealt with the charge relating to the waging of war. The evidence, he said, showed that all the accused recruited men for the I. N A, took part in the organisation of the I N A, gave directions and orders for fighting against His Majesty's forces and themselves fought against them. The evidence established beyond doubt not only that all the three accused joined the I N A. immediately after the fall of Singapore, but that they also tried by means of lectures to make other prisoners' of war forsake their allegiance to the Crown.

It would be, however Sir Noshirwan said, for the court to decide after considering the whole defence (a) whether in fact atrocities were committed in order to make prisoners of war join the I, N. A, (b) whether the accused were aware of such atrocities and with such knowledge continued to press the Indian P.O.W.'s to join the I. N A and (c) whether they held out veiled threats as to what would happen if they did not join the I. N. A There was ample evidence to prove that not only the men of the Indian Army but the officers also were brutally treated if they refused to join the I. N. A. Counsel then proceeded to quote extensively from the depositions of prosecution witnesses.

The numerous desertions which took place in the I. N. A were very significant. As soon as the men and even officers of the I N A got an opportunity to leave the I. N A. they did so and reported to their authorities "It is submitted" Sir Noshirwan said, 'that the inference to be drawn from these significant desertions is that a large part of the I N. A had been made to join the Army under compulsion It is submitted that there is ample and trustworthy evidence in support of the fact that gross atrocities were perpetrated by the officers and men of the I. N. A. who were in charge of the concentration camp"

MR. DESAI CHALLENGES A QUOTATION

Col. Loganadan had said in his evidence that, once a case of atrocity came to his notice, when a man was admitted to hospital suffering from gangrene in the ankle Col Loganadan made a report about it but got no reply

Mr Desai - Col Loganadan did not say so If the Advocate-General's statement is intended to a quotation, it is a misquotation

Advocate General The actual words used by Col Loganadan were that he personally came to know of a 'gross case of torture". I am prepared to substitute the word "torture" for atrocity.

Mr. Desai said that, at any rate, there was nothing to suggest that torture was committed in order to compel men to join the I N A.

A significant corroboration of the fact that there were atrocities appeared in the leaflet styled, "Our Struggle", by Mr Rash Behari Bose. The document which was filed as an exhibit was published under the authority of the Indian Independence League Mr. Aiyar, who was in charge of the Publicity Department of the Headquarters of the Indian Independence League in East Asia, asserted that

the Army was raised voluntarily. When confronted with the pamphlet, he said that he did not remember having the particular passage referring to the atrocities meted out to the officers and men of the Indian Army to make them join the I. N. A.

In the evidence of Capt. Arshad he said that the relations between Mr Rash Behari Bose and Capt Mohan Singh were not too cordial The suggestion was that Mr Rash Behari Bose in that pamphlet, made allegations against Capt. Mohan Singh, which were not true Mr. Aiyar, however, said that, so far as he knew, no protest was made against that passage by anybody The evidence made it clear that Capt. Mohan Singh had a large number of friends and followers in the I.N A. It was impossible to conceive that, if that passage contained an allegation which was not true, no protest should have been made by any of Capt. Mohan Singh's friends.

'It was not part of the prosecution case". Sir Noshirwan said, "that the accused themselves committed or helped to commit any atrocities on prisoners of war; but it was the case of the prosecution that the accused held out veiled threats, meaning thereby that the threats conveyed were such that, unless prisoners of war joined the I. N A., they might have to suffer tortures and be the victims of atrocities. As Counsel for the Crown, it is my duty to concede and I concede, that the evidence does not support this averment. The question, however, remains whether the accused themselves had knowledge of any atrocities that were committed in the concentration camp There can, of course, be no presumption that the accused had any such knowledge; but knowledge might be inferred from such evidence as there is on record "

Sir Noshirwan added "If the court comes to the conclusion that the atrocities were committed and that such atrocities were a matter of public notoriety and that the accused could not have been ignorant of them, the court may come to the conclusion that they had knowledge of such atrocities."

There was no doubt and, in fact it had not been attempted to be denied that the accused recruited men for the I. N. A. by delivering lectures asking them to join it. The further fact as to whether they did it with knowledge of any atrocities that might have been perpetrated could only be a matter of aggravation

JURISDICTION ISSUE

International law, the Advocate-General argued, did not come into this case at all either as regards the jurisdiction of the court or as regards the law to be administered by it. "The question is," he said, "the State and its subject The accused held commission in the Indian Army as Indian Commissioned Officers They became subject to the Indian Army Act and they remained subject to that Act under Section 2, until duly retired discharged, cashiered, removed or dismissed from service In fact there was evidence to show that the officers and men who first joined the I N A, subsequently did not agree to continue in it"

Sir Noshirwan said 'The argument for the defence amounts to this that *Section 121 (A)* of the *I. P C.* must bear different meanings where the offender is an Indian and where he is not an Indian They want to read into the section a provision that waging war against the King is not an offence, if it is accompanied by a declaration of war with Great Britain. In fact, a declaration of the Provisional Government is itself an offence and such an act cannot give immunity to the *offender* The object with which the war is waged is entirely immaterial. The act is an offence, whatever the motive for it may have been."

Quoting from Halsbury's "Laws of England" the Advocate-General said. "The rules of international law are part of the law of England, but only in so far as they can be proved by legislation, judicial decision or established usage that have been received into English law A consensus of international jurists, even if unanimous, does not make a rule of international law a part of the law of England "

"In the Zamora (1916) (2) appeal cases, the Privy Council decided as follows 'A court which administers municipal law is bound by and gives effect to the law as laid down by the sovereign State which calls it into being. It need inquire only what that law is, but a court which administers international law must ascertain and give effect to a law which is not laid down by any particular State, but originates in the practice and usage long observed by civilised nations in their relations towards each other or in express international agreements."

BELLIGERENT RIGHTS

"This court," Sir Noshirwan said, "is not sitting as an international court It has not to adjudicate questions between different States or between one State and a subject of another State." While repeating the submission that no question of international law could or did arise in this case, Sir Noshirwan further submitted

that, even according to principles of international law, there was no obligation on the part of a State to give recognition of belligerency to the insurgents. "Unless such recognition is given by the State itself, there is no immunity for the persons taking part in the insurgence. Further, the recognition of insurgence by another State does not affect in any way the parent-State so far as its own subjects who are insurgents are concerned." Sir Noshirwan quoted passages from Oppenheim's "International Law" in support of his argument.

In the present case, Sir Noshirwan went on, there was no revolutionary State and no civil war There was no contention between two States. There was no recognition by the present Government of the insurgents as a belligerent State or as having belligerent rights. There was no war in the eyes of the legitimate Government. There was no occupation of national territory by the insurgents, no administration by them of a substantial or indeed any part of a national territory. No part of the country was in their hands which they could call their part of the country. There was no revolutionary State, much less any safe State. The so-called revolutionary State did not defeat, much less utterly defeat, the mother-State, nor can it be said that the mother-State ceased to make efforts to subdue the revolutionary State, or that the mother-State was incapable of bringing the revolutionary State back under its sway.

As regards authorities cited by the defence, Sir Noshirwan said that most of them were American authorities "This court is not concerned with what the law in America is or even with the view of the American courts on questions of international law. In fact, the law in America is different from that in England. The law in America is that international law over-rides previous municipal law of a State."

Sir Noshirwan submitted that it was beyond dispute that recognition by a third State of belligerent rights in a conflict between a parent-State and its insurgents was a matter of policy and did not affect the present trial at all. The communique published by the Government of India and the statements made in the House of Commons were irrelevant to the question. Even if they were relevant, they did not amount to an admission of justification as regards the conduct of those who joined the I. N A. "Many, if not most, of the considerations urged on behalf of the defence may be appropriate to be urged before a legislative body which enacts legislation, but are entirely irrelevant before a court administering law".

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF FREE INDIA

After analysing the evidence of Mr. S A Aiyar Col Loganadan and Mr Dina Nath, who was a Director of the Azad Hind Bank, Sir Noshirwan said "One may ask oneself the question as to what it was that the Provisional Government of Free India governed It did not own nor was it in occupation of an inch of territory. Not a pie of tax or revenue was recorded It was supposed to be a Provisional Government of Free India. Such activities, therefore, if any, as it pursued in Malaya cannot be said to be in exercise of any function as regards the Government of Free India. In fact, as the name itself indicates, it was supposed to come into existence as a Government if and when the Japanese after conquering India, handed it over to the Indians It was a Government only on paper There was in fact no Government"

As regards the recognition of the Provisional Government of Free India by Japan and her allies, the evidence clearly established that the recognition by Japan was for its own object in order to enable it to win the war It was Japan who made arrangements with Germany for getting Mr Subhas Chandra Bose to come from Germany to Malaya Mr Shinichi Matsumoto the Japanese Foreign Official, in his evidence had said that Japan's recognition of the Provisional Government would help Japan in its war efforts As regards Japan sending her Minister to the Provisional Government, Mr Hachiya admitted that Mr Subhas Chandra Bose refused to have anything to do with him because he had no credentials

The Advocate General submitted that neither the Andamans nor the Nicobar Islands nor even an inch of any other territory was ever ceded to the Provisional Government As a matter of fact, Japan had no right to cede any territory, even if it wanted to The rights of an occupying power were set out in Oppenheim's "International Law", as follows "As the occupant actually exercises authority and as the legitimate government is prevented from exercising its authority, the occupant acquired a temporary right of administration over the territory and the inhabitants and all legitimate steps he takes in the exercise of his rights must be recognised by the legitimate government after occupation has ceased But as the right of the occupant in occupied territory is merely a right of administration, he may

annex it while the war continues, not set it up as an independent State, nor divide it into two administrative districts for political purposes."

Sir Noshirwan argued that the I. N. A. did not administer any "liberated areas" at all. Such of the area referred to by the defence was in the Manipur State on the border of Burma.

According to a letter dated June 21, 1944, from Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose to Col. Loganadhan, the Azad Hind Dal had just been started. Mr Bose wrote: "It is a semi-military organisation consisting of civilians and administrators who will be going to India in the wake of our victorious armies." Sir Noshirwan pointed out that from about the end of June or beginning of July, 1944, the Japanese and the units of the I. N. A. that were there began to retreat. The evidence given by Capt. Arshad was coloured by a desire to make it favourable to the defence, he said.

Referring to Defence arguments on the evidence of Col. Kitson to whom Capt. Sehgal surrendered, the Advocate-General contended that it could not be suggested that a leading Company Commander to whom Capt. Sehgal surrendered had or could have any authority either to grant belligerency or to recognise belligerent rights.

TREATMENT OF P. O. W.'S

Sir Noshirwan went on to say that in the statements of all the accused it was attempted to make out that Indian prisoners of war were left in the lurch to face the consequences of the surrender by themselves. That was not true. It was under the orders of the Japanese authorities that British prisoners of war were separated from Indian prisoners of war. It was not suggested and it could not be suggested that British prisoners of war expected to receive or in fact received better treatment from the Japanese than the Indian prisoners of war.

As Capt. Shah Nawaz Khan said in his statement, Col. Hunt on that occasion said: "To-day, I, on behalf of the British Government, hand you over to the Japanese Government whose orders you will obey as you have done ours". The Advocate-General said, "Of course, Col. Hunt said this under the orders of the Japanese authorities. It is difficult to conceive what else could have been said on an occasion like this. Even if no statement had been made by Col Hunt, the consequences and the result of surrender would have been exactly the same. There is no justification for saying that the Indian prisoners of war were handed over like cattle by the British to the Japanese. British prisoners of war were similarly surrendered."

Referring to the suggestion in the statements of the accused that their object in joining the I. N. A. was to prevent indiscriminate looting and other crime in India as in Malaya after the Japanese entry, Sir Noshirwan said, "This evidence clearly establishes the fact that all the accused did everything they could to enable the Japanese to conquer India. In fact, they insisted on the Japanese authorities giving them an active part in the fight at the front. It is also significant that, even after the Japanese began to retreat from Manipur and Kohima, the accused kept on fighting in Burma and in fact were anxious that the Japanese should overrun India."

"The explanations sought to be given of their conduct in their statements are inconsistent with their own case that the I. N. A. was raised in order to drive the British out of India: in other words to help the Japanese to conquer India. The entries in the diaries of Capt. Shah Nawaz and Capt. Sehgal are significant on this point."

"On the question of dual allegiance, Sir Noshirwan quoted an appeal case, which, he said, was a complete answer to the contention that the accused no longer owed allegiance because the Crown failed to protect them. "As a matter of fact", he stated, "the British Government did succeed in protecting India against the Japanese. The fact that up to a certain stage the fortunes of war were against Great Britain can make no difference in the question".

"As regards the contention that in India there was no such thing as treason, Sir Noshirwan said, "Treason is an offence against the State. High treason has been defined as an offence committed against the duty of allegiance. The essence of waging war against the King is that the offence is against the duty of allegiance. ... an offence against the State."

"It is submitted", proceeded Sir Noshirwan, "that notwithstanding all that has been said about the formation of a Provisional Government and the immunity subject ... is supposed to have given to the accused, what the accused did was nothing ... joining the enemy in acts of hostility against His Majesty the King.

"It is argued there was no charge of desertion or any breach of duty on the part of the accused as prisoners of war. It is submitted that it was not necessary to have any separate charge of desertion. Desertion was the first step taken by them in connection with the offence of waging war against the King. Not only did they desert the army, but they actually waged war against the King.

"It must be remembered that the accused were not merely civil subjects but Indian Commissioned Officers in the Indian Army. If they waged war against the King, it necessarily implies previous desertion by them from the Army. They could not have fought against His Majesty's Forces without first deserting the Army in which they held Commissions."

Sir Noshirwan went on to contest the argument that the Court Martial had no authority to try the case and that the trial was illegal.

CHARGE OF MURDER

Analysing the evidence on the charge of abetment of murder against Capt. Shah Nawaz Khan, Sir Noshirwan submitted that the evidence clearly showed that Mohd. Hussain was sentenced to death by Capt Shah Nawaz Khan and the sentence was to be carried out under battalion arrangements. Khazin Shah, the Battalion Commander, ordered Aya Singh to give the order of firing and Mohd. Hussain was shot dead in pursuance of such order. The evidence left no doubt as to the identity of Mohd Hussain.

Dealing with the charge of murder of four sepoys against Lt. Dhillon and the charge of abetment of murder against Capt Sehgal, Sir Noshirwan said that documentary evidence on these charges was conclusive. In his statement Capt Sehgal had admitted that the four sepoys were found guilty and sentenced to death, but said that the sentence was not carried out and the convicts, like many others who were similarly tried and sentenced about that time, had been pardoned on their expressing regret and giving an assurance not to misbehave in future. Capt. Sehgal had said that the fact of a sentence having been passed was used for its propaganda value. Lt. Dhillon had said that the sentences passed on these men were subsequently remitted by the Divisional Commander and were never executed. But Capt. Sehgal and Lt Dhillon seemed to have overlooked the Special Order of the Day dated March 19, 1945, signed by Capt Shah Nawaz Khan, Divisional Commander. In this document, which had not been challenged in cross-examination, it was clearly stated that the sentence of death was carried out at 19 hours on March 6, 1945.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai: The Order of the Day is not evidence. Direct evidence is the only evidence. Let counsel for prosecution tackle that.

Sir N. P. Engineer. The document has been proved.

Mr. Desai The signature has been proved, not the document.

Sir Noshirwan (warming up): I say the document has been proved and I do *not propose to argue the matter*

The Advocate-General concluded by submitting that all the charges had been proved against the accused and that "the patriotic motive" which, according to them, impelled their acts would not afford any defence but might be taken into consideration on the question of punishment The court adjourned till December 29.

Twentyfirst Day—New Delhi—29th. December 1945

THE JUDGE-ADVOCATE'S ARGUMENTS

The Judge-Advocate, *Col. Kerin*, to day summed up the arguments for both prosecution and defence

Col Kerin said: "For sometime past you have been listening to a case which will have given you, as naturally it must, the very deepest anxiety and concern. It is not often that a court martial has been called upon to decide issues, both of fact and law, of such importance and complexity as have arisen in this case—a responsibility which now devolves upon you—and to which is linked the heavy burden of establishing the guilt or innocence of the three accused arraigned before you on such serious charges".

"I wish to emphasise the impartial attitude which is enjoined on me by the terms of my office and to explain that whilst my function is to advise you on questions of law as unambiguously and as clearly as possible, I am bound to leave questions of fact to your sole decision.

IGNORE EXTRANEOUS REPORTS

"The time has now come for you to consider the evidence and to accept or reject it as you so think fit. One would be blind to realities if one ignored the fact

that this and other connected trials have attracted public attention both in newspapers and otherwise which in the ordinary course of everyday life must have come to your notice in some form, but you are bound to ignore all such extraneous reports and opinions and base your verdict solely upon the evidence in the record of the proceedings here before you.

"Throughout British and Indian Criminal Law there is a first principle which demands your attention from the outset, i e, the burden of proving the guilt of each accused, of every ingredient of the offences with which they are charged, and of every fact which is alleged against them, is upon the prosecution, and it is for the prosecution to satisfy you by relevant evidence of the accused's guilt.

"Whenever you have a reasonable doubt, be it on the main or on any subsidiary issue, you must solve it in favour of the accused"

FREE INDIA GOVT

After summing up evidence on the establishment of the provisional government of Free India, Col. Kerin said "For consideration of the rules of International Law as propounded by defence, it is argued by them that the following facts have been conclusively proved that the provisional government was formally established and proclaimed that this government was an organised government that this government was recognised by the Axis Powers and this recognition proves that the government of Free India had reached the stage of statehood that this state had an army which was properly organised and functioned under regularly appointed Indian officers that the main purpose for which the I N A was formed was for securing the liberation of India and, ancillary to that purpose, to protect the Indian inhabitants of Burma and Malaya in particular during the course of the war that this new Indian state acquired territory of its own as any other state might, and, finally, that the state had resources on a large-scale to fight this war

On the above facts it was maintained by defence that, having regard to the conditions under which the provisional government had been formed and was functioning, it was entitled to make war, and did make war for the purpose of liberating this country If such a government was held to have a right to make war, a right recognised and accepted by all nations, then, according to International Law, two independent countries or two states, might wage war on each other, and those who carried out any action in due prosecution of that war, apart from war criminals, were outside the place of municipal law

On the above facts it was maintained by defence that having regard to the conditions under which the Provisional Government had been formed and was functioning, it was entitled to make war, and did make war, for the purpose of liberating this country If such a Government was held to have a right to make war a right, recognised and accepted by all nations then, according to international law, two independent countries, or two states might wage war on each other, and those who carried out any action in due prosecution of that war, apart from war criminals, were outside the place of municipal law.

Col Kerin said "It will be your duty to look into International Law as cited and explained by both sides and if you are satisfied that the propositions are the accepted propositions of International Law, you may then decide one way or the other I may also remind you that the main contention of the prosecution is that British Courts, and as a matter of fact British Indian Courts, are not entitled to look into International Law and administer justice on a question which is purely a domestic matter between a state and its subject"

It was apparent from quoted opinions of International jurists that in a conflict between a parent state and an insurgent body the internal relations between the two were a matter of discretion on the part of the parent state and no definite opinion based upon a rule of International Law had been expressed by any of them "In such circumstances in matters of such immense importance and consequence, you must consider on which basis the question of belligerency is considered The doctrine of recognition of belligerency in a war that is being carried on by independent states or by a state and a community thereof is considered by nations subjectively and objectively It is, however, normally based on what is called the doctrine of expediency and self-interest of the state concerned"

The instance of recognition of belligerency cited by defence and the opinions expressed by British and other politicians to which they referred, were all expressed when Britain as a neutral state, was confronted with the question of according or not according to outside warring states or factions, E G. the struggle between Don Miguel on one side and the Queen Donna Maria of Portugal on the

other in 1828, the defacto war which was being carried on by the war waged by Garibaldi and his officers against the constituted Government of Italy

"From the isolated instance of the war fought between the armies of the Federal Government and the armies of the confederate states" said Col Kerin, "it may commend itself to you to assume that international law recognises the right of a subject nation to take up arms and to engage in a war of liberation, and that in making such a war, irrespective of whether the insurgent body becomes successful or fails a stage may be attained when the insurgent body may acquire the status of a belligerent power in the eyes of international law so as to acquire all the rights of belligerency which are recognised and accepted under the law of nations It is a matter for your consideration whether the Indian National Army and its Government which fought against the Indian army ever reached that stage when they automatically acquired rights of belligerency under rules of international law, or whether that stage was not reached at all

In the decision that you may make on the propositions laid before you, you will have to consider whether in the I N A trial where Indian Commissioned Officers of the Indian Army are charged with offences under the Indian Army Act, you are justified by law in considering the rules of International Law because prima facie you are charged with the duty of administering justice according to the Indian Army Act and the laws in force in British India

STATE NOT AFFECTED

"It has been argued strenuously by defence that courts in England are bound by law to consider international Law in the dispensation of justice on this question before you The gist of the contention of defence on this point is that all such rule of customary International Law as are either universally recognised or have at any rate received the assent of this country are 'per se' part of the law of the land, and therefore, at this court should also consider the rules of International Law as explained by defence in the dispensation of justice in this case It will be for you to decide whether courts in England or as a matter of fact those in British India, are bound by law to consider unequivocally rules of International Law. It has been asserted by the prosecution that British Law does not permit consideration of International Law in a question affecting the state and its own subject

Defence had argued that the accused were entitled to rely on Section 79 of the I. P C whereby an accused might plead that his acts were justified by law The words "justified by law" were according to defence, to be interpreted as justified by International law" while according to the prosecution the word 'law' meant the law in force in British India and no other law.

The prosecution had argued that the accused owed a duty of allegiance to the King as Indian Commissioned Officers and also owed such a duty of allegiance as natural born subjects of His Majesty the King. A breach of such a duty of allegiance might amount to an offence of waging war, as defined in Section 121 of the I P C, and also might amount to an offence called high treason according to English Law The prosecution asserted that the accused committed a breach of duty of the allegiance they owed to the King in making war which they in fact did, even though according to them it was a war for the liberation of their country.

It had been suggested by defence that the accused and others who were similary placed with them in Singapore were surrendered to the Japanese by the British who failed to protect them, that on such surrender as prisoners of war in the peculiar circumstances of the case, they as Indians were faced with the proposition of saving their country from the Japanese and were obliged to take up arms to free it, that in so doing they were justified according to International Law in throwing off the duty of allegiance they owed to the King in favour of what they owed to the country, and that in so doing they had not committed any offence be it called an offence of high treason or waging war

Reliance was placed on the American Declaration of Independence, when the duty of allegiance to the King of Great Britain was thrown off by the people of America in favour of allegiance to their country In view of that instance, it has been argued that the accused were freed from the duty of allegiance they owed to the King when they took an oath of allegiance to the Provisional Government of Free India, who has made a similar proclamation of Independence Defence further contended that there was no obligation whatever which prevented a prisoner of war from fighting on his own for the liberty of his own country and no question of breach of any duty of allegiance arose in such circumstances.

ESSENCE OF TREASON

"In other words", said Col. Kerin, "a right to throw off their allegiance to the Crown has been claimed by defence under a so-called rule of International Law, which I must point out has not been substantiated by any authority on International Law. It is true that there is no such thing as high treason denied in any act of British India, but the whole law of offences against the State is codified in the Indian Penal Code. The essence of treason is an offence against the State. High treason has been defined as an offence committed against the duty of allegiance"

Col. Kerin said :—"The essence of waging war against the King is that the offence is against the duty of allegiance. It is nevertheless an offence against the State. In considering therefore one of the elements of the offence of waging war, namely a breach of the duty of allegiance to the King, you may consider the aspects discussed above."

Having "carefully considered all the arguments and authorities cited by both sides on this subject," Col. Kerin advised "in my view this court as constituted has not an unfettered discretion in the matter of admissibility of International Law, and its applicability to the facts of this case. In so thinking, I am bound to point out, however, that for weighty reasons you might disregard my advice and come to a different conclusion."

Col. Kerin proceeded to sum up the evidence on the charges against the accused, observing, "I must now consider the evidence on the charges without reference to International Law, but I must remind you that if you should come to a conclusion in favour of the accused on the propositions based upon international law as argued by both sides and explained by me, then you will have no need to consider what follows"

"All three accused are jointly charged in the first charge under section 41 of the Indian Army Act, with committing the civil offence of waging war aginst the King contrary to Section 121 of the I P. C.

"There is one important matter to which I am bound to draw your attention as bearing upon all charges I do not know how you will regard those prosecution witnesses who joined the I N A. and took part with the three accused in the various transactions set out in the charge sheet and with the same object in view, whatever it may have been. I can only say this, that, if at any time you should consider that they were accomplices, i e guilty associates in crime, then it is my duty to point out to you the danger of convicting upon any accomplice."

Referring to evidence concerning harassment and ill-treatment of Indian prisoners of war in Malaya, which were alleged to have been carried out to force them to join the I N. A, Col. Kerin said: "It is common both to prosecution and defence alike that whatever be the relevancy of this aspect of the case, there is not and there never has been the least suggestion that these three accused were engaged in the ill-treament of prisoners or even that they were at any time present when men were tortured or ill-treated. The real issue for your consideration is whether these instances of ill-treatment are fact or fiction and whether, if they are true, they were so notorious at the time that there can be no reasonable doubt that the accused knew of them"

Summing up evidence on the organisation of the I. N. A. and the activities of the three accused as members of the I. N A, Col. Kerin said that defence did not deny that the accused joined the I N. A and took part in operations against the Allies. "All the accused however stress that the I N A were purely a voluntary army, composed of willing volunteers, and that they were throughout actuated by the highest motives of patriotism. Motive, of course, cannot excuse an act, if it is criminal but at the same time, you accept what the accused say—and it is not denied—then if the accused were to be convicted you might consider that weighty mitigating circumstance exist in all the circumstances of the case."

Dealing with the four charges of murder against Lt Dhillon, Col Kerin said that the case for the prosecution was that all the four men—Hari Singh, Duli Chand, Daryao Singh and Dharam Singh—were shot on the orders of Lt Dhillon at one and the same time. Even if the court delivered the prosecution witness Gian singh and Abdul Hafiz Khan, that Lt. Dhillon caused four men to be shot, Col. Kerin said, "first there must be adequate, direct or circumstantial evidence of the identity of the four men shot as will convince you that they were in fact Hari Singh Duli Chand, Daryao Singh and Dharam singh. The burden of proof on the prosecution will not be discharged by their merely proving that four unidentified men were shot on that day. Secondly, you must be satisfied on adequate and

admissible evidence that Lt Dhillon caused the death of Hari Singh, Dulichand, Daryao Shingh and Dharam Singh respectively—that the death of these men, in fact, took place" As to the first point neither of the two prosecution witnesses had in any way identified the four men. But there were on record two crime reports, not counter-parts in that they differed in detail, although both contained in the heading the names of sepoys, Hari Singh Dulichand, Daryao Singh and Dharam Singh Lt. Nag who produced both the documents state that the words in both exhibits "remanded for Divisional Comd 's trial" and the signatures were in the handwriting of Lt Dhillon Under Lt Dhillon's signatures at the foot of each report were the figures 6 3-1945 which was the approximate date averred in the particulars of the charge as being the date of the alleged murders. The counsel for the prosecution, said Col Kerin, had suggested that the crime reports, together with Lt Dhillon's words (deposed to by the witnesses) at the time of the shooting and the circumstances pointing to that transaction having the character and appearance of a judicial execution, established the identity of the four men alleged to have been shot.

Counsel for prosecution had in addition asked the court to accept as evidence of identity and proof of death the special order of the day signed by Capt Shah Nawaz, which stated that these 4 men were duly executed "But", said Col Kerin, "I am bound to advise you that what Shah Nawaz says in reference to this execution in that order cannot be regarded by you as evidence of these matters inasmuch as Captain Shah Nawaz has not been charged with these murders. Whatever he may have stated about them on paper at sometime or other, at a time when he was not on oath before this court, is not in evidence before you.

If the court come to the conclusion that those particular four men were shot, then the court must further decide whether they died, for without proof of death there could be no conviction for murder. Abdul Hafiz Khan had deposed that after the prisoners had been shot by Hidaya'ullah and Kalu Ram they fell down but were not dead because he saw them moving. Then Lt Dhillon ordered Sher Singh to put one or two more bullets into them and Sher Singh did so. Thereafter witness did not see them moving. Then Captain Lee went up to the bodies, examined them and said something to Lt Dhillon Afterwards Lt Dhillon ordered the bodies to be buried Abdul Hafiz Khan did not see them being buried.

Lt. Dhillon stated in his defence "it is true that I committed four men to trial on charges of desertion and attempting to communicate with the enemy. It is, however, quite untrue that these men were shot at my instance or under my orders On the day and at the time they are said to have been shot, I was confined to bed and unable to move In fact, the sentences of death passed on these men were subsequently remitted by the Divisional Commander and were never executed" Counsel for defence had produced a letter written by Lt. Dhillon dated March 6, 1945, stating that he felt very weak, so weak as he had never felt before throughout his life.

The four charges of abetment of murder against Capt Sehgal, the Judge Advocate said, were laid in respect of the abetment of the alleged murder of the four sepoys Hari Singh, Duli Chand. Daryao Singh and Dharam Singh The court's verdict on those four charges would depend to a certain extent, on the view it took of the evidence in the charges of murder against Lt Dhillon

Analysing the evidence, the Judge Advocate said Captain Seghal's connection with these charges are supposed to be through the crime reports without which there would be no material evidence against him It, therefore, you should reject the authenticity of these reports, there would be no 'prima facie' case against him". Captain Sehgal had stated that the four sepoys were found guilty and sentenced to to death under the I N A Ac , but the sentences were not carried out, the convicts like many others who were similarly sentenced about that time, having been pardoned on their expressing regret and giving an assurance not to misbehave in future. "Do you consider", asked Col. Kerin, "that the crime reports, if you accept them, together with the accused's (Seghal) admission constitute instigation or incitement to Dhillon to murder these four men, regardless whether the sentence was carried out, and assuming, in fact, that it was never put into effect ' "If the court should come to such a conclusion," said Col Kerin, it might consider itself justified in bringing in a special finding or findings"

CHARGE OF ABETMENT

On the charge of abetment of murder against Capt. Shah Nawaz Khan, the Judge Advocate said that the supporting particulars averred that on or about

March 29, 1945, Capt. Shah Nawaz Khan abetted the murder by one Khazin Shah and one Aya Singh of gunner Mohd Husain.

Capt. Shah Nawaz Khan said in his statement, "it is, in fact wrong that I sentenced him to death or that he was shot in execution of a sentence passed by me. Mr. Mohd. Hussain and his companions were only informally produced before me, there being no crime report drawn up. I only very strongly admonished Mohd. Hussain, and told him that he had committed an offence for which he could and should be shot" Summing up the evidence, Col Kerin said, "if you are not satisfied to proof of death you cannot convict the accused of an offence under I P C. Section 109, which require that the act abetted should have been committed in consequence of the abetment.

Provided however that you were satisfied that Shah Nawaz abetted Khazin Shah and Aya Singh to murder gunner Mohd Hussain and that you were convinced beyond reasonable doubt of the identity of that man, you could then consider a special finding of guilty of a charge under I P C Section 115."

On the suggestion of the Judge-Advocate, the President, Major-General Blaxland, closed the court till the 31st. December for consideration of its finding

Twentysecond Day—New Delhi—31st December 1945

FINAL SITTING OF COURT

At the end of a brief 20-minute final sitting of the Court to-day, the President announced, "The Court is closed for consideration of the sentence. The finding and sentences, being subject to confirmation, will be announced after an interval of a few days which, it is hoped, will not exceed a week. The proceedings in open Court are accordingly terminated."

Release of the Officers

On the 3rd. January 1946 H. E the Commander-in-Chief remitted the sentence of transportation passed by Court Martial against the three I N A. men, Captain Shah Nawaz Capt. Sehgal and Lt. Dhillon, on charges of waging war against the King

The communique announcing the finding and the decision of the C-in-C. says:

"Captain Shah Nawaz Khan, Captain Sehgal and Lieut. Dhillon has stood their trial by Court Martial on charges against all three of waging war against the King Emperor, Lieut. Dhillon being also charged with murder and the other two with being abetment of murder The findings of the court are that all the three are guilty of the charge of waging war, while Captain Shah Nawaz Khan is also convicted of the charges of abetment of murder. Lieut Dhillon was acquitted of the charge of murder and Captain Sehgal of the charge of abetment of murder.

"Having found the accused guilty of the charge of waging war the Court was bound to sentence the accused either to death or to transportation for life. No lesser sentence was permissible under the law. The sentence of the Court on all three accused is transportation for life, cashiering and forfeiture of arrears of pay and allowances

"No finding of sentence by Court Martial is complete until confirmed The Confirming Officer, in this case the Commander-in-Chief, is satisfied that the findings of the Court are in each instance in conformity with the evidence, and he has therefore confirmed them.

"The Confirming Officer is, however, competent to mitigate, commute or remit the sentences As already stated in the Press, it is the policy of the Government of India to bring to trial in future only such persons as are alleged in addition to waging war against the State, to have committed acts of gross brutality, and it has been announced that in reviewing sentences in any trials, the competent authority will have regard to the extent to which the acts proved offend against the canons of civilised behaviour.

"Lieut. Dhillon and Captain Sehgal have been acquitted of the charges of murder and abetment of murder, and it has not been alleged that they were guilty of other acts of brutality. Although Captain Shah Nawaz Khan has been found guilty of abetment of murder and the acts proved against him were harsh the prevailing circumstances have been taken into account by the Confirming Officer

"The Commander in-Chief has decided, therefore, to treat all three accused in the same way in the matter of sentence, and to remit the sentences of transportation for life against all three accused He has however, confirmed the sentences of cashiering and forfeiture of arrears of pay and allowances, since it is in all circumstances a most serious crime for an officer or soldier to throw off his allegiance and wage war against the State. This is a principle which it is essential to uphold in the interests of the stability of any Government by law established, present or future."

Educational Progress in India

(Convocation Addresses)

JULY—DECEMBER 1945

The Bombay University Convocation

Sir John Colville's Address

The Annual Convocation of 1945 was held in the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall of the University, on Tuesday, the **21st. August, 1945**, when His Excellency the Right Hon'ble *Sir John Colville*, G. C. I. E., T. D., the Chancellor delivered the following Convocation Address :—

It gives me great pleasure to address you today, and I do not think you will be surprised if in my talk to you I go beyond purely educational affairs, and indulge in a few reflections on the tremendous world events which have taken place since we last met in Convocation and their implication for the future. Before attempting to view this enticing prospect, however, there are several points relating to our University to which I shall refer.

I have noted that while the number of college students is increasing every year, there appears now to be less rush for purely cultural degrees, and a greater number of applications for the scientific and commercial courses. I do not for a moment want it to be thought that I underestimate the great and beneficial influence which has been exerted in India by English Literature and Law and by classical studies. *Modern life, however, is being based to an ever increasing* degree on scientific and technical accomplishment and India will demand young men and women of the highest technical qualifications if she is to expand industrially, commercially and agriculturally. There is to my mind more leeway to be made up in these subjects in India than in the purely cultural studies, and I therefore welcome the new trend of which I speak. I note the recent institution of new teaching posts in Agricultural Economics in the Departments of Economics and Sociology, and I can promise the support of the Government of Bombay to expansion along these lines. From next year for example, increased financial assistance will be available to the new section of Agricultural Economics. The Department of Chemical Technology also is increasing its sphere of usefulness. The number of its students is growing, and research work is developing on a more extensive scale, and I record with pleasure the help which this Department has received from the public and from the Bombay Millowners' Association as an appreciation of the importance of this Department to Industry.

However, let us not suppose that all new development in the University is in the scientific and technical fields, for mindful of the importance of Political Science and Training in Citizenship, we are to have a Chair of Civics and Politics to commemorate the name of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, a fighting homage to one of India's most famous sons whose centenary has been recently celebrated, and who, it may be recorded, was actively connected with the University for over half a century.

In the realm of Military Science it is satisfactory to note that the Indian Air Training Corps Scheme is becoming more and more popular with the students. At the last passing-out examination, 35 candidates were successful at the end of the Vacation Course which was specially provided for the benefit of students from the mofussil, and the new course which has just started has attracted a large number of students. Financial assistance is being made available both by the Government of India and by the Government of Bombay to provide accommodation for this training. Believing as I do that Air Training, both for war and for peace, is of high importance, I commend strongly to you this scheme.

I should also like to place before you the opportunities of Commissioned Service in the Royal Indian Navy. As you are aware, the Royal Indian Navy has expanded greatly during the war, and built up a proud record. It has been officered largely by recruitment of Voluntary Reserve Officers, some of whom will no doubt stay on in the post-war years, but the Royal Indian Navy is naturally looking to the future, and is anxious to secure first class young Indian Cadets to produce the officers of the future. The University will be able to give information to intending candidates, and those who like the idea of life on the ocean wave will be able to fulfil their ambition as members of a very gallant Company whose services will be required to ensure India's peace and safety.

I am sorry to note that the Department of Military Studies, in spite of the good work of its Director, has not secured so great a response as might have been expected, and this question is before the Syndicate at the present time. I had the pleasure of seeing one of the Battalions of the University Training Corps in camp,

and was much impressed with their keenness. In fact, I found myself mixed up in a battle in which I became identified with the defending force who represented a company of bandits, and was successfully rounded up by the main body of the Battalion who constituted the forces of Law and Order. After being interrogated, however, I was allowed to go I remember many happy days in camp myself as a member of the Officers Training Corps of my School and of Cambridge University, and I wish all success to the two Battalions of the University Training Corps of which I am proud to be Honorary Colonel

An important subject which I shall only mention on this occasion, because I am not yet in a position to give details, is the question of a new University for Maharashtra. As you know, a Committee under the distinguished chairmanship of the Right Honourable M. R. Jayakar recommended the establishment of such a University at Poona

I have now consulted many interests and have had the report carefully examined by Government, and I hope before long to issue a statement to the Press conveying the views of Government. Till this is issued I cannot enter into particulars but broadly speaking I can state that Government accepts the view that the establishment of a University at Poona is desirable, but that its nature and the financial provision which will be necessary require some further consideration, and that I shall do what I can to expedite an early decision.

Now let us think for a few minutes of the stupendous events which have taken place since Convocation in August last year. Hitler and Mussolini dead—those two great troublers of peace, to whom more than to any other persons in the world the bloodshed, the horror and the tyranny of recent years may be ascribed Germany, the greatest military machine ever known, brought to utter defeat Japan, the first aggressor of the last decade and the true source of danger to India and China, forced to concede unconditional surrender Her fate had been in no doubt, but the entry of Russia into the war against her and the stupendous invention of the atomic bomb cracked the last remnants of her will to resist. When the historians of the future mark the milestones of the century, the year 1945 will stand out as the greatest.

The "BIG THREE" suffered two casualties.

A sad event of 1945 was the death of President Roosevelt. President Roosevelt, whose death the world will long mourn, was not spared to see the defeat of the two mortal enemies of his people—Germany and Japan. That triumph was not vouchsafed to him by a few months only Yet he lived long enough to see his great country on the sure road to victory, a road on which he had set them by patient and fearless example Winston Churchill, whose matchless leadership brought the British people through the Valley of the Shadow of Death into days of triumph and victory, was yet removed from the control of the people's destiny by the Election only a few weeks before the rout of the final enemy. In Winston Churchill's case the change was accomplished through the working of a free democracy It was for the very freedom of that democracy that he fought so matchlessly, and his philosophical acceptance of political defeat is in true tradition, and detracts in no way from the memory of his peerless war leadership.

This brings me to a few thoughts on the General Election in Britain. Perhaps the most striking feature was the complete uncertainty about the result which prevailed in both the principal camps up to the very day when the votes were counted. I was told by people who claimed to be able to feel the political pulse that on the morning of the 26th July the Conservatives thought there would be for them a majority which would be narrow but workable, while the Labour Party thought that they would run the Conservatives close in the race and might beat them, but that a clear working majority was unlikely. When the result came out, it showed that the British voter could keep his thoughts to himself in a most remarkable way. There must have been thousands, perhaps millions of people who, when asked how they had voted or how they were going to vote, told the canvasser to mind his own business. Now whatever I may think of the rival Party Programmes,—and a Governor, as His Majesty's representative, must have no politics—as an old Parliamentarian there was something very satisfying to me in the picture of the country fighting out a great issue, deciding it, so far as I know, without a single head being broken from Land's End to John o' Groats, and without even the most experienced political observer being able to forecast what the ordinary man and woman would decide. The people have chosen their Government, given it a majority and a mandate, and entrusted it with one of the most difficult tasks that any peace time Government has ever faced.

Now to come back to affairs in India, I do not think you will charge me with being controversial when I express my profound sense of disappointment on the failure of the Simla Conference and on the apparent check to progress which for the *time being* it has involved

I hope that check will be of short duration

I am not going to discuss here my views as to the causes of the failure at Simla, but I will tell you that there were days when I thought that the Conference would succeed, and that the prospect of success opened up a vista of bright possibilities in my mind I have spent nearly two and a half years now as Governor of this Presidency I have enjoyed my work and felt that, thanks to the vigour and ability of those who carry the burden of Government, it has not been without some benefit to the people committed to my care But I do not want to spend all my time here as a Section 93 Governor, and I shall welcome the day when I can resume the relationship so successfully held between constitutional Governor and popular Ministry by my predecessors, Lord Brabourne and Sir Roger Lumley, now Lord Scarborough I am awaiting that day, and I hope it may not be long delayed

Yet I am not wholly down-hearted by the failure at Simla If the Conference has shown one thing, it is that we have in the Viceroy, Lord Wavell a leader of the first order, a counsellor whose wisdom can be trusted, whose dominant thought is his determination to place India on the sure road to strength and greatness, and in the words of His Majesty the King in his speech from the Throne at the opening of Parliament, "to promote, in conjunction with the leaders of Indian opinion an early realisation of full Self-Government" Lord Wavell has behind him in his work the overwhelming weight of opinion in the United Kingdom, and I confidently believe a great measure of goodwill in India It was a source of great pride to me to be allowed for two and a half months to hold office at Delhi during his absence in England, not so much because of the high honour which even temporary occupation of the post of Viceroy carries, but because I felt that in my work there I was privileged to be associated personally and closely with the great effort which Lord Wavell was at that time preparing to make, and I earnestly pray that his efforts will yet succeed

In conclusion, let me say a word to the students in particular about their place in politics. I am not one of those who believe that the student has no place in politics, but it should be remembered that the students first duty is to prepare himself for his career, to make himself fit to be an active partner in the body politic In other words, at his age he should be at the ring-side rather than in the ring, however keen his interest in politics may be Youth is no fault The Younger Pitt on becoming Prime Minister of England at the age of 24, was taunted in the House of Commons on this score, and aptly replied that if his youth was a fault, it was one that he was overcoming with every day that passed. Still with experience comes wisdom also The Book of Job says "With the ancient is wisdom, and in length of days is understanding" All of you members of this University graduates and under-graduates, have the opportunity of building up knowledge and character. It is possession of these qualities which counts in political life not the mere shouting of slogans I believe that the young men and women to whom I am speaking are thinking earnestly of the great issues which lie ahead May statesmanship be found to settle them, and may those who have passed through this great University play a worthy part in the country's future I congratulate you one and all on the degrees which have been conferred upon you today They carry with them my own very good wishes for the future which lies before you"

The Chancellor then declared the Convocation *dissolved*, and the whole assembly in the Hall rose and remained standing while the Chancellor and Fellows retired in a procession which observed the order of the entering procession reversed.

The Mysore University Convocation

Mr. T. Singaravelu Mudaliar's Address

The following is the text of the Address delivered at the Convocation of the University of Mysore, on the 29th of October 1945 by **Rajadharmaprasakata T. Singaravelu Mudaliar**, Vice-Chancellor, Mysore University

His Highness the Chancellor nominated the Honourable Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Member, Supply Department of the Government of India, to deliver the address on this occasion, but owing to circumstances beyond his contol he could not do so as he has suddenly been asked to leave India by the end of this month to attend the International Conference. His Highness the Chancellor has therefore been graciously pleased to direct me to say a few words on this occasion. I am very grateful to His Highness the Chancellor for giving me an opportunity to do so.

I cannot do better than give a short sketch of the special features of the Mysore University which has served as the nursery for the graduates upon whom various degrees have just now been conferred by His Highness the Chancellor and the various ways in which it has been equipping them for their future careers This University being in administrative control of its constituent Colleges comes into special touch with the Professors and students in a way which is not possible in the case of other Universities with their system of affiliated colleges spread over vast areas. The Vice Chancellor is a full-time officer and he devotes all his energy to administrative work and to establish intimate relations with the Professors and Lecturers

The Principals of the colleges and representative professors have a place on the Council, and therefore a direct voice in prescribing courses of study and therein directing examination and, in fact, in every detail of the administration All the University professors, without exceptions, are constituted members of the University and have a seat on the Senate.

The University endeavours to exercise some control over the social life of the students The University Unions which are at Mysore and Bangalore encourage the best form of club-life among both professors and students The hostels provide the residential feature in University life Supervision is exercised also over non residential students who are not living with their parents or relations.

A great stimulus is given to the promotion of athletics by the development of residential life, the erection of gymnastic and cricket pavilions and the direct influence of the Professors

Our University scheme provides for fuller and more continuous course of teaching not only in Kannada, but also other vernaculars.

There is one other great unique feature and that is, that this is the first University in India presided over by the Sovereign of the State as its Chancellor—a patron of learning and culture and all that is best in human nature This shows the great importance given to University Education by our Sovereign in the affairs of the State At the present time we are fortunate that the University is presided over by our beloved Sovereign who was one of the alumni of the University and we are thus having the benefit of valuable experience in the University and his wise guidance.

The objects with which this University was established have been amply fulfilled We produce graduates in Arts, Sciences, Teachings, Engineering and Medicine While the number of graduates at the first Convocation was 40 it is 774 at this Convocation This University has produced graduates who have played a great part not only in Mysore but also elsewhere

There is a very serious problem confronting the University and that is, the growing demand for University Education While the number of admissions in the University was about a thousand in 1917-1[illegible] it is 7,000 this year and though the pressure has been relieved to a small extent by the opening of four Intermediate Colleges affiliated to the University the number of admissions is still very large. The difficulty is to accommodate the large number of students who seek admission and we have managed to get over the difficulty by a system of shift working and by opening more sections in each class The difficulty is all the more felt as a large number of our students are seeking education in science subjects for which laboratories have to be provided for practical work.

Another serious problem is the question of unemployment. The last war has, to some extent, solved the difficulty and the problem will again assume great seriousness now that the war is over and demobilisation has begun.

As a result of the last world war ideas which were current six years ago have all changed. The war has brought out several developments in every branch of knowledge and there has to be a re-adjustment of values in life and in international relationships. There have been schemes of post war development in various directions in India and in our State. The University has to adjust itself to the needs of those developments and it has taken steps to provide necessary material. We have started a new course in Chemical Engineering, we are proposing to introduce a Faculty of Agriculture, and a course for the degree of Bachelor of Commerce has also been introduced. We are also urging the Government to sanction the introduction of Mining and Metallurgy and Architecture in the courses of study in the Engineering College. We have increased the number of admissions into the Medical College, the Medical School and the Engineering College. It is also in contemplation to introduce in the courses of study for the Intermediate Examination subjects which will give a professional bias to our courses such as agriculture, forestry and industrial subjects.

With regard to women's education in the University, the courses of study prescribed for them are more or less the same as those for men students. Although there is provision for a diploma in Domestic Science it has not been popular among the women students. It is under contemplation in the University to prescribe such courses of study as will be useful to a woman and will enable her to play her part in her household and maternal duties. Therefore, subjects such as Nursing, Maternity and Child Welfare and such other occupations as will be profitable to themselves in their future careers will be introduced.

There has not been sufficient co-ordination and reciprocity between research work in the University and industrial concerns in the State. If our country is to be abreast of other countries in industrial advancement, research work must be encouraged in the University and the industrial concerns must realise that such researches will enable them to find out new avenues of industry. It is therefore necessary that the industrial concerns should encourage University research workers either by affording facilities to them in their workshops or by instituting scholarships for research work.

Encouragement is given in the University to Oriental studies such as Sanskrit, Persian and Urdu and also the Dravidian languages. Kannada research scholarships have been founded. Recently a fellowship for researches in Ayurveda has also been introduced.

Great encouragement is also given in the University to Military Training. The University Training Corps is becoming very popular. It is under consideration to introduce Military Science as one of the optional subjects in the Courses of Study in this University. There is all the more urgency for giving greater prominence to military training at the present day as we all know that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in India has very recently announced that recruitment to Commissioned Ranks of Indian Army will be confined to Indians alone. Attempts are made to popularise all the three branches of the services—the Army, the Navy and the Air Force. The Royal Indian Navy has promised to send a Naval Officer to give our students an idea of the advantages of service in the Navy and the opportunities open to them. The students of the University have also taken very enthusiastically to the training given to them in the Indian University Air Training Corps. The University Training Corps have come up almost to the standard required for the regular army even within the short period of training given to them. We are also training the teachers of the University to become Officers of the University Training Corps and during the last year we have trained several such Officers and they are now mostly manning the University Training Corps. It is hoped that the Mysore University will be able to equip many of our young men for Commissions in the Army, Navy and Air Force.

Out-door games and sports have been encouraged in the University and recently the practice of Yogasanams under proper supervision has been introduced.

Very recently a system known as the Tutorial system has been introduced with a view to bringing about a closer contact between the teacher and the taught. Under this system each teacher will be allotted a certain number of students to whom he will act as a guide not only on the educational side of their careers, but also in their activities outside the classes. The teacher and the taught have to

come in social contact so that the teacher may impart a healthy and beneficial influence to the student. The teacher will provide a liaison duty between the parent and University so that the parent may be aware of the progress which the student is making in his college career. There has been a tendency of late for some of the students not to pursue their studies in the manner the University expects them to do and to waste their time and the resources of the University in activities which are not conducive to making them useful citizens of the State Under the above system if it is found that a student is not amenable to the influence and discipline of the University, the parent will be apprised of the conduct of the student so that he may also correct him.

With regard to the imparting of education there has been a demand to introduce the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction in the University classes. There can be no two opinions as to the desirability of imparting education to a pupil in the mother-tongue, but circumstances existing at present do not warrant the introduction of that system at once in the University Classes If, for instance, Kannada had been introduced as the medium of instruction in the Mysore University the difficulty would have been to find employment for the 774 graduates we have produced this year Mysore cannot absorb and find employment for all of them Even supposing a couple of hundred of these graduates can be employed within Mysore, the other 600 will be without employment in Mysore and if they are Kannada medium graduates they cannot get employment outside Mysore In this connection I must refer with pride to the high reputation which Mysore Graduates have earned in British India and elsewhere In my contact with people in British India both in Civil and Military Departments, I have heard high compliments being paid to the Mysore Graduates The Government of India have recently selected several of our graduates to be sent abroad for research work and training. We should not take away the opportunities which our students have at present of going abroad, if they cannot find employment in Mysore We should therefore ponder over these difficulties and see how they can be got over before taking a decision on this point. By saying this I should not be understood to say that Kannada ought not to be encouraged As I have already stated, great encouragement is given to the language in the University, by the institution of research scholarships, prizes, extension lectures and publications

I must congratulate Rajasevasakta Diwan Bahadur Dr. Sakkottai Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M A, M R A S F R HIST S PH D, F R A S B, on the conferment of the degree of DOCTOR OF LAWS (*Honoris Causa*) and it would have been appropriate if he were present in person to take the degree as he had originally intended to be He would also have had the opportunity of addressing you. But unfortunately his illness has prevented him from doing so and I hope he will have a speedy recovery

Graduates let me congratulate you on the successful termination of your careers in the University I have given you a short account of the various features which mark out the University of Mysore as distinct from other Universities and the various steps taken by it to fit the young men of Mysore to play that part in a manner befitting the high reputation which this University has built up, in the various walks of life for which you have been equipped

The University also expects you to be of service to your less fortunate brethren In a country where the percentage of literacy is very low, you are expected to enlighten those of your brethren who are in need of enlightenment and to guide them along useful and proper channels In a country which is poor compared to others, you are also expected to be of service to the deserving poor Such service will repay you a thousand fold more than mercenary service, for all religious preceptors have told us that it is selfless service to humanity that brings salvation to a human being

The University further expects every one of its alumni to develop his own individuality For education is meant to bring the best out of a man Each one is expected to interpret the world in his own way and not slavishly follow others. Know your Self Your capacity is illimitable. Your success in life will depend on the discipline you exercise upon yourself. It is these qualities that will make you successful in life as Tennyson says.

"Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self control,
These three alone lead life to sovereign power.
Yet not for power (power of herself
Would come uncall'd for) but to live by law,
Acting the law we live by without fear,

And, because right is right, to follow right
Were wisdom in the scorn of consequence."

Before concluding, I pay my humble tribute and express my loyalty and gratitude to our beloved Sovereign who is ever solicitous for the welfare and advancement of his subjects I am sure, that wherever you are, and in whatever situations you may be placed, you will never lose sight of your attachment to our Country and of the loyalty and gratitude you owe to our Sovereign, for nature has implanted in our breasts an indissoluble attachment to our Country which has given us birth and loyalty to our Sovereign to whom we owe our nurture.

I wish you all Godspeed !

The Agra University Convocation

The following is the text of the Address delivered by **Sir Maurice Gwyer, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.C.L., LL.D.,** *Vice Chancellor, Delhi University,* at the Eighteenth Convocation of the Agra University held on the **November 24, 1945.**

It is a great pleasure to visit this historic city, I am ashamed to say for the first time, the home not only of this University but of some of the most famous buildings in the world. It is a double pleasure because I come from the neighbouring University of Delhi, where you, Mr Vice-Chancellor, were once a member of our Executive Council and assisted in our deliberations. There has for many centuries been an association between Agra and Delhi, two cities of great renown; and indeed when men have speculated in times past where the capital city of India would be, if the Government ever left Calcutta, the claims of Agra were not seldom put forward as equal to those of Delhi This interchange of visits and courtesies between Universities is, I think, a very valuable thing. No centre of learning is self-contained; and if it seeks to be, it is likely to become self-centred and lose its contact with realities Scientists are found of saying that science has no national boundaries, though since the arrival of the atomic bomb it would seem that this is not so certain; and those of us who have devoted ourselves to other than scientific pursuits will make the same claim for the humanities. There is of course such a thing as a national culture, but the broader fields of learning and research are, or should be, the common heritage of mankind.

The day on which he receives the visible token of his degree is a memorable one in the life of every student, and it is right therefore that the occasion should be marked by a dignified and appropriate ceremonial I have myself wondered, however, whether the value of these annual Convocations is enhanced by the presence of strangers who are expected to discourse on some academic subject, though they are sometimes fond of enlarging upon extraneous topics which at times are very remote from academic or educational associations A University Convocation always seems to me essentially a domestic ceremony, to which if visitors are invited by the courtesy of the University, it would seem that they should more fittingly admire and be silent. Since, however, the University have been so kind as to invite me here to address this gathering I should like to say something on two academic subjects very near to my heart and of which the importance is not yet in my judgment sufficiently recognized by public opinion in India.

First, however, it is my agreeable duty to congratulate the recipients of degrees today If they have not themselves appreciated the value of University and College life, derived not only from their lectures but also no less from contact with their fellow students, and if they have not determined to make full use in their subsequent lives and careers of the opportunities which they have enjoyed, I do not suppose that any words of mine will teach them But let me just say this. They are going out into the world at a very critical time in the history of their country, which will need the brains and energies of all her children to solve the problems which will face her in the future. They will, unless all the omens are at fault, find themselves confronted with a period of national and political turmoil, in which it may fall to them to play some part, at first no doubt a humble part but later on perhaps one of growing importance. They may then discover, as others have discovered before them, that men can be politically emancipated and yet still remain in bondage to slogans and catch-words and that even national

freedom may be of little worth if the chains of an out of date economic and social structure still fetter men's lives. A University training will at least have taught them to distinguish between essentials and non-essentials between the eternal and the transitory, between fundamental principles and the fashions of a day. It will have taught them to cherish above all things that gift of the gods, a sense of proportion, which is of the first importance to all of us, whether we are students or Vice-Chancellors. All these things I hope that the training of mind and character which they have received in their Colleges will have taught them, and I trust that they will permit one who, though now approaching the end of his life, was yet once a student himself, to wish them god-speed, with his blessing and his prayers for their future prosperity and success.

I turn now from those who are taught to those who teach them; and, as I have said, this is a subject very near to my heart. I have spoken publicly on it before; and ideas which I had formed long ago have been fully confirmed by later experience. There is going to be no real advance in education, whether in Universities or elsewhere, unless the key position occupied by the teacher is adequately recognised and a proper status accorded to him. When I speak of a proper status, I mean that the teacher should enjoy conditions of service comparable to those which are enjoyed by others who discharge public functions of equal importance, and conditions of service include not only decent remuneration but reasonable opportunities for leisure and self improvement and prospects of a useful and honourable career. It is unhappily only too true that the position of teachers in many Universities and in a still greater number of Colleges in India falls far short of this ideal.

It so happened that this summer I was Chairman of a Board to which was entrusted the task of selecting candidates for the overseas scholarships recently instituted by the Government of India, and my colleagues and I over a period of nearly two months had to examine a vast number of written applications from candidates, to sort them out into various categories, and ultimately to interview some hundreds of them and make our final recommendations to the Government. I think that we were all agreeably surprised at the large number of candidates who came before us with qualifications well above the average, but I confess that I myself was shocked, as I think my colleagues were also, at the miserable pittances which our enquiries showed were earned by so many of them as teachers, by the absence of any reasonable prospects of advancement in their profession and by the excessive hours of work, often of a routine and deadening character, which was expected of them. I wondered in many cases how long any man, even one with a true vocation for teaching, would be likely to preserve his enthusiasms or freshness of outlook in circumstances such as these or how he could prevent his teaching from becoming mechanical and uninspired. How, I asked myself, could a profession which could offer so little to those who entered it hope to attract a constant stream of recruits with the qualities which should be possessed by those who are to mould the minds and characters of the next generation.

Some will no doubt say that the high quality which impressed my colleagues and myself is a proof that men of high calibre are in fact attracted to the profession notwithstanding all the disadvantages which I have mentioned. There are men with a natural aptitude or vocation for teaching who will always seek the work they love without much thought of the rewards which it may bring, but I think that the greater number enter the profession because, like most of us, they have to earn an honest living and because there are openings in other professions or occupations. I have heard it said by those who should know better that, this being the case, teachers cannot complain if they are subjected to the ordinary laws of supply and demand, and that it is unreasonable of them to ask for conditions of service in excess of what commercial people would describe as market rates, that is, the lowest rates which result from economic competition and the struggle for employment. Even in the world of trade and commerce this inhuman doctrine, for it deserves no better epithet when it puts the labour of men and women on the same footing as commodities and articles for sale, is yielding to the pressure of a more enlightened age; but there is no sphere of human activity where morals apart, the economics of the market-place have such lamentable consequences and prove in the long run to be so wasteful and expensive as in the sphere of education. There are still establishments to be found in which education is carried on as a business for profit; and I have personal knowledge of places where teachers are regularly discharged at the beginning of the long vacation and re-engaged at the beginning of the next term, in order that their employers may avoid the payment

of their salaries for two or three months. What self-respect can a teacher retain who is compelled to work under such degrading circumstances? I will say nothing about the self-respect of their employers, because I cannot believe that they have ever known the meaning of the word

The men of wealth in India, of whom there are a large and of late years a growing number, must bear some measure of responsibility for the lack of prosperous foundations in which this state of things would no longer be possible. There are great and honourable exceptions known to us all; but the conception of the possession of wealth as a trust, of the moral obligation which rests on those more richly endowed with this world's goods than their fellow men to dedicate some part of their riches to public uses in the form of unconditional gifts for the foundation and endowment of educational and other institutions, whether from motives of philanthropy or from gratitude for blessings received,—these principles, I say, are not yet as fully recognized or accepted as they ought to be But an even greater responsibility rests upon Governments, past and present, who have allowed the state of things which I have described to grow up unchallenged and scarcely even criticised, and who have failed to recognize that of all forms of expenditure that on education is almost the last which deserves to be called non-productive I am glad to think that there are now signs of a change of heart, but old notions die hard. I hope however, that before long it will be accepted doctrine that no educational institution is or ought to be, entitled to receive public moneys by way of grant, unless those responsible for its management undertake that the remuneration and other conditions of their teachers' service shall in no circumstances fall below that level which authoritative educational opinion insists upon as at least the minimum standard. The adoption of a principle of this kind will involve more than one consequence first, Governments must be prepared to increase very considerably the grants which they have hitherto given, secondly, the standards of education in all grant receiving institutions must be progressively raised; and lastly, the managements of private institutions must be prepared to submit to a large measure of public control than has been the case in the past When these things happen, then and not till then it will be possible to record a real educational advance.

Public opinion is already beginning to stir and there is a greater diffusion of knowledge not only about the existing state of affairs but also of the steps which must be taken in order to remedy present defects The Central Advisory Board of Education, a body with which I have had the honour to be associated for some time past, has expressed a clear and definite opinion upon all these matters, including the conditions of service which teachers in every category ought to be able to enjoy, and the Inter-University Board, though in my judgment it might have moved at an earlier date, has appointed a committee to examine the latest report of the Central Advisory Board on University teachers' conditions of service. I do not think that I am betraying any secret when I say that that committee will express its general concurrence with the findings of the report.

I hope therefore that the teaching profession may have a brighter future in store; but though victory may be in sight, it is by no means won, and I can foresee many hard and difficult struggles still ahead. A successful issue will, however, impose corresponding obligations on the profession itself. It may rightly claim both improved conditions of sevice and a higher status than it enjoys at present: but that higher status will rest not only on a material foundation but also on public opinion being satisfied that the teacher has proved himself not unworthy of it. There is no dearth of teachers who, despite all the disadvantages under which they labour, maintain standards of professional conduct which are an example to all; but no useful purpose would be served by shutting our eyes to criticisms which are heard from time to time. It is not perhaps surprising that those who work under the conditions which afflict too many in the profession should be found at times to fall short of those high standards which it is their duty to maintain. A teacher should be incapable of intrigue or self-seeking, his character for independence and probity should be beyond reporach, he should be able to treat with contempt any form of outside pressure or influence in connection with examinations; he should recognize that his day's work is not begun and ended in the lecture-room, and there should be no suspicion of disloyalty on his part to his colleagues or the head of the institution which he serves. He should seek to keep his mind supple and alert; and he should lose no opportunity of keeping abreast with the progress of learning and research in the subject which he teaches. Lastly, he should always remember that his highest function is to awake and stimulate the

intellectual interests of the students committed to his charge, and that young men at the most impressionable age of their lives will learn as much from the example as from the precepts of those who teach them. The profession must be the guardian of its own standards of conduct and ethics, and the members of it, as in the case of my own profession of the law, must never forget that the honour of the profession is to each of them a sacred charge and that the lapse of a single member not only reflects upon the profession as a whole but diminishes the public esteem in which it is held, to the grave prejudice of the great cause which the profession serves.

I have spoken of the individual teacher in Universities and elsewhere, and of the functions which he has to discharge. But I should like to say something also about one of the particular functions of University teachers considered in their corporate and not in their individual capacity. I mean that function of a University which goes by the name of research. Teaching is of course one of the principal functions of a University; but I am not sure that it is its primary function. The most important function of all is in my judgment the extension of the boundaries of human knowledge, which is what research in the true sense means. It is the enthusiasm for the increase of human knowledge which makes a University a living and growing organism. Without this vital spark it tends to become a machine for the imparting of knowledge acquired elsewhere. A University is, or should be, a great deal more than a body of men who are instructing others. It must include those who are inspired by an insatiable intellectual curiosity, those who seek to explore unknown territory and to scale untrodden heights of truth. Such men will also desire to devote part of their time to the teaching and guidance of younger men, and to hand on the torch of learning to one generation after another, but without the background of this inward and spiritual grace of which I have spoken, teaching itself becomes a formal and unimaginative thing.

I would not for a moment assert that in the Universities there is to-day no such thing as research, and I am far from decrying the efforts which are made to encourage young men to do original work, but I have in mind the idea of a University which is itself a great fountain of knowledge, constantly fed by fresh springs of learning which are able to fertilize the minds of whole generations of men. I doubt if this conception of a University is as fully appreciated as yet as it ought to be in India, where the teaching function with a view to qualifying students for degrees has been apt to predominate. I do not think that the Universities will be able to play the part they should in shaping the destinies of a nation unless the importance of this other function is recognized. No doubt absence of funds is in part responsible, and I am well aware that true research, as I have defined it, involves the expenditure of large sums of money. Thus the true centre of a University, its very heart, is an adequate and properly equipped Library, and a Library is an expensive thing, while the cost of scientific apparatus grows from year to year. But I think that many Universities have tried to do too much with the means at their disposal. I hold the opinion strongly that in matters of this kind quality is always preferable to quantity; and money is better spent in giving opportunities for the production of work of the highest quality than in the squandering of resources for the purpose of producing mediocre results over a wider range. Here again is a great chance for men of wealth to immortalize their names, as indeed some of them have done. It is more difficult to persuade Governments that money can profitably be spent in the pursuit of what is sometimes known as pure learning or pure science, because those who are the guardians of the public purse are apt to take a strictly practical view and desire to be assured of practical results. The same criticism is often made of men who have made fortunes in trade or business, but there have always been men of wealth possessing either the gift of imagination themselves or willing to be inspired by others possessing that gift, who have been eager to provide great sums of money for the purposes of science or learning without thought of immediate gain.

This is a matter, however, in which Universities themselves should give a lead to public opinion. They must make it clear to the world that they are not only degree-giving machines, but that they are essentially instruments for the increase of human knowledge. They must preach this gospel early and late, in season and out of season, and they must bring about a revolution in the public mind with regard to a University's true end and purpose. As in the case of teachers, there are hopeful signs that this revolution has already begun, but I think though I may be wrong, that the impetus is coming more from outside the Universities than from within. In some spheres of learning, notably in Physics, great progress has already

been made, but others lag behind; and I think that far too much lecturing work is required of holders of University Chairs, who are thus deprived of the leisure which it is necessary that they should have in order to pursue their own research work. I have long thought indeed that there are too many lectures in the Universities and Colleges generally and too little tutorial instruction, for it is in the tutorial hour that the teacher can by personal contect and discussion with one or two students at a time give an infinitely greater degree of intellectual stimulus than in weeks spent in the class-room. This means of course that University staffs must be increased, and, I am afraid, there is much understanding at the present time. But here again the money factor becomes all important.

I should like to tender my respectful congratulations to the educational authorities in this Province, who, I understand, are proposing to introduce a three-year degree course in the Universities under their jurisdiction at an early date. Coming as I do from a University which has already initiated the same experiment, I can only express my firm conviction that this is a step which the Universities concerned will never regret. A rumour, however, reached me the other day, which I trust is without foundation, that the three year course will be a single course in which no distinction will be made between Honour and Pass I am quite sure that the full advantages of a three-year course can only be obtained if there is an Honours course entirely distinct from the Pass course, and for this reason. It is inevitable that a single course designed both for students of higher intellectual quality and also for those of only average attainments will tend towards a lower standard than if the two categories were kept distinct Indeed, a course suited to the more brilliant men of their year would probably be beyond the capacity of the rest, with the result that the former will be deprived of opportunities of study to which the quality of their mental equipment would justly entitle them. Such at least is our experience at Delhi and I hope that before the final decision is taken in this matter, the considerations to which I have drawn attention will be borne in mind. The question has an undoubted, if only an indirect, bearing on what I have already said on the function of Universities to promote advanced learning in its higher ranges and not only to impart such instruction as may be necessary for the obtaining of a degree. I read not long ago an account of the manner in which in Russia, a country now a-days constantly held up to us as an example, special attention is paid to the education of the abler students and to those who have proved themselves capable of benefiting by teaching of a more advanced kind. It is these men who in their maturer years will be best capable of adding to the sum of human knowledge, and thus of making their contribution to the advance of civilization.

It is a common criticism of the educational system at the present time that too great a proportion of students go to the University who are unlikely to benefit by a university education or training The percentage of failures in University examinations seems to bear this out, and one of the greatest of the advantages which will follow from the adoption of the scheme which has come to be known as the Sargent Scheme is that then for the first time the opportunity of a University career will be assured to great numbers of young men who possess ability above the average but who have today no chance whatsoever of developing it The loss to themselves is great, but the loss to their country is greater still, and, if the essence of democracy is that the same opportunities at all events are to be open to all, though the use made of them is of course the responsibility of the individual, then I think that in educational matters we should all desire, whatever may be our political creed to call ourselves democrats There is much of the machinery and processes of democracy which I have always thought inappropriate to the administration of educational institutions; but in this respect at least there is not likely to be any difference of opinion.

Let me say this in conclusion, since I have referred to one of the forms of modern government It is an ill day in any country when politics as such invade the educational sphere Education is surely one of those territories where all should meet on common ground. We may each of us hold this or that political doctrine or belong to this or that political party; but the advancement of learning knows no parties nor should the education of the rising generation. I have regretted the attempts which are sometimes made to engulf students in the conflict of parties, while their mental equipment is still incomplete and they still lack that maturity of judgment which alone will enable them to come to rational decisions upon the political issues with which they will be faced often enough in later years. Let them be satisfied for the time being to learn all they can about

these issues, to discuss them to their heart's content, to prepare themselves to play their part in public affairs when the time comes The hours at their disposal for all these things are very precious and will not recur

Throughout the ages, at least until our own totalitarian epoch, the conscience of nations has instinctively condemned the invasion or pillage of the great shrines where men gather together for prayer and the worship of God Universities and other seats of learning are no less holy ground, a sanctuary not to be profaned by war and tumult. I have from time to time when in a reflective mood, permitted myself to speculate whether in the Universities, both of India and of my own country, where men can still discuss great issues with wisdom and understanding, with impartiality and tolerance, without passion but with a desire for justice and truth, a spirit may not yet be born, able even now to give to this distracted land that peace which it seems to be beyond the power of parties, politicians or statesmen to achieve. Perhaps this is an idle dream But so long as there are places among us where learning is sought for its own sake and young men are taught to reverence the things which belong to the mind and to the spirit, two words will still remain for the comfort and consolation of mankind, Faith and Hope.

The Annamalai University Convocation

Sir Norman Strathbie's Address

The following is the text of the Address delivered at the fifteenth Convocation of the Annamalai University by **Sir Norman Strathie, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.**, on Tuesday **the 27th November 1945.**

When I was asked to deliver this Convocation address, I had considerable hesitation in complying I appreciated the honour but I felt I was not quite worthy to fill the place of the distinguished scholars who stood here before you in previous years I was however assured that you Graduates would welcome a talk on the problems of administration from one who had spent the bulk of his life in helping to govern this country So I agreed My task here in India is nearly completed It is a case of Nos Morituri te Salutamus"

2 Under the Statutes of the University, I am instructed 'to exhort you candidates for the Degrees to conduct yourselves suitably unto the position to which by the degrees conferred upon you, you have attained" This recognises that you Graduates are the future leaders of the people I, as an old administrator, am to give you what advice I can

3 To do so, I feel I must embark upon some personal reminiscences, though I realise that such reminiscences are apt to be boring I think my connection with India began on the night when I took my first Honour degree at Glasgow University I had been brought up in the belief that I, as the eldest son must carry on my father's business He was Chartered Accountant and Company Director On that night my father following the tradition that then prevailed in most good Scottish families that one son should be at the Bar and one in the Church, suggested that I should drop the family business and go to the Bar and he promised to help me. I knew that I had not the gift of oratory nor a quick tongue; so I said that if I was not required in the business, I wanted to try for the I. C. S. for, like many other young men of my generation, I had heard the call of the East. I am telling you this to make it clear that I and many others of my time, did not come out to India merely to earn a living I came in the hope of serving the people. I think I can say in all honesty that I did not know what the pay was, though I knew it was enough, nor what the pension was. We did believe that we were joining a *service* and we believed that it was the finest in the world

4. Well, I got through the examination and came out to begin the work in Tinnevelly It was a hard life for junior Civilians in those days. I married early We drew Rs 275. We did not keep a car but did our journeys on horses and push bicycles. We did not drink We had no fans, nor could we afford ice or refrigerators. We denied ourselves many comforts to which we had been accustomed. But we managed somehow and we never complained. We worked hard, trying to settle these village factions which still seem to be the chief interest of the villagers. We sat in tents hearing Settlement Objection Petitions, or on verandahs of Travellers

Bungalows trying Magisterial cases, till all hours. A great Chinese writer, Dr Lin Yu Tang, has referred to what he calls the "three great American vices—efficiency, punctuality and the desire for success." These certainly inspired us young I C S., in those days I remember being indignant at the habits of my Sub-Magistrates who would call witnesses from 10 a m. because the form said so—and would sit down to court at about 4 p m having left the witnesses to gossip under trees all through the heat of the day That made me very angry and it was not easy to convince me that the litigants did not mind. Litigation was an amusement with them, though a very expensive one I gather that the Sub-Magistrates thought me slightly mad

5 Looking back now, after some years of dealing with the higher aspects of Government, I am not ashamed at our striving after punctuality and efficiency. But I do see that in some respects our administration may appear to have been lacking We did try hard to maintain law and order and to protect the poor from oppression Many would have said that was our only responsibility. Possibly it may be argued that until recent years, we did not attempt enough. The reason for this was undoubtedly our reluctance to impose higher taxation. India was a poor country, dependent for its revenues on the primitive old land revenue system, supplemented by some 3 or 5 crores from Excise and an absurdly small Income-Tax, administered in a rough and ready way by the Land Revenue Department (I remember raising cheers in court when I suggested that a local merchant might pay income-tax according to the girth of his stomach) In later years I have made taxation my speciality and you must forgive me if, as an enthusiast, I take this opportunity of trying to pursuade you young men that no great progress can be made here in India unless the rich men of this country submit to much higher taxation No doubt the wealth of the country can be increased by the development of industries and the improvement of agriculture But to begin such developments and improvements there must be funds in the coffers of the State Government cannot borrow unless it has the means to repay and at first the funds for that must come from the surplus wealth in the hands of the rich If you young men succeed in what is called "getting on in the world" you cannot expect to live the luxurious lives of the rich men of the past

6 To increase the wealth of the country and to provide the funds to make a start was the object of the Post-war Reconstruction Plans, upon which the I. C S. men of my time have laboured so hard We hoped to leave these plans as our legacy to the Madras Presidency You do, I trust, know the gist of them, how in the first 5 years we meant to spend Rs. 31 crores on compulsory elementary education, Rs. 28 crores on roads Rs 27½ crores on irrigation, Rs 11 crores on electrical developments Rs 10 30 crores on hospitals, dispensaries and public health and Rs. 8 crores on agriculture The proposals for elementary education, combined as they were with free mid day meals for poor children, were of course very ambitious and perhaps made our plans lopsided In 20 years we hoped to make the whole population literate. We are now beginning to realise that that ambition can hardly be achieved in that time, till the country's wealth is increased by the development of industries and the improvement of agriculture But we meant to make a beginning and we have already done so Even this year, before the 5 year plan was meant to be in operation, we are spending Rs 20 lakhs on compulsory elementary education and the same sum on free mid-day meals, in addition to the Rs. 6 75 lakhs we are giving for free meals in Labour Schools And though we have been concentrating on elementary education we did realise that Universities too needed help We have given special grants to all three and earned some modicum of praise in a recent speech by the Vice Chancellor of one of your sister Universities.

7. But all these schemes, which were to cost Rs. 136 crores, needed money. We thought we had calculated on a Revenue Reserve Fund of Rs 25 crores, on surplus revenue of Rs 3 crores per annum during the 5 year plan, on our own Madras loans of Rs 15 crores for productive schemes on Rs. 30 crores loans to be raised by the Government of India for us for schemes not directly productive, on our balances of Rs 7½ crores and on a grant from the Government of India But "the best laid schemes of mice and men gang aft agley" and it looks as if our plan is already scuppered It depended on substantial revenue surpluses during the five years and they depended on additional taxation The only possible sources were an increase in the Sale Tax and Agriculture Income Tax The first was always doubtful. The second looked very promising, for subsequent investigation indicated that the yield would be far higher than originally estimated and that

hardly any actual cultivators—only one in Trichinopoly and 2 or 3 in Malabar—would be effected. The outcry against it, largely based on a failure, as I considered, to appreciate the difference between a tax on income and a tax on land, was so great that it was decided that the present Government should not proceed with it. We hear now that the first step of the probable future Government is going to be to introduce Prohibition throughout the Presidency. I am not going to attempt to discuss the advisability of that here. The stoppage of the supply of *hot* liquor may well be one way of ameliorating the condition of the people, but it is going to mean a loss of revenue of Rs. 14 crores per annum and the final death blow to our schemes for the future.

8. We I C S men of my time are therefore departing disappointed and with the feeling that our efforts to leave something substantial achieved have been in vain. We are not going to waste too many tears over that. Officials are accustomed to have their proposals rejected by higher authority, as you will find if you enter Government service We have learnt that "great kings or small kings cannot expect to have their own way in all things." But what tends to embitter us and to cloud the memories of many happy friendships made with Indians is the constant stream of vituperation and hatred levied against us by so many politicians—I admit mostly the smaller fry— If in this address I have succeeded in persuading you Graduates of Annamalai University that we British I C S did not come out to India to exploit the country and that we have done our best to serve it faithfully and if I could hope that you at least will not join in this campaign of hatred my object has been achieved. Hatred leads us nowhere. It is a destructive force. What is needed for the future of India is construction.

9 I have one other exhortation It is based on my own personal experience during this war Again I must ask you to bear with me in bringing in personal experiences, but what I have seen has influenced me so much that I feel I must not neglect this opportunity of trying to impress it upon you Most of you here in South India have really not felt the war much You have suffered some inconveniences but nothing compared to the sufferings of the people of Great Britain and the countries occupied by the enemy I was in London during the Blitz of 1940-41, an experience for which I can never be too thankful Other people who were there in those days may not have acquired the same impressions but to me that time left two things clear First a conviction of absolute faith in the fundamental soundness of the average British man and woman In those days there were few signs of selfishness. The people were one, united in high endeavour The rich were helping the poor There were innumerable instances of unbelievable courage and dauntless bravery in the face of danger, both among our Defence Services and also among the plain common folk. Secondly, a conviction of the worthlessness of possessions—a realisation that happiness comes from within and not from without. When one saw people lose literally everything in one night and yet remain cheerful, unselfish and helpful to others, one could not but revise one's old standards This conviction was reinforced by what I saw in Palestine, when I visited the communal settlements there In those settlements there were no private or individual possessions, not even clothes Yet the people were happy They had all known suffering in German concentration camps. They had lost everything but they had come to realise that happiness consists not in material possessions but in working for others and sharing with them I am not pretending for a moment that the whole world can be organised on the lines of these settlements but I am asking you in your future life to discard the notion that you must push others aside and strive after securing for yourself the biggest possible share in the world's goods. That will not bring you happiness Do all you can to increase the wealth of the world, but do not strive to snatch it for yourself. In the old days when I studied economics, Marshall taught us that in general a man's income was the measure of the service he had rendered to society. He—or his father—had put so much into the pool—the National Dividend—and was therefore entitled to draw so much out I do not know whether your Professor of Economics is a disciple of that theory, but I hope you will not allow your lives to be guided solely by it Accept one side of it. Put as much as you can into the pool, but do not accept the other side Do not accept the proposition that a black-market profiteer making Rs 20,000 per mensem is forty times more valuable to the community than a College Professor on Rs 500/ You have had the benefit of a College education, spent in pleasant surroundings at the expense of your parents or of the State. See to it that you repay all you have enjoyed by a life of service.

The Patna University Convocation

Sir P. C Ramaswami Aiyar's Address

The following is the text of the Convocation Address delivered by Sachivottama Sir C P. Ramaswami Aiyar, K C. S I., K. C. I E, LL. D, Dewan of Travancore, on the 24th November 1945.

I thank the authorities of the Patna University for giving me the opportunity to participate in this Convocation that takes place in a city of past memories and present endeavours My primary task is to felicitate those who have, after strenuous effort, qualified themselves in several branches of study for assuming their respective roles in the active life of the world. I wish bon voyage and the best of luck to all of them.

That there is nothing new under the Sun is a well-known cliche and a Convocation Address is not modern development. There are at least two discourses in the Taittiriya Upanishad answering to the description. Both have exceptional merit of being brief as well as comprehensive and the same scripture contains a succinct summary of educational ideals. "Let the youth be virtuous and diligent students Let him be well-disciplined, firm mentally and bodily strong." The essence of the matter is there The programme of a University may be studied from the point of view of matter, of method and results Intensive culture -humanistic or scientific —is indispensable under modern conditions, but, in addition to specialisation, a wide ranging mental training at some stage is requisite to constitute man of the world able to deal with the many demands of a growingly complicated life. The University method should involve the development of an attitude of toleration of other men's views and practices, the eschewal of parochialism to individual, national or international problems and the cultivation at the same time of clear-eyed courage and freedom from narrowing prejudices Here again it may be useful to remember our ancients and the teacher and the taught may well keep in mind the old exhortation :

"Let us be secure and well protected. let daring tasks be undertaken by us together. let our studies illuminate us and above all may there arise no hatred amongst us"

An exhaustive review of educational problems in India has been undertaken at present and the essential requirements and the several aspects of educational reconstruction have received careful attention When Dr Sargent declares that it would appear to be true that Indian Universities did not make any serious attempt to relate their output to the needs of the community and that their general organisation does not secure that close personal contact between students and teachers from which the greatest benefits of the University life are usually derived, he is giving expression to the unspoken thought of practically everyone who has bestowed any thought on the topic. Although the paramount importance of primary, secondary and vocational education is increasingly realised, the ultimate and fruitful development of Indian manhood and womanhood must be based on the type and the outlook of our University education Those who go to the Universities should be, in the language of Sir Maurice Gwyer, the elite of their contemporaries, those who will be leaders of the next generation in public life, in industry and in commerce.

In order to fit our Universities to fulfil such a role the atmosphere not only of the University but in the country at large needs to be cleared The war touched only the boundaries and fringes of India and this land of ours, while it was spared the devastations and the horrors of total welfare, was not also enabled to develop that heroic mass-ebullience, which has profoundly altered the psychology of England, Russia and China. Australia and Canada, even more distant from the centre of the warfare than India, not only contributed men and material to the winning of the war, as India did, but recognised their national life, created new industries and equipped themselves to play a crucial part in the postwar world. In spite of the handicaps imposed by the lack of many requisites, Canada and Australia, unlike India, have brought into existence a ship-building industry mercantile marine and a machine-tool and aircraft industry and have engaged themselves in a thousand other fruitful activities. Farsighted and concentrated Government planning have enabled them to outstrip us, although in the matter of industrial resources, popula-

tion and intrinsic wealth they cannot be compared with India, and though ten years ago were in no better position

This is not the occasion for indulging in vague regrets or repining. In the next few years the ground that has been lost must be won. The part that Universities can play in this process is indisputable. The motto that the Travancore University has adopted is: "Wisdom is manifested in action." Keeping this ideal in sight our Universities, functioning, as they do, in a comparatively poor country, should take all steps to prevent overlapping and reduplication. Each University should concentrate on some study or a limited group of studies; the multiplication of efforts, energy and finance has to be avoided. At the same time the fullest possible facilities for interchange, not only of ideas but of students and professors, should be encouraged. The University has, under present-day conditions, to step down from the citadel to the field, the market place and the manufactory and play its part in the renaissance of agriculture, commerce and industry. It is true that man does not live by bread alone, but he cannot live without bread, and the purely academic and theoretical approach towards the problems of life has to undergo a basic modification.

The Lord Buddha, in the domain of spiritual struggle and attainment, and Asoka, in farsighted and beneficient administration may truly be regarded as representing the climax of Indian evolution. Mons. Barthelemy St. Hilaire pays this tribute to the former which I translate literally from the French: "He is the achieved model of the truths that he preaches. His abnegation, his charity, his unalterable sweetness did not forsake him for a single instant. He prepared in silence his doctrines during six years of retreat and meditation. He propagated them by the sole power of his persuasive speech, and when he died in the arms of his disciple, it was with the serenity of a sage, who practised, throughout his life, the truth of the message that he had found." Of the latter, it will be remembered that, after resounding military successes in many campaigns, this unique Ruler, distressed by the misery caused by war, resolved to abandon the traditional course of monarchy. He was one of the most practical of moral reformers that the world has seen. In religion, he was no bigot, and he discountenanced pomp and ceremonial and laid stress on charity, simplicity of life and toleration. He never regarded himself as the champion of one creed against another. It has been happily said that he was the champion of a way of life rather than of a faith. They both revolted against futile and meaningless observances but in their tolerance of contraries they exemplified the traditional Hindu thought. The outlook of Buddha and of Asoka and the messages of their lives are indicative of the essential culture for which a University should stand.

It is the high privilege of Bihar to claim the nativity alike of Lord Buddha and Asoka and there is, therefore, more than ordinary appropriateness in my references to them. In addition, the most celebrated and the most farflung Indian University of the past flourished in this Province and the site of Nalanda was in the proximity of three cities celebrated in Indian and specially in Buddhist chronicles—Pataliputra or Patna, Rajagraha which was the capital of Magadha and Buddha Gaya. The very word Upanishad signifying an approach for instruction, presupposes a teacher or a group of teachers round whom the students congregated for enlightenment and under whom they served periods of apprenticeship and tutelage. The founding of the Nalanda University was a logical corollary of the Upanishad system and followed a period of discussion and controversy and the creation of great literature. It was inaugurated in a place that enshrined the memories not only of Buddha but of Mahavira, the protagonist of the Jain faith. The Silver Jubilee Souvenir of your University proudly recalls that Gautama, the founder of Indian logic, and many other leaders of thought were born in the sister kingdoms of Mithila and Magadha. The ancient city of Pataliputra was the capital of the Nandas and of Chandragupta as well as of Asoka and has been described as the capital of the earliest Indian Empire in the proper sense of the term and the city continued to be the centre of literature and the arts for about a thousand years, amongst the later representatives being Ashvaghosha the author of the Buddhacharithra. There was an observatory which has been described with enthusiasm by Chinese travellers. Although as early as the Maha Bharata a scientific study of the motions of planets and stars had been initiated by Vriddha Garga yet Patna can claim the paternity of Aryabhatta, the greatest systematic astronomer of ancient India who, in 499 A D when he was 23, began to teach astronomy to his pupils in Kusumapura, the name by which Patna was then known. Bhaskara, the illustrious mathematician, was one of his pupils.

Asoka and Harsha built Viharas or monasteries and numerous students and professors were maintained by the benefactions of the State; and the account of Hiuen Tsiang shows that there were at least six colleges at Nalanda. The Chinese traveller, Itsing, speaks of eight colleges having as many as 300 rooms. Although Nalanda was in essence a theological institution and famous preceptors like Asanga, Dingnaga and Dharmapala as well as Nagarjuna who came from South India were Buddhistic preachers, yet the University course comprehended, not only drama and the art of composition in prose and verse, but logic and metaphysics and many *forms of secular as well as traditional learning.* The Faculty of Medicine or Chikitsa Vidya was also one of the features of Nalanda. For the first time in the history of the world, Asoka established hospitals for men and beasts in his Empire. There also existed houses for dispensing charity. A Chinese traveller, Fa-Hien, says that "all the poor and destitute in the country, orphans, widows and diseased people are provided with every kind of help; doctors examine their diseases and they get the food and medicine which they require."

Itsing's description of the life of the University is instructive: "Here at Nalanda, eminent and accomplished men assemble, discuss possible and impossible doctrines and after having been assured of the truth, men become far-famed for their wisdom." It is also clear that students travelled all the way to Nalanda from distant parts of India and the Far East to get the hall mark of culture and refinement. Nalanda could thus be truly described as an international University. Though it had rivals like Valabhi in the West Coast of India and Vikramasila which was a sister institution, Nalanda was the pattern for all similar developments in India. It has been said of it, "Races belonging to various climes, habits and languages were drawn together not in the clash of arms, not in the conflict of exploitation but in harmony of life, in amity and in peace." But the motive force *in Nalanda, namely, Budhism under-went decline from the 7th century and was* successfully attacked by many great Indians, the greatest of whom, Sankaracharya, was, by the way, a native of Travancore. Nevertheless, Sankara's victory was a victory of argument and assimilation rather than of crude destruction.

Starting with the Gurukulas of the Vedic times and the Viharas of the Buddhist India, our country developed all the essentials of a University proper, including the system of intramural residence, which, even in Europe, was only a later development. These old institutions truly fulfilled Newman's ideal of enabling students to form each other, to learn the greatest art of living in helping to form an *intelligent society.*

But more important than the outer appearance or even the curriculum of a University is the spirit of the University. There again no more instructive guidance can be obtained than from the example and preaching of Buddha himself. In the 'Ratnatraya' of Swami Vimalananda is quoted this saying of Buddha. "Do not believe in anything on mere hearsay. Whatsoever, *after thorough investigation and reflection,* is found to agree with reason and experience as conducive to the good and benefit, that alone accept as true and shape your life in accordance therewith. Do not accept my doctrine from reverence, but first try it as gold is tried by fire. I have proclaimed the truth to you without making any distinction between exoteric and esoteric doctrines. You must labour for yourselves. The Buddhas are only teachers and showers of the path." These precepts are a fitting compendium of what University ideals should be and what all culture should aim at.

Your city was nearly as great a centre of Islamic culture as a focus of Hindu learning, but there appears to have been a long interregnum of stagnation until after its separation from Bengal when one of the earliest steps that Bihar took was to inaugurate the University in 1917. A well equipped Medical College and hospital, an Engineering College with adequate workshops and a number of other institutions have come into existence not only in Patna but in various other localities in the Province.

It is noticed that between 1938 and the present day, nine new colleges have been started and affiliated to the University and the Faculties of Engineering and Commerce have come into existence. It is also learnt that a Faculty of Agriculture will soon be started. There is under investigation a scheme to convert the University into a teaching University. The Khuda Bakhsh Library houses a unique collection of priceless books in many languages, eastern and western, and another important institution, the Radhika Sinha Institute and Library owes its existence to the munificence of Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha. The numerous books and papers published by the members of the staff and the alumni of the University evince the the existence of a pulsating life.

Bihar is also the birthplace of a great industrial organisation in Jamshedpur. The Indian Lac Research Institute is centred in the Province as well as the Indian School of Mines. A very vigorous mass literacy movement is sponsored by the University and the Tata Iron and Steel Company have their own technical Institute and Welfare institutions. These developments and the copper and the bauxite resources of the Province are also full of promise for the scientific worker and the industrialist. In a sense Travancore is linked with Bihar in that the bauxite of Bihar is being treated at the Aluminium Works at Alwaye. The University Library and Museum as well as various research organisations bear testimony to the many-sidedness of Patna's intellectual activity.

So far, I have been concerned with the appurtenances and the instruments that have been or may be brought into existence for the purpose of study and research. It will not be out of place to investigate what these will lead up to. At this crucial moment in the world's history, the question is inevitable whether culture or religion, as normally understood and expounded, have produced the results that were aimed at. Should we or should we not regard the busy, hustling, competitive and acquisitive life of the Near West and the Far West as essentially mistaken? Are we justified in exclaiming with the Prophet in the Old Testament.—"Wherefore do ye spend your money, on that which is not bread, and your labour on that which satisfieth not?" Are we or are we not entitled to regard the path of competitive pursuit as founded on a wrong idea of human personality and as implying a constant alienation from our fellowmen? In close juxtaposition with the crisis in ideals that led to totalitarian regimes, we have also come to a crisis in the higher learning and the programme of Universities. In so far as they can, they are bound to express the virtues and the vices of the social order in which they exist. It has been stated of the American Universities that they are in the process of a struggle between an unconsciously accepted and aristocratic theory of education and a growing acceptance of an essentially democratic way of looking at things

Dr Lindsay, speaking of Oxford and of what he calls the anti-democratisation of Secondary and University education, says in downright fashion that education is producing an intelligentsia in the worst sense of the term He remarks. We have of recent years instituted a ladder from the primary school to the University, but the conditions under which boys of poor parents have to climb that ladder are long and excessive preoccupation with examinations and nothing but examinations and an enforced neglect of the other sides of education, namely, the training of body and character" This description is even more intrinsically true of the system that has been developed in India after Macaulay's famous Minute There is, moreover, another danger which is not less to be guarded against.

The frightening emphasis laid on specialised sciences and the spectacular triumphs of research that have culminated in the disintegration of the atom have, in the opinion of some of leading thinkers, produced, in the language of an educational expert, a veneration which, for human credulity, can only be compared with the superstitious regard which the mediaeval peasant paid to his priest We easily perceive the religious superstition of that world and are apt to be scornful It is, however, less easy to recognise that we can be provincial in time as well as in space. A later generation may view our superstitious regard for science with the same superior tolerance which we condescend to offer to our religious ancestors. Professor Nash in the "University and the Modern World" gives some startling examples of the abuse of pseudo-science. An instrument for measuring happiness has been evolved in an American University which is termed the "Euphorometer" With the help of an elaborate array of charts, diagrams and questionnaires, an emotional scale is constructed for the purpose of registering the intensity and the reactions of happiness ecstasy and despair Newly married couples register 200 Euphorunits and couples unhappy to the point of considering divorce fall to zero and below. If science can cherish such superstitions, the achievements of commerce and business are also not exempt from them Conspicuous financial triumphs which were regarded by some prophets as a peril to the soul have almost become a divine ordinance and the basis of society

John Wesley in a sermon exhorted his listeners "to get all you can, save all you can, and give all you can" In the fields of applied science and capitalistic enterprise, unrestrained acquisition took the form of an experiment in the utmost utilisation of materials. The financier began almost to assume that universal harmony will follow from the struggle between competing and mutually destructive groups. The scientist has a similar outlook. A wholesome reaction has come with the practical collapse of the earlier types of capitalism and the quick disappearance

of the smug self-satisfaction of the scientist. The underlying and well-nigh universal belief in material progress and in its inevitability and beneficience has been shattered by the nature and extent of modern warfare. No civilisation has nourished more extravagant hopes than that associated with the Europe and America of the last hundred years and none has resulted in such wholesale frustration. Taking all the wars from earliest recorded history up to Napoleon's days, none disturbed the lives, the minds, the feelings and emotions of whole classes or whole nations. It has been observed with justice that in earlier days entire communities sometimes suffered devastating perils but more often than not, the citizens of a besieged city or countryside would pass almost automatically from one King or Commander to another without suffering any loss in life or property. In comparison, World War I and its terrifying successor World War II have brought about an effective negation of security in every part of the world if any one part were attacked by the war epidemic. It is now axiomatic that one of the underlying causes of the present crisis in human existence is the system of education that has been adopted in several parts of the world.

There was a period when educational reformers took it for granted that universal education would, by itself, make the world safe for liberty, equality and fraternity. In practice, such education has too often prepared the way for dictatorships and universal war. The lesson is obvious, and has been forcibly enunciated thus by Aldous Huxley "If one's goal is liberty or democracy, neither can be attained by the teaching of passive obedience and of bullying which are inseparable from militarism and by any education that is sub-ordinated to such militarism and separatism" Our systems of education, therefore, have to be completely and basically reorganised so as not only to be a preparation for a vocation but to bring about a new Pisgah sight of the future land of promise. "He who does not teach his son a trade" says the Talmud, teaches him to steal" St. Paul, it has been remarked, was not only a scholar but was also a tent maker. Vocational culture through well organised industry and agriculture has been receiving special recognition in Soviet Russia and great success seems to have attended the experiment Much more attention has also to be paid to the education of the emotions through the arts. Music, dramatics poetry and the visual arts should be used systematically as a means for widening consciousness, stimulating mental and spiritual alertness, training emotional aptitudes and imparting the right direction to emotional impulses But perhaps the most important and unprecedented service that the educationists of the future will have to render to their charges is outlined in "Ends and Means" where a plea is made for the building up in the plastic mind of a habit of resistance to suggestiveness. On account of the overwhelming importance of this aspect of education, I venture to quote in extenso a memorable passage from that book "If such resistance is not built up, the men and women of the next generation will be at the mercy of any skilful propagandist who contrives to seize the instruments of information and persuasion Resistance to suggestion can be built up in two ways. Firstly, boys and girls can be taught to rely on their own internal resources and not to depend on incessant stimulation from without. Such stimulation is the stuff with which propagandists bait their hooks, the jam in which dictators conceal their ideological pills For a majority of the people in the West, purposeless reading, purposelessly looking at films have become addictions, the psychological equivalents of alcoholism and morphinism. Without papers, films and wireless, they live a diminished existence, they are fully themselves only when bathing in sportsnews and murder trials, in radio music and talk, in the vicarious terrors, triumphs and eroticisms of the films"

In order to complete education as a training in character, in intellectual alertness and in the discipline of the emotions, educationists in India have unhesitatingly to implement the rediscovered idea that mind and body are parts of a single organic whole What happens in the mind affects the body A maladjusted body affects the mind in many ways and subjects the personality to open and conceal strains and stresses. This was why all Eastern mystics, including the seers who promulgated the Yoga system, insisted on the necessity of bodily health as a *sine qua non* for mental and spiritual growth. The function of the Universities is, therefore, to no small extent concerned with developing the body so as not to over-accentuate the competitive spirit, their aim being to encourage physical suppleness and fitness as apart from the extravagances of the foot-ball or the cricket fan

The apt means for the production of such results are not merely buildings and laboratories but teachers first and last Even in an amazingly prosperous country, D. W. Brogan asserts in "The American Problem" that teachers are

relatively badly paid, and have an inferior social as well as economic standing. He adds that insecurity of tenure and politics make their conditions worse. He goes on: "More money spent on men might get better results than more money spent on buildings But it is easier to get the materials for buildings than the materials for teachers Hence as long as American society remains individualistic and competitive, it is going to take more than adequate numbers away from the life of action" It may, however, be noted that America has realised the urgency of the problem and the promise of rapid progress is discerned

Not only in this direction but in many others are new impulses and tendencies visible in America One promising sign of this progress is what is called the elective system, the college abandoning idea of imposing a hierarchy of subjects and the student being at liberty to select what he wanted from the menu provided. In expressive language, it has been stated that in the American University, *a' la carte* has succeeded *table d'hote* It is a matter for careful consideration by all those interested in education whether this lesson cannot be learnt by our Indian Universities The conspicuous success that has attended the Soviet experiment, the comprehensiveness of its programme and the fervour of its adherents are likely to shift to the background those virtues on which older thinkers have relied self-reliance, the readiness to back one's own conviction against a majority and the willingness to render voluntary as distinct from regimented co-operation The demand for general obedience and the compulsion of the individual to do what is collectively decided to be good, are apt to be regarded as the authentic gospel and in his "Road to Serfdom" F A Hayek emphasises that independence and self-reliance, individual initiative and local responsibility the utilisation of voluntary activity, non-interference with one's neighbour and tolerance of the different and queer respect for custom and tradition and a healthy suspicion of power and authority are some aspects which may easily be lost sight of in the course of the change in moral values brought about by the advance of collectivism

In his "Outlook for Homo-Sapiens," H G Wells has insisted that "it has become necessary for man to be re-educated as a conscious world citizen He has to be prepared to take his place in a collective world-fellowship The existing educational organisations of the world do not provide anything like a true realisation of this necessity nor do they establish the necessary conceptions of conduct that arise out of it They need to be recast quite as much as and perhaps even more than the political framework"

Recent experience has taught us that Education can be used to promote a degree of narrow nationalism which is incompatible with a humane not to say, international outlook This demonstration has been most prominent in totalitarian countries where education has been a part of the preparation for war as much as the manufacture of munitions Text-books and works of research as Bertrand Russell insists must henceforth encourage universal human loyalty, and history must cease to be written with an exclusively nationalistic bias brought about by falsification or unfair selection Education, in other words, must help us to get rid of all provincialisms, communal and racial prejudices and superstitions It must raise us above racial, political and religious antagonisms and socialise our instincts

The Roman poet uttered a profound truth when he wrote *Homo-sum humani nihil a me alienum puto* ("I am a man and deem nothing that relates to man foreign to me"), Such a spirit in action resolute continuous and watchful, can alone prevent humanity from plunging into those depths at the sight of which it is shuddering at the close of a titanic and confused struggle Other abysses may yet overwhelm the human race unless the Universities and the wise men of the world re-educate mankind into a new culture and a new science of life

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Benares Hindu University Convocation

Sir Mirza Ismail's Address

The following is the text of the Convocation Address delivered by Sir Mirza M Ismail K C I E , O B E on the December 2 1945

I last visited this University in 1921, when I came here in attendance on my august master, His late Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, your first Chancellor, on the occasion of the conferment of an honorary degree upon his Royal Highness the

Prince of Wales. I now stand before you twenty-four years later, in response to the invitation so cordially extended to me by your Vice-Chancellor Sir Radhakrishnan on behalf of himself and the University to deliver the customary address to the graduates of the year. I count it a special honour to stand here by the side of a man who has done more than any other to exalt the name of India in world of thought abroad and whose ordered yet impassioned eloquence stands alone in our time. It is a source of strength indeed, to a university to have a world-famous Vice-Chancellor, and it is something of an honour, too to share his ministrations with Oxford perhaps the greatest university of the world.

I feel very deeply, and shall always cherish in memory, the warmth of the invitation and welcome extended to me, a Muslim guest. That has been the spirit of this university from the very beginning. It has always sought to be in the broadest sense a national institution. At an early meeting in Calcutta, in 1912, when the movement was approaching completion, the late Maharaja of Darbhanga remarked "The atmosphere of a university is one in which a sectarian spirit cannot live." In this, as in all else this is truly a university and a shining example. It has been the function of this university to maintain and interpret, to its students and to the world, the whole tradition of Hindu thought and culture, and to bring it into relation with that of other peoples in India and beyond. The ancient sages of India, who meditated on life so deeply and penetrated so far into that truth which remains untouched by change and human adventure, have a message that appeals to every new age as a fresh revelation. The gifts of Hindu thought are shared here with students belonging to other religions, and the staff is by no means confined to Hindus. How admirable and significant it is that from the first this university has been generously supported by Muslims, just as Aligarh is still receiving lavish donations from Hindus! The more deeply one understands and feels the vital truth of one's own religion the more responsive one is to the religion of others. The closer we are to the great heart of our country, the closer is our allegiance to each other.

Yet we know that, having absolutely forgotten religion, and being moved only by narrow and mistaken ideas of communal self-interest, our communities are everywhere engaged in hostilities which degrade our religious names. Might not Benares and Aligarh, in concert, exert that uplifting and reconciling power which can most naturally be found in great universities? I am sure that both deeply desire this and I believe that the closest contact and alliance between them might make an immense difference to our future. The strife that rends our country is far below the level of thought and charity on which universities and their graduates must have their being. It has no root in the common people. There is a certain instinctive unity. You can illustrate it from village life all over India, today, and you can illustrate it vividly from our history. Of course we all realise that there are economic difficulties, as everywhere in the world. But as everywhere else, these can be solved without antagonism and with it can hardly be solved. As has been said by a young Bengali writer, "Our communal problem in India is really the creation of politicians, who would perpetuate a ring of reprisals instead of yielding to the fundamental unity of peoples and building a new economic and political culture upon it." I am not trying to contribute to discord by attacking anyone and I am far from doubting the sincerity or indeed the devotion of politicians. But I feel we should plead with them to enlarge the scope of their vision and sympathy. I should like to add something with which many of you may not agree, or sincerity is valued here and I know you will welcome it in me also. We have been told very often that as soon as the British disappear from India our communal troubles will disappear with them. This is a very comfortable idea, for on the one hand it assures us that in an independent India there will at once come upon us along with every other conceivable good—the most idyllic communal harmony. But will it not actually pay us better to admit the honest truth, and accept our responsibility and grapple with our problem and make for ourselves our mutual peace? In such an endeavour the universities must lead and inspire the country, and believe that every graduate, every true alumnus, should seek to exercise the right and privilege of an emissary of reconciliation among *all* the peoples of India.

Here I have certainly touched the fringe of politics, and perhaps have even stretched an unwary foot across the border. But now more daring still I am going to cross the right over the border for a moment praying Heaven for a safe return! I will make a declaration of faith to you. We all look forward to a very early day when the political will of India shall be free. When that has been accomplished, I think

we shall all realise better than we do now how natural and profitable for us will be a voluntary association with the English people If by courtesy of the atomic bomb, I may look right forward I see a united India, with close Asiatic friends indeed but with England, at long last as her best-trusted friend It seems to me that in such free association we shall best reach our own fulfilment because there is so much both to receive and to give And I wish that we could now remain from a quite exaggerated bitterness against those who will be our comrades in the great days to come

In the year 1866, Thomas Carlyle delivered an address to the students of Edinburgh What he said, in the following passage, is curiously applicable to-day.-

"I need not hide from you, young gentlemen, that you have got into a very troublous epoch of the world. I don't think you will find your path in it smoother than ours has been, though you have many advantages which we had not You will find the ways of the world, I think, more anarchical than ever Look where you will revolution has come upon us. We have got into the age of revolution. All kinds of things are coming to be subjected to fire, as it were, hotter and hotter blows the element round everything all sorts of revolutions are afloat We are in epoch of anarchy Man is becoming more and more the son, not of Cosmos but of Chaos He is a disobedient, discontented, reckless and altogether waste kind of object '

What would Carlyle have said if he had been addressing a Convocation audience to-day—of the human chaos of to-day, out which we must make a cosmos or perish? Of violent revolution the world has had far more than enough Of wars between peoples, infinitely more than enough. Is it not possible that what long ages of fruitless conflict have failed to teach us—the sheer necessity of good-will and compromise—may be learnt at last, and barely in time, now that the disrupted atom threatens to take charge of us and our affairs? Many centuries ago, old Thales held that every thing carried to its extreme becomes its opposite May we not hope that this extreme of destructive discovery may bring the horrified peoples of the world together in a new creative brotherhood? Meanwhile, how hard it is to plan and build, in the knowledge that in an instant all may be confounded! Let us ponder this our plight for a moment.

In all countries, men have been stunned by the revelation that an enormous energy lies ready for their destruction Whatever we may do, that demoniac power will be available ere long to many nations Ere long it will need no aeroplane, but can come as rocket, impossible in ships duly timed No great nation will lack the required uranium and soon uranium itself may not be needed Other agents of similar destruction may follow quickly. Neither defence nor alliance counts any more. It seems astonishing that we can carry on at all with such likelihood of so short a term.

I speak of this matter because it is far and away the most important and urgent fact of this moment, and every one must, in self-respect and duty, make his own response to it An English writer has given a very true and interesting analysis of the effect of this sudden revelation on the sensitive and candid mind. First—fear Second—shame, and what he calls 'moral bewilderment" Third—a sudden onslaught of religious scepticism And fourth—the abandonment, for the moment at least, of all hope Fear, obviously It is no cowardice to shiver at the thought of such a final cataclysm as might easily occur Then, moral bewilderment. Gradually in the course of the war, our moral sense seems to have been changing, and whereas at the beginning we felt that in ordinary bombing there should be the utmost care for non-combatant life even at the hazard of effectiveness we have gradually become accustomed to the thought of devasted cities and agonised and dying women and children Or rather, being aware of this, we have kept it from our thoughts But now, with a sudden shock of reawakening, men's conscience has been profoundly troubled when they heard of 60,000 people destroyed in a moment. Then again—what is this frightful power that God has suddenly resigned, as it were, to the custody of man? In nature there are, indeed, terrible convulsions, equally destructive of human life and with equal lack of discrimination—even greater lack indeed, for there no purpose can be discerned. But these are not our responsibility and we have accepted them as mystery Now, however, it feels as if the awful power of Heaven were consigned to us all unworthy, all unprepared for a responsibility so terrible. It makes one think again of Plato's story in the "Politicus". (I have a faint remembrance of having referred to this at some other Convocation—but Plato, as I said of our Indian sages, is an astonishing commentator on every

time for ever.) In that story, God withdrew for a time from His universe leaving it to its own sorry devices. When there-after it reached the very brink of ruin, God returned—just in time—to His place at the helm of the universe, and guided it back into the right way. What a parable for us! We feel—in the shock of atomic discovery—as if we had indeed lost that divine direction, and as if its renewal were our only chance—as if in God alone, and in a new religious faith and faithfulness, were there any hope for our world.

Thus it might be said, and often is said, that it is the lack or loss of religion that has brought the human doom so near. But apart from that, there is a warning and it touches nearly those who are concerned with higher education, in this result of our over-concentration on the development of the mechanical processes of science. Fifteen years ago, in an autobiography which has been reissued fairly recently, Professor Joad spoke of the still primitive creature man—"gullible, cruel, vengeful, credulous and vain as he was in Paleolithic days," and made this prophetic remark. "Now science has taken this Paleolithic savage posturing as civilised man, and endowed him with the powers of gods, with the result that he is within measurable distance of exterminating himself." He added "Until our social wisdom is able to cope the challenge of our new powers, the discoveries of science will tend to our discomfiture rather than to our good." Why is it that in our inward perfection we lag so far behind our outward skill? Why is it that our conception and practice of human relationship is infinitely to our relating of physical and chemical processes? This might be illustrated in countless ways. There is no time, but I take from Joad an amusing little story—if anything can be amusing these days. On the walls of a Russian factory there was a poster designed to illustrate the fatuities of the capitalist system. It is a British miner's home in winter, bitterly cold, no fire, and a child asks her mother why there is no fire. "Because we have no coal." "Why have we no coal, mother?" "Because dady is out of work and has no money?" "Why is daddy out of work?" "Because there is too much coal." That of course illustrates the economic idiocy, whether capitalist or not I cannot say, the social irresponsibility, which means the destruction of tons of wheat or coffee or of shiploads of fruit,—to keep the price up. Utter social helplessness on the part of man, this miraculously skilled mechanic and scientist.

My point is that balance has been completely lost. We have no right to our scientific knowledge and efficiency if we are not ready to direct rightly and beneficently the power, so tremendous now, that we have learnt to use. As another writer puts it, "Leonardo da Vinci suppressed his invention of the submarine because of the barbarous uses to which he knew it would be put. It is a part of the determinism of modern men that they think they are under some fatal necessity to equip themselves with every power they can doing so amid free and frank admissions that they already have more power than they know how to use. Ordinary flying has been within the power of man for less than half a century, and in that time he has used and perfected it far more for a new and horrible kind of war than for any other purpose. In the first thirty years of wireless communication the main use which has been made of the invention has been for propaganda, largely untruthful, in the service of conflicting national policies." And so on.

Now all this is strictly relevant to university policy. Almost every one who speaks on education in India to day is preoccupied with the necessity for expanding scientific, industrial and commercial training. This is generally regarded as the first and most essential element in any plan for advanced education. Even before the war there was this tendency, but it is many times stronger now, because of our economic need. Here is indeed a most urgent demand. I think I am one of the most vigorous supporters of the practice of sending as many men as possible abroad for technical and other professional training, and of the development of such training in India. All this is partly to meet the country's needs and partly because there will be so many excellent careers for our brightest young men in industry and technology. But we must not let this pendulum swing too far, and in this university at least it should be easy to remember that the life is even more than the meat, and that all these studies are directed towards the means and not the ends of living —the person's living, and the country's living. In your First Prospectus of 1904 it was remarked, "Mere industrial advancement cannot restore India to the position which she once occupied among the civilized countries of the world."

In our industrial and economic planning, by the way, there must be one single aim, and that is not the *wealth* of India, still less the wealth of industrial leaders, but simply and solely a really adequate and comfortable livelihood for the whole

people, their deliverance from the acute physical want in which literally the majority of them are living now. Not just a bare livelihood There must be comfort and security, there must be such circumstances of daily life that the humblest may fulfil themselves without the paralysis of fear and anxiety. This is what we need in India,—not that we should control the markets of the world, become mercantile-minded and lose our heritage. But there is now a great tendency, which we share with the countries of the west, to regard economic prosperity as in itself the satisfying end of patriotic effort, and it is for this university in particular to deny this and to reassert its faith that inward prosperity must be the paramount aim of life and education.

We all desire earnestly that not only all the graduates of to day but all the students who remain in the University should fully realise their destiny of leadership We can of course be certain that in this place to day there are several—there may well be many—who will become eminent in the service of their country in different ways: men of outstanding ability, character, and (one must add) opportunity. But I am thinking equally of those who are not distinguished, and may never be known to fame In a huge gathering like this, perhaps you—I speak to each one—may feel a very small creature, and reduced to almost nothingness by the galaxy of great men who have taken the first classes and won the prizes or in games and atheletics have been the idols of the crowd But if you only think of India's hundreds of millions of unlettered people, you will take another view, and understand the need for *you* You must never seek in humility a refuge from your responsibility. You have all been chosen by fate to stand out as educated citizens, and thus as both examples and leaders of the people in all good; and whether you are going to be practical scientists, or industrialists, or government servants high or low, or whatever profession you may enter, your chief responsibility as educated men and women, is to show and commend to others that life of reason in thought, speech and act, which your university training has developed in you In our time there is a terrible denial and rejection of reason—and this actually finds philosophic support in a mechanistic psychology which has immensely influenced both literature and life You have only to read your daily papers to see how consistently practical is that denial of reason to-day. At this most critical time, when we should all be making a last desperate effort for goodwill and unity between communities and peoples, we find instead a new fervour of hatred and malice, a new contempt for truth and reason, a calculated appeal to ignorant passion. The alumni of this university can surely take the lead in making a better public life than that. Youth means candour, generosity, eager enthusiasm and devotion, and if youth, by its own self-discipline and through the influence of its teachers, can learn in the university to direct its zeal in the ways of truth, reason, moderation and goodwill, then it will become worthy to serve and save its country

Now I should like, in thinking of our graduates, to try to suggest a few of the evidences of true education—some characteristics without which even a brilliant graduate cannot be called a *real* university man.

Of the power of dispassionate and reasonable thought I have already spoken. This I think, stands first The educated man must be capable of a certain detachment even from what touches him most nearly, and must be discriminating enough to sift prejudice from argument and conscientious enough to embrace truth wherever he finds it.

Again, one must have the power of growth, the university should endow its people with a hunger that can never possibly be satisfied The rigid mind is even worse than the volatile one And what of the *sealed* and *empty* mind? There are many such. Here is a dialogue in an interview for appointments Examiner "So you are a History man, are you?" Candidate (with emphasis) "Certainly, sir." "You are *interested* in History?" Candidate (smiling a rat) "Er yes...no not particularly, sir" Examiner "Ah well,—at any rate you *know* a fair amout about History, don't you?" Candidate (in anxious haste) "Oh, no, sir How could I? It is two months now since my examination'" An extreme case, no doubt, but *typical* of thousands. We should leave our university with an irresistible and lasting desire to pursue further and further the path of knowledge we have begun to tread. I am afraid that, instead, some of us proceed to burn our books" with a haste reminiscent of desparate Faustus. That means either that our teachers have sadly failed us or that we have thrown away our youthful opportunities.

Next, we should, by means both of our study and of our life at college, have learnt a certain degree of *efficiency*. I mean a great deal by this I mean, for one thing, a certain crispness and precision of mind. I mean the ability to *produce*—

not just to feel, to revel in unproductive feeling, to dream without effort or resolution. We must be able in doubt to reach decisions. We must have learnt firmness and consistency in action. How can it be otherwise if, in a small sphere or in a great one, we are to be leaders of men? And it is almost equally important that in mere speech and writing we should have learnt to practise conscientious accuracy and precision, and should have attained that power of logical, expressive and convincing utterance that is really the fine flower of a fine education. It would be shameful if you were not able to use to such purpose your own mother-tongue. And as for English, it is of immense practical importance to you—and to the country also—that you should master English in the greatest possible degree, and this you will prove throughout your lives. Of all modern languages—no passing prejudice should blind us to this—English is easily the first and most powerful. As someone has said, "it is the greatest instrument of communication that is now in use among the men upon the earth." It is the speech of an active people among whom individual liberty and personal initiative are highly valued. Neglect of English is disastrous to a university or to a university man, and your own university has fully recognised this.

And finally, one of the best evidences of a true education is simply—good manners. Not courteous mannerisms—not a merely formal politeness, though that is essential too, but that true courtesy and consideration that reveals the gentleman and that is the expression of a noble habit of thought and feeling. Manners reveal the man. Courtesy costs nothing and buys everything. And it is the recognisable stamp of a good university.

Let me follow this list of desirables with a small list of undesirables—of what I shall call "mistakes in life"—from which even the university man may not be exempt unless he watches himself carefully. I shall mention them only, not speak about them, but they might be worth your thought.

Mistakes that bring misfortune—

1. The delusion that one may oneself succeed by means of the disadvantage of others.
2. The delusion that obstinacy is firmness and strength.
3. The tendency to worry about things that cannot be altered.
4. Imagining that a thing is impossible because it is beyond our own accomplishment.
5. The attempt to constrain the thought or action of others.
6. The refusal to set aside trivial preference when a great end is in view.
7. The acceptance of one's own narrowness and ignorance, and in particular the science man's ignoring of fine literature and the arts man's fatal ignorance of science.

The world is calling you now, and I must not detain you much longer with these last words of counsel that, I feel, your beloved university is giving you through the voice of a stranger. I rather think the world will receive you more hospitably than has been its custom, such is its need of good men nowadays, for all the vast purposes of development, that certainly no-one among you who can honestly be called "good" will be out of satisfactory employment for very long. The best advice to cheat unemployment, or poor employment, is to try to become a little "special" in some way, to cultivate a genuine interest which will lead naturally to a special qualification.—You are lucky to be entering life at a time of such activity and enterprise.

I should like the last words of my message to you to come not from me but from him to whom I referred at the beginning, your first Chancellor, the late Maharaja of Mysore,—the finest spirit I have known in this world, a Hindu of Hindus in the constant study and practice of his faith, and yet my greatest friend. I close with his exhortation—let us think that he renews it now—and with his hope for the University, which has been nobly fulfilled already, but which is still an inspiration for the future. He spoke thus at the Convocation of this University held on 17th January, 1919.

"I would impress on you that you should endeavour to combine in your lives a real sense of religion with true culture, to believe that you owe a duty to God and to your fellow-men, and to aim at faith without fanaticism, deference without weakness, politeness without insincerity, and above all integrity of character in thought, word and deed. The ideal is a high one, but you can at least try and live up to it. But even this is not enough. The country needs something more virile than the accomplished gentleman. It needs men of stout hearts and strong hands who will not allow their conscience to be drugged

by sophistry of any kind, or their nerve to be paralysed by the fear of unpopularity, but will oppose wrong whenever found, and fight unflinchingly the battle of social justice and emancipation, on behalf of the weak and down-trodden

'It is my earnest hope—a hope which I know will be echoed by millions of my countrymen—that the Benares University may not only be an object of special veneration and solicitude to the Hindus, but may also attract, by the quality of its secular education, young men of religious persuasions in India. The institution should be Indian first and Hindu afterwards The graduates who receive their degrees to-day are a handful but their number is destined to grow I look forward to the day when young men from all parts of India will fill these lecture halls, and after completing their education will go out skilled and capable, and equipped mentally, morally, and physically to fight life's battles as citizens of this great country It wisely guided, the University should in due course become a truly national institution of which every Indian, whatever his race or creed, might be justly proud."

The Andhra University Convocation

Sardar K. M. Panikkar's Address

The following is the text of the Convocation Address delivered by Sardar *K. M. Panikkar,* M. A (OXON) Prime Minister, Bikaner, in **December 1945**.—

By a custom now fairly long established, the supplicants for Degrees at Indian Universities, receive along with their Degrees words of advice from someone belonging to an earlier generation. It has always appeared to me an appropriate procedure that on a solemn occasion like this when most of you are leaving your University for a new world, where problems other than those to which you have been so far accustomed, will face you at every turn, someone who had similar problems to face, should share with you his experiences, thoughts and convictions.

All of you, who have received your Diplomas and Degrees today, go forth into the wide world with the imprimatur of this great centre of learning You are assumed to have received adequate preparation for the business of life The major problem of shaping your own future awaits you To many of you the world, no doubt, seems distracted and troubled, rocking on a sea of mighty uncertainties, cast loose from its accustomed moorings and with the horizon overshadowed with threatening clouds In the calm atmosphere of a University many of you never had occasion to observe the threatening posture of affairs in the outside world But today with the anticipation of independent activity, you are forced to see and judge for yourself the nature of the world in which you have to live and have your being

All of us, at all times, are prisoners of circumstances, creatures conditioned by changes, which we have not created This is especially true of the present, when the material concepts, to which we had held with almost childish faith and which we had elevated to the sanctity of natural laws, have demonstrably broken down We stand bewildered before the conceptions of space-time, γ rays and alpha rays, before systems of geometry which would have baffled and bewildered Euclid, of relativity, quantum theory and now of nuclear energy of 'light years' and numerous other notions which are stranger than anything which men had imagined. The new generation sees a world which was only unfolding to us of an earlier generation, bit by bit, and today with the atom bomb shattering our ideas of a peaceful society, we stand face to face with forces which our predecessors had not imagined and of which we know but little now, but which will surely affect the life of each one of you in a manner which no one can foresee.

Of one thing alone we can be sure The world has become much smaller. The isolation of peoples and nations which was still possible in the 19th century is no longer ever possible to conceive. What is thought, said or done in Washington, London and Moscow affects each one of us The research laboratories of distant places change our surroundings and their effects are immediately seen in the conditions of life in the farthest corners of the earth. This is the strange context of our life and our beliefs, ideas and ways of living have to be adjusted to this still unaccustomed context.

In this crumbling world, to what is it that one can firmly hold? What should be the pole star to guide us in these uncharted seas? That is the fundamental point on which each one of you will have consciously or unconsciously to take a decision. Though of all decisions, which a man has to take, this is the most individual, it may perhaps help you, if I suggest for your consideration my own *fundamental conviction on this matter.* To face the problems of the world with courage, and faith in human destiny is, to my mind, the one ideal of a practical life. We cannot avoid the issues that face each of us and the rest of the world. We cannot run away from the conflicts of life, nor under the pretext of finding individual peace seek refuge in forests and asrams The peace so attained is only the peace of death, for the problems of life are solved only by what Dr Bridges described in an apt phrase as the 'masterful administration of the unforeseen'. This is the true message of the Gita, for what Krishna teaches is no cradled security but a manly acceptance of the problems of life, its conflicts and contradictions with the definite object of overcoming resistance and fulfilling one's own functions in this world

Such an attitude towards life and its problems is possible only if a person has faith in moral imperatives To the extent that we are uncertain in our moral values, we shall be weak and vacillating or at best, pragmatic in our attitude to questions that we have daily to decide for ourselves Whatever the philosophers who introduce the conceptions of relativist physics into the field of ethics may say, the leaders of the world, from the earliest times, from Krishna, Zoroaster and Confucius to our own day have had no doubt as to what these moral imperatives are. But a mere conformity to these standards, without faith in them, however valuable it may be from the social point of view, has but little importance to the growth of an individual personality It is self-realised ethic, conformity to moral standards, not from indolence but from conviction, that is of real value and whatever the circumstances that face us, that is the only safe and sure guide that can lead us aright at all times

Today it is my privilege to address you in the Andhra country, an audience consisting mainly of Andhras In a very special sense, the *Andhradesa* has been the laboratory of Indian national evolution, where the synthesis between the Aryan and the Dravidian culture was worked out through many countries The Sayana's great commentary of the Vedas should have been produced here is no accident The integration of Northern and Southern thought, which the commentary signifies, is the result of the great synthesis Historically this tradition has been a living factor, and it has continued to mould the life and thought of the Andhras. Their contribution to the culture of India in its most comprehensive sense has been unique When the impetus of the literary creation failed in Northern India, for reasons into which we need not enquire, it was the Andhra country that took up the tradition The poets scholars and philosophers, who for centuries illumined the Court of Vijayanagar Emperors, kept alive the spirit of classical thought, and the magnificent efflorescence of creative activity at that period bears witness alike to the genius of the *Andhras* and to the success of the great synthesis

I have alluded to this glorious record not in order to flatter your sense of national egoism, but to emphasise what has appeared to me to be the true significance of the Andhra spirit, the spirit of synthesis. Geography and history have both contributed to it. Standing midway between the North and the South, the culture of the Andhra country was a natural confluence of all streams Its history from the time the Andhras first made their appearance on the stage to the end of the Vijayanagar Empire was a continuous effort towards synthesis The spirit of exclusion was never there, and this is indeed a point of utmost importance to all of us today.

I have already alluded to what is but an obvious truth that the world has become smaller The indivisibility of peace and war has become a slogan for politicians. What has not received an equally emphatic affirmation is the indivisibility of culture and the general well-being of humanity. We still cherish the spirit of national exclusiveness, ideas of national superiority and generally the conceptions which survive from the age of national isolation In India, especially this new spirit of national exclusiveness in culture a feature which in all periods of India's greatness was significantly absent from our mental make up—has taken strange forms Quite recently I saw in a great national newspaper severe criticism of an exhibition of European art in an Indian museum. Have we no national art to exhibit? was the question asked. Then why this attempt to pollute the pure stream of Indian inspiration? Surely it should be obvious that the seeds of great

development everywhere are sown by the contact of cultures and not by a spirit of narrow exclusiveness Our own history bears ample witness to this fact and still, during the last quarter of a century, there has been in India a marked growth of the spirit of holding back, of desiring to withdraw into our own shell, which one cannot but deplore.

Political freedom is undoubtedly the first necessity for a people. But its essence—both its winning and its maintenance—lies not so much in the forms of government, but in the creation of a spirit of national discipline, efficiency and toleration, that is, a broad-based culture in its widest sense. There is no political alchemy in any constitution, however balanced and however perfect, that can, as Herbert Spencer remarked long ago, get a golden conduct out of leaden instincts. It is only by self-discipline acquired by a widening of human interests, by cultivating a balanced mind, and by a vigilant and often painful suppression of one's lower instincts, that the general background of a life of freedom can be created I cannot conceive of a better preparation for the cultivation of these qualities, so essential in those who have to shoulder the responsibilities of leadership in different spheres, than a study of humanities, that is, of continuously familiarising oneself with the inspiration and thoughts of great minds of the past and the present, those whose works by the perfection of their thought and form, which comes only through mental discipline, attain the position of masterpieces.

It is often asked by those who are in a hurry why our Universities should devote so much time to the study of literature, philosophy and other subjects which have no immediate practical use? Why instead of wasting time in this manner, greater attention is not paid to the more practical sciences and to what are known as technical subjects? The answer goes to the root of the problem of national welfare What the Universities have to provide, if basic national interests are to be considered, is an apparatus of evaluation, a standard of conduct, a discipline of mind and a sense of proportion based on tolerance. These are not attained through either researches in specialised subjects, or by superior technology, but by constant familiarity with the minds of the great thinkers and writers of the past, by developing the habit of precise thought and by the cultivated appreciation of forms and the discipline of the mind which these activities produce Every University does it in a greater or lesser degree.

I should not be understood to decry or depreciate scientific study or research in pure sciences On the other hand, I greatly applaud the splendid work which this University has to its credit during the short period of its existence It is a unique record reflecting credit both on the band of researchers that the University has trained and on the authorities who have encouraged such noble pursuits. But after all, research in pure or applied sciences must be the privilege of the specially talented They have to be cherished, encouraged and helped to carry on with their work The vast majority of those who attend this or any other University cannot hope for such distinction. What they can and are legitimately entitled to hope for, is to be given an adequate training which will enable them to utilise their minds for their own and their country's benefit to be provided with a key to knowledge and an apparatus for learning, in fact a trained and balanced mind capable of understanding the rights and wrongs of conduct It is only if the University, by an active process of shaping minds on the best minds on the best models, helps its members to attain these values that it can be said to preform the great social function which the nation expects it to do

The discipline of the mind which gives it a sense of equity, tolerance and a standard of right and wrong is attained only by an organised and in many cases painful pursuit of those ideals, and Universities are to be viewed essentially as institutions meant for such pursuit. I do not deny that Universities have other objects also the promotion and popularisation of knowledge, the hall-marking through examinations and degrees a common and recognisable standard of learning and mental efficiency and the creation of an atmosphere of academic detachment in the study of questions. All these are important, and I am the last to deny their value. But the difference between a great University and a small one lies principally in the importance it attaches to the creation of a sense of values in the attitude that it seeks to cultivate and in its approach to the problems of life that confront man.

It is my privilege to say a few words of advice to those who, having received their Degree today, will be ready to face the strifes and struggles of life. It is but common place to tell them that they have now received the keys of knowledge and it is for them to open the treasure houses of wisdom. But this, I venture to think,

is a wholly wrong approach. It is but little that any University can teach the youth by way of learning, beyond providing the basic apparatus for acquiring learning must come with the progressive growth of one's mind, with the testing of of the theories with the facts of life and by a continuous process of conscious or unconscious study in the vast laboratory of life. The University in equipping you for this has also placed on you the duty to carry on through life the work of learning and perfecting yourself and by so doing serve your fellow beings You would have wasted your time here, if you are to leave today with the feeling that your education is completed and that the Degree you carry with you certify to your learning and to your being fit to shoulder your responsibilities as members of the Great Society.

Too many people, alas, take that false view We might consider for a moment the reasons which in this country more than anywhere else that I know, operate so powerfully to keep down the youth. To my mind, the most important of these is the pernicious doctrine which is repeated like a parrot-cry that plain living and high thinking is the historic ideal of India. This, let me say, becomes easily translatable into slow living and no thinking Nothing is falser and nothing more dangerous to national greatness than this cry of the discarded and the disappointed, which has been elevated into almost a national dogma by the unthinking mind of the country. I have every respect for those great men, who voluntarily give up the goods of the world and accept a vow of poverty, in order that their activities may be detached and disinterested Such a one is a true *Yogi* But by eschewing wealth he does not accept plain-living It is not impecuniousness that he of his decision, accepts It is the riches of the world to which he becomes the heir Such great men have never preached plain living On the other hand as Vyasa says to Yudhisthira, those who live in the world should strive for prosperity and not be content to put up with hunger, disease and discomfort The confusion of thought, inherent in this heresy of plain living and high thinking may be put thus While voluntary renunciation of riches may be conducive to spiritual growth, involuntary submergence in poverty is immeasurably the greatest impediment to spiritual, moral, mental or physical growth. There is nothing sublime, spiritual or desirable in the poverty, which does not come from deliberate adoption.

The misfortune that the educated young men of our country especially are subjected to as a result of this wholly pernicious slogan is that it deprives them of all stimulus to effort, weakens the ambition and provides them with a consolation for their failures Never in any period of Indian history, when India was great in any sense, did such a doctrine find favour The great epics clearly show the wealth, luxury and splendour in which people lived; how every one strove to make his lot better. The world that Kalidasa unfolds is not a world of impecunious people who are content with their lot on the pretext that plain living leads to high thinking. Describing the psychology of the Indian people under the Guptas, an eminent historian says "The Hindus of his (Samudra Gupta's) day thought of big undertakings. They contributed (to) high elegant and magnanimous literature .. Merchants and artists made India a wonderful land for foreign eyes There was nothing feminine in art, literature, piety or politics The chisel produced virile gods and martial goddesses. Pen portrayed handsome masculine men." Nor was this the case only under the Guptas A recent historian writing on Social Life in Vijayanagar Empire has also noted the general luxury in which people lived, and their ceaseless endeavour to contribute to the general prosperity of the nation. The splendour of Vijayanagar architecture and the glory of that Imperial Era are sources of pride to us even today. It was not by plain living that this greatness was achieved. In fact whenever the proud claim of Vishnu Purana could be said to have been justified, the doctrine of plain living and high thinking never found acceptance.

Truly it may be said that plain living and high thinking do not go together. It is only when a country is generally prosperous, when its standards of life are high, where life has obtained a balance that high thinking is possible Nor does the fact that the riches of old eschewed wealth and many high minded souls everywhere even today do so go against this principle: for such renunciation is voluntary, and not as a result of failure. Therefore, my first advice to you is never to accept with resignation the miseries of this world its poverty, its diseases, its inequalities and injustices. It is your duty, as educated men, to fight the evils that oppress society and rise above surroundings in which you are placed. Reject with all the force at your command the *defeatism* inherent in the theory of plain living and high thinking.

Another tendency, against which I would earnestly ask you to set your face, is

the curious appeal which is made to the youth of the country on the basis of nationalism to hold fast to everything that is Indian, however obscurantist and unscientific it may be. A community on the defensive, a defeated and conquered people, naturally holds with tenacity to its beliefs and its customs in order to maintain its own soul. But a people claiming freedom, and asking the world to accept them as civilised, cannot refuse to face ideas wherever they come from, nor can they justify their attachment to old things solely on the ground of antiquity Did not Kalidasa himself raise his voice against this deadening doctrine of accepting the past uncritically by proclaiming...

But this is not the attitude which we follow today. We desire to believe that those, who shaped our society in ancient times, were all-wise and what has come down from them requires no change. A sense of conservation, of continuity of social traditions is undoubtedly valuable to any nation, but a country which holds that the touch of a human being involves pollution, because some one said so many centuries ago, or that religion consists in food *tabus*, or that social organisation of a particular type is divinely ordained, writes itself down as uncivilised. For reasons, into which it is unnecessary to go here, India suffers from this regressive mentality more than any modern nation This dualism of belief, inherent in most of us, weakens our intellectual convictions and morally enervates us in action. Unless we consciously make an effort to throw off the effects of the dead past, of ideas which we have discarded intellectually, but which we still permit to influence us, like magical rituals and even quackeries in medicine, apart from adherence to social philosophies like caste and varnashrama dharma, whose validity no one but the supremely obscurantist will now uphold, but which most will subconsciously conform to, unless in fact we deliberately try to live up to our intellectual beliefs, our education in Universities, whatever the degrees we may have taken, or the distinctions achieved by us, would have been wasted. Intellectual courage and integrity of conduct related to one's own principles are what the nation expects of educated people. I would therefore, venture to appeal to you to keep this principle prominently in mind and not slide back to the easy method of conformity on the familiar ground of holding to what has come down to us

This question of moral *defaitism* has much larger implications than we are apt to imagine In the case of arrested development of societies like our own, generally on examination, the reason will be found to be that the social organisation has hardened and the leaden weight of customs renders all movement impossible It is only by continuous transformation, by daily adjustment to changing requirements that societies can progress. Such movement is possible only when the youth of the community refuses to elevate social *defaitism* to a position of national orthodoxy or to resign itself to stagnation Weariness of spirit in the youth of a nation is the surest sign of decay, and the most subtle form that weariness takes is the facile formula that what our ancestors thought is good enough for us, that the greatness of a nation lies in its past and the men of today as inheritors of that tradition have as their first duty the maintenance intact of all that have come down to us from the past

This curious belief in the Golden Age is the special privilege of those who have lost the respect of the world It is a belief that denies progress, that doubts human destiny that accepts the gloomy pessimism that human endeavour has no new height to reach It is the gospel of a decadent nation which has not enough social energy to fight for its future For the obvious misfortunes of today, it finds an escape in a glorious past From the time of Julian the Apostate, the view has had its supporters among the defeated of all climes; but it seems today to be in an exceptional measure the gospel of Young India. In every sphere of social values our eyes seem to be turned backward to an imagined Golden Age In the mind of each one of us it shows itself in some form or another We may not all of us believe that the wisdom of the world is contained in the Vedas or that the best social organisation is Varnashrama dharma, or that all the modern inventions are contained in the sacred texts But in the recess of our hearts, there is still the pathetic belief that if we are backward in some field of human activity today we were better than others sometime ago There is no doctrine like the one of the Golden Age for undermining the spirit of high endeavour on which alone national greatness can be built

The task of the next generation in India is pre-eminently one of creating a modern society, of creating a new social dynamics, which will enable this country to break through the manacles of leaden thought and move forward with giant strides. This is essentially a mental process, though the material setting of life,

such as the growth of industrialisation, the dominance of urban ... contribute to it It is only by the conscious and purposive activity ... this great revolution of thought, so essential to national greatness, ... That is the task that awaits you, a task for which you have been ... stay in this University. That, to my mind, is the trust laid on ... University has given to you its Degrees and Diplomas

I shall conclude now with one further word You who are going ... the battle of life with the mental equipment which this University has ... provided, have your personal and social obligations to fulfil personal ... improve your own lot, to create and maintain a happier and fuller life for ... in conformity with the doctrine of Good Living and High Thinking ... gations which may be defined as your contribution to the common good ... your intellectual convictions to your surroundings that is, the ... regression. But beyond and above these two, you have a supreme obligation the obligation to truth, and I can do no better than quote you a few lines from a famous Irish poet, George Russell whose spirit one can say came nearest to ours—

The generations as they rise
May live the life men lived before
Still hold the thought once held as wise
Go in by the same ancient door
We leave the easy peace it brings;
The few we are shall still unite
In fealty to unseen Kings
Or unimaginable light

. . . .

No blazoned banner we unfold
One charge alone we give to youth
Against the sceptered myth to hold
The golden heresy of truth."

The Allahabad University Convocation

Dr. John Mathai's Address

The following is the text of the Convocation Address delivered by Dr John Matthai on the 8th. December 1945 :—

I must first of all thank you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, for inviting me to take part in so important a function as the annual convocation of your distinguished university The city of Allahabad, from which the university takes its name, has, through many centuries, been not merely a centre of attraction but a source of inspiration to the people of India Its history, dating back to one of the most distinctive epochs in the annals of our country, constitutes a record of achievements, sacrifices and aspirations which has become a national heritage. I deem it a privilege to have been asked to address a university whose habitation is a city of such ancient traditions and memories I feel equally privileged to be associated in this way with a university of your academic standing and repute The University of Allahabad, although not among the oldest of our universities, has, by the attainments of its *alumni* in the world of administration, business and public life, by the standard which its scholars have established in many fields of knowledge and by its very constitution as an academic body which holds teaching by discussion and personal contact more important than instruction and examination, achieved within the relatively short period of its existence a place which is second to that of no other university in India I should like in particular to bear testimony to the fact that those fields of study with which by personal interest and by professional associations I have been connected the University of Allahabad was one of the first in India to realise the need and to make provision for a realistic and first-hand approach to the study of Indian problems

The function which has been assigned to me by the Vice-Chancellor in the proceedings of this afternoon is to address the young graduates of the year who have completed an important stage of their education within these walls and on whom, as a mark of its approval, the university has conferred degrees today. It is

natural that I should recall the occasion nearly forty years ago when I received my first degree from a sister university in India and listened, as you do today, to an address delivered to the new graduates on their duties and responsibilities As far as my memory goes, it produced very little impression on me or on my fellow graduates, and for all that has happened to me in the years that have followed, it might as well have been not delivered at all I am aware that in performing a similar task here, my effort is not likely to fare any better, and if I accepted with eagerness the invitation which the Vice-Chancellor extended to me, I confess it was because I coveted the honour implied in it and not because I had any serious expectation of making you any the wiser or better for listening to me. I feel, nevertheless, that for one who has reached the time of life I have and who has had a fair measure of opportunities of a sampling life, it is not altogether easy to resist the temptation to unbosom oneself on things of common interests to those who are still young and who look forward to life as an adventure of undisclosed possibilities

The substance of what I propose to say today relates mainly to two matters which constitute in my opinion the most important objectives of university education, namely, knowledge and citizenship. As regards the first, I conceive the object of a university to be not so much to impart knowledge as to create a desire for more knowledge and to point the way of pursuing and apprehending it As regards the second, I consider it a primary business of a university to teach the young the art of living together by inculcating in them habits of forbearance and co-operative effort and of placing the common good above personal and sectional interests. How far have we succeeded in fulfilling these aims of university education ? This is the question to which I wish to address myself briefly this afternoon

It is a platitudinous thing to say, but it is profoundly true, that the process of seeking and acquiring knowledge does not cease, but only begins, at the stage of leaving the university. No education is worth the name which does not awaken a desire to seek and find new things A great deal has undoubtedly been achieved by our universities in the direction of stimulating and enquiring and creative spirit. But it can hardly be denied that our progress has been slower, far slower, than that of universities in other countries. Not merely so, but in some things of great moment, I feel we have almost reached a dead end as far as this purpose of university education is concerned

What is really disquieting in this respect is that we cannot hope for any substantial progress unless there is a radical change in the system of education No genuine interest in the substance of knowledge can be created while so disproportionate a demand is made on the faculties of the young in acquiring the medium through which knowledge is imparted We have now reached a stage in the development of university education in India when we can no longer postpone a final decision on this vital question, It is true that the English language opens to us a literature which, as a living growing embodiment of human thought and experience, is perhaps unequalled in richness, variety and amplitude. It also places in our hands a vehicle of expression which in a rare degree combines beauty and elasticity and which moreover enables us to reach out to the uttermost parts of the earth. Many of us who have employed it as our main medium of expression during our working lives would not merely find it difficult to discard its use but could hardly do so without a pang at the thought of the beauty, pleasure and inspiration which its use has brought into our lives

The fact still remains that it is a language which in spite of its widespread use in the country and the mastery of it which Indian scholars have achieved, remains essentially foreign to what is deepest in us and incapable of providing an organic link between the few who have received the blessings of education and the many who have not nor between those who are alive today and those who in the past created our great heritage of culture. Knowledge is a continual source of interest and power. But the path that leads to it is strait narrow and hard, which is not easier to tread if we try to walk by the dim and unfamiliar light provided by a language that is not ours

I wonder if it has ever occurred to you to ask why it is that in the higher strata of research in the formulation of new knowledge of a fundamental nature, our universities have made far greater progress in science than in the humanities. We have among us today scientific workers whose contributions to the sum of human knowledge have become landmarks even in an era of astonishing and unprecedented discoveries On the other hand, in those realms of knowledge in which progress depends on subjective analysis on careful investigation and accurate

expression of the inner thoughts, emotions and experiences of human beings, our scholars for the most part, in spite of earnest and painstaking efforts, have hardly yet succeeded in leaving any perceptible impress on the progress of knowledge.

I venture to suggest that the contrast is to be explained mainly by the fact that in the natural sciences, which are concerned with objective matters, the medium of expression is incomparably less important than in the humanities, whose province is the subtle and elusive things that pertain to the mind and spirit of man In fact, science has already developed what for all practical purposes may be regarded as an international code of symbols, a scholars' Esperanto, which has almost eliminated the difficulties presented by linguistic differences. Such a shortcut is not possible where the humanities are concerned because the problems of personality, which constitute their domain, are so closely linked to the medium through which we express our inner experiences both to ourselves and to others. These experiences, at deeper levels, are hard to express in a language which does not come naturally to us and which we cannot wield with freedom and ease.

The mental make up of the generation of Indians that I represent has probably, more than any generation before or after, been influenced by the employment of English as a medium of education and we have perhaps also had more facilities for learning it than either our predecessors or our successors. In spite of it there are many of us, I know, who feel that there is a large and important segment of our lives which the English language has not touched and which cannot find expression in it, however hard we try. For this reason I feel that in certain fundamental things, our lives have been suppressed lives, lives of enforced and sometimes agonising silence.

Turning now to citizenship as one of the main purposes of education, I fear it is here that the failure of our universities has been most conspicuous, a failure that in many ways has had tragic results for our people It it is a primary task of universities, as I believe it is, to stress those aspects of life which bind men together and reveal to them their common humanity, our universities are today far from having fulfilled their responsibility; they have yet to give evidence of any positive consciousness on their part of what is due from them to the country in this respect. On the contrary ancient cleavages are, if anything, more pronounced than they have been for a long time past and what is more, other and potentially more dangerous fissures are beginning to appear in our social framework which, if not seen to in time, may break up such solidarity as the march of time and the progress of events have wrought for us. Unless universities give heed to the signs of the times and with clear vision and set purpose study the working of the destructive forces which are rampant in our society with a view to counteracting them and directing them, wherever possible, into constructive channels, all the hopes which have been centred round our universities and the time, energy and resources devoted to them will have been in vain

These cleavages are partly economic and partly religious The former arise largely from the vast inequalities of wealth and income which a haphazard and fiercely competitive industrial system inevitably creates They arise also, and in an old agricultural country like ours to a large extent, from the survival into modern times of the remnants of an economic society based on the assumption of certain irremovable inequalities among human beings In both cases the problem is largely bound up with the idea of private property and the rights and duties attaching to it. The reaction against the anti-social-interests created by the institution of property is assuming both in India and elsewhere such intensity and volume that neither students of the social sciences nor legislators can afford to ignore its implications Personally I believe that the world would be a better place to live in if private property did not fill so large a sphere in it and that whatever concessions it might be found necessary in view of the age-long hold it has acquired over men's instincts, its regulation in the interests of society should be regarded as a supreme responsibility of the state.

Economics is a subject of study which has definitely suffered in Indian universities by reason of our political and economic association with Britain. It is a study which therefore calls for a higher degree of realism, initiative and originality than it has so far received in India. A great deal of harm has been done by early teachers of economics in India by their unthinking devotion to the classical school of economic thought which took shape in the early years of the nineteenth century in Britain—a country which at all times has presented peculiar and baffling characteristics but never more than in the years that immediately followed the industrial revolution. We in India borrowed wholesale this weird fabric of sinister assump-

tions and unintelligible principles and for many years our teachers were engaged in the sterile and deadening task of reconciling them with Indian conditions. What gave this body of thought a plausible coherence and consistency was the unwarranted hypothesis that individual self-interest was the motive that generally prompted the action of human beings on the economic plane and that such self-interests working simultaneously in the minds of a multitude of persons had the strange effect of resolving conflicting interests into a nicely balanced, delicately poised, equilibrium which sustained and promoted the general interest of society. Two devastating wars and a long period of severe economic depression in between have helped to rid most thinking people of any faith in a doctrine which sought to build the Kingdom of Heaven on the law of the jungle

It is curious to think that it has taken us so long to grasp the simple truth that competition must necessarily work unfairly where competing parties are of unequal resources and defensive strength and that a society which permitted might to determine right could neither achieve stability nor realise moral values. In no aspect of economic life has this truth been more evident than in the distribution among the various sections of the community of the wealth which their joint efforts create from time to time. For a long time it was the fashion among economists to contend that until there was a substantial increase in the production of wealth, there would be so little to distribute that any tinkering with the distributive system would be futile. We know better now. Production as organised in modern times would be at a standstill unless there was a wide distribution of the ability to buy things. Hence apart from all moral considerations, simply as a matter of economic policy, it is essential that the community should have a direct responsibility laid upon it to see that the wealth produced by it is not concentrated in the hands of a favoured few but is distributed among as large a number as possible. It is obvious that this cannot be achieved by the natural working of the law of self-interest but only by deliberate and organised action on the part of the community

Whatever views we may hold about private property as an institution, the removal of the gross inequalities which it creates and perpetuates is a task which calls for urgent action. Unless these inequalities are remedied, there can be little hope that civilisation will achieve stability or any enduring significance. I can conceive of no higher mission for students of economics in India in these critical times than to formulate and spread a sane and balanced view of the uses of wealth. The greed for wealth which has assumed such ugly forms under the stress of war reveals a condition of perverted values and moral sickness which must be ruthlessly tackled if this country is to become a fit habitation for its children. We have yet to learn that, like most desirable things in life, wealth to the individual is good only in moderation and that excess of it is as bad as the want of it.

The conflict which is most apparent in the country today and which gives us immediate cause for anxiety arises, however not from economic but from religious and communal differences. Religion, functioning as a segregating and dividing force, is by no means a new phenomenon The pages of history are filled with the strife and bitterness which religion engenders when it is divorced from charity and truth and is transmuted into a symbol of tribal aloofness and orthodoxy This perennial problem which religion presents is facing us in India today in a form which must cause profound concern alike to those who believe in true religion and to those who care for national progress. It is to the universities again that the country must look ultimately for an effective solution of this problem; and I suggest that in trying to solve it, our first step should be to examine with complete honesty and freedom of mind the true implications of religion and its place in the scheme of human life

I am not a philosopher either by training or by mental aptitude I have found much of the philosophical literature which I have tried to read in my time beyond my ability to comprehend, at any rate to the extent necessary to make its ideas part of my normal mental equipment. On the philosophical aspects of religion, I am not therefore competent to speak. But religion is not wholly or even largely philosophy. If it were, it would not be the great motive power in the lives of ordinary men and women that it has often proved to be, driving them for good or evil against the dictates of their instincts and their personal interests.

What is central to traditional religion, as it appears to me, is a view of man's relation to the universe so presented that it gives the common man an overwhelming sense of purpose in a world context he can readily apprehend and backed by the authority of a superhuman personality whose life is free from the failings and

weaknesses which he finds in his own life and in the lives of those about him. Practically all the great organised religions which have survived to our time consist in essence of an intuitive declaration in simple terms of the nature and significance of man's place in the universe handed down from a teacher whose recorded life is itself the best proof of the truth of his teaching. Religion in this sense, in spite of all the lapses and aberrations to which it is prone, has been a power for good in the world, investing life with a sense of overriding purpose and providing a motive for unselfish service and a goal for sustained and co-operative effort. In the long record of man's adventures in high endeavour and purposive action, religion will always hold an honoured place.

The nature and content of religion, however, must necessarily change as our knowledge expands and as the problems we are faced with vary with the passing of time. The intuitions of great teachers served a valuable and indispensable purpose at a time when the range of our knowledge regarding the nature of the universe and our own nature was so limited and access to further knowledge was still barred to our imperfect understanding. We are getting now steadily nearer to the heart of things and the way is being opened all around us for further and deeper insight into the problem of man's place in the universe. The intuition on which the great religions of the world are still based, it is clear, will soon have to be replaced by, or fundamentally modified in the light of fuller and more exact knowledge. None of us, to whatever religious systems we may belong, can any longer afford to retain the confidence of our forefathers as regards the validity of the truths revealed by the prophets who founded them In the new world of light and understanding, into which the progress of scientific knowledge and the changes in environmental conditions are rapidly ushering us, there will inevitably be a vast re-orientation of beliefs and values from which none of us, irrespective of our religions, will be able to stand aside. In the face of this impending cataclysm, there is an insistent call to all of us to practise the utmost tolerance and to cultivate the utmost humility towards one another. There is little room, in the world that is opening before us, for spiritual pride and exclusiveness because it is possible we may all be mistaken alike and have to start learning afresh like little children.

Lest it should be thought that I am pleading for a displacement of religion from our lives, let me make it clear that my plea is not that religion should be displaced but that it should be re-interpreted and brought into harmony with existing realities. I maintain that life cannot be truly lived without the support of religion. In saying so I conceive the essential thing in religion to be this, that we should, each one of us, endeavour to the best of our knowledge and thinking to formulate for ourselves some consistent working theory which will put a conscious purpose and meaning into life and thereby enable us not merely to maintain an even keel through its vicissitudes but to find in it an abundant source of that kind of pleasure that does not pall. Speaking for myself, I have found, through such experience as has fallen to my lot in the course of a somewhat chequered life, that two things which may be depended on to give meaning and interest to life are work and human fellowship Much will depend, of course, on the kind of work and the kind of fellowship that we come by. But if society can be so organised—and I believe it is not beyond the bounds of practicability to do it—that it provides for full expression on the one hand of the functional aptitudes which differentiate individuals and on the other hand of their instinctive desire to live in sodalities based on a sharing of common emotional interests, we shall have gone a long way towards making true religion a reality in human lives

Speaking of human fellowship, there is one aspect of it to which I desire specially to invite your attention Of the varied forms which it assumes, there is perhaps none which attracts more attention to-day than the grouping of people into nations. The nation-state is for the time being under a cloud. The idealism which once surrounded the idea of nationality is giving way to disillusionment and cynicism. Nevertheless, as a political force, it is still intensely alive and does not appear to have lost any of its hold on the peoples of the world. It originated in Europe but its most active manifestations today are to be found in the East and nowhere more than in our own country. To us in India therefore not merely is the principle of nationality a study of absorbing interest, but a clear understanding of what is implied in it is essential to a correct appreciation of the problems by which we are faced.

I should like above all to emphasize that what makes a people into a nation in the last resort is not those positive conditions to which it is generally ascribed such as a common racial heritage, common language, common religion, common culture

and common historical traditions. All these things help in varying degrees in creating a sense of nationality, but none of them are indispensable. Nations with a strong sense of unity have come into existence and have succeeded in maintaining a powerful national consciousness without fulfilling all or any of these positive conditions. The all-important factor in the creation of a national sense is a negative one, without which it seldom comes into being. This negative factor arises from the existence of a common obstacle so formidable that in surmounting it, the people must take counsel together and pool their energies and resources and in so doing, almost without their knowing it, forge a powerful bond of unity among themselves. Hence it is that war against a common enemy often marks the sudden uprising of a sense of nationality among people who had hardly felt its existence before. In our own case what constitutes the decisive obstacle is the presence of a governmental system which, not being based on the expressed will of the people, has no roots in the country and depends for its functioning on the sanction derived from an external authority. It is common opposition to this which in the final analysis has generated a sense of nationality among us and it is the continuance of it which serves to keep the feeling alive.

It is well to remember that it is in an atmosphere of active opposition and animosity that national movements generally spring into existence and they often retain the marks of their origin long after their initial purposes have been achieved. Unless therefore a country is fortunate enough, before the first phase of the national struggle has passed, to raise men of wise and constructive leadership, there is a danger that the forces mustered by the movement may wither away in internal dissensions and barren struggles for power and may not survive to sustain the difficult tasks of nation-building. In the same way as a country engaged in war often reacts, when it is over, against the strain of war time discipline and sacrifice, so a people, struggling for the achievement of their nation-hood, are liable, once the struggle is past, to slacken their efforts and mis-spend their energies unless fresh objectives are provided to inspire them. The finest thing about nationalism is its capacity to raise a people above themselves and fire them with a passionate desire to lose themselves in a generous cause. Unless these generous impulses are conserved and directed into channels of constructive service, a period of reaction will inevitably set in which may put us back farther than when we started

We have heard a great deal in India these last few years about planning There are honest critics who believe that the labour expended on the making of plans at a time when the country is in the throes of a great national struggle is not merely misdirected but distracts attention from more urgent and vital objectives. I do not share this view. On the contrary, I consider it a matter of the highest importance that before the present phase of nationalism reaches its culmination, those who are engaged in it, particularly the youth of the country, should have a vision set before them of a new and better India which would be worthy of their effort and sacrifice. I am convinced, from such study as I have given to the problem, that, if the idealism and energy released by the national movement could be focussed for this purpose, we should be able, in a measurable period of time, probably within the life-time of many of those who are listening to me today, to refashion this country so that the conditions that now make for widespread poverty, disease and ignorance could, if not eliminated, at least be brought under control. It is a humiliating and painful thought that a country so richly endowed with natural resources and having for its inhabitants a people in many respects so rarely gifted should remain one of the plague spots of the earth

In speaking to the young graduates of this university, which holds a place of acknowledged leadership among the universities of the country, I cannot withstand the temptation to speak through you also to your contemporaries in other parts of India. We have now reached a stage in our national development when the decisions we take will have far-reaching and perhaps lasting reactions on the future of the country. Never since the days when the first signs of a national consciousness emerged in India has any generation been confronted with choices of such potentiality and significance as you who are now leaving these sheltered halls for the wide open spaces of the world At every step, as you wend your way, you will be faced with a mingling of opportunities and pitfalls through which it will not be easy for you to steer a clear path On many matters it will probably be your experience to find that the decisions taken by those who have gone before you have been marred by wrong understanding and a wrong perspective and have to be undone. On others perhaps you will find that your predecessors have failed by sheer lack of courage and honesty of purpose to discharge their responsibility to

give a clear lead in their time. I expect that on the whole you will feel that you have been let down by the leaders of an earlier generation. I believe this in the circumstances to be almost inevitable. Final decisions of great importance will therefore rest on your judgment and strength of purpose. When a country is at the parting of the ways, it happens that one out of a whole successions of generations is summoned to bear more than its due shares of responsibilities. As far as I can judge, it will be your lot and your high destiny to answer this call. I wish you from the bottom of my heart strength and courage and good cheer as you set out on your momentous and fateful journey.

The Utkal University Convocation

Sir C. Ramalinga Reddy's Address

The following is the text of the Convocation Address delivered by Sir C. Ramalinga Reddy at the Utkal University on the 12th December 1945 —

Let me, Sir, to begin with, thank you for your courtesy in inviting me to deliver the Convocation Address to-day I know your invitation was extended to me as a representative of the Andhra University which has special bonds of union with the Utkal. Let me congratulate the students, who have obtained their degrees to-day at your distinguished hands, on their success in the examinations As regards the students that have failed, I hope they will try again, but not too often I congratulate the Utkal University on the progress it is making ; and I trust that under you and your successors in the Chancellorship, it will rise to eminence as one of the premier lights of India.

Sir, on this festive occasion, I do not like to impart advice to the graduates. Serious advice and festivity do not mix well together. Furthermore, however much they may need it, they do not want or relish advice. Sir, watching your proceedings, I noticed that the students presented for their degrees undertook a whole catalogue of promises and vows. If they will but fulfil them, that will be more than ample for the regulation of their lives and careers They are going into the world Under the customs and traditions of Indian Universities, as under the customs and traditions of the Hindu household it is usual for the elders to give anxious advice to their children when they are leaving the parental roof to join the mother-in-law's sterner household. The University is their Alma Mater, the mother; the world is the mother-in-law Therefore, it has been a custom to send them out with wise saws and tried precepts, emphasising the need for patience which they have to cultivate and forbearance, foresight, toleration and other virtues. As they are going out into the world, it will not be amiss if I give them some idea of the world as it is to-day, at any rate my impressions of that world whatever may be their worth—the wide world as well as the more immediate one of India in which their lots and fortunes are cast. I will try to place before them the facts and problems of the day, concentrating on objective elements and suppressing as far as possible my subjective reactions. If their judgments are properly developed in their colleges, they will make the data that I adduce into account and come to their own conclusions, which would be more binding on their conduct than opinion thrust from outside I do not want them to become the victims of slogans and the dupes of propaganda They will realise that no simple, straight rule is adequate for the complexities of the world They will realise that it is not always easy to secure a right balance between stability and progress, between idea and organisation , and between thought and conduct In the result I expect them to develop judgments clear as well as charitable, and walk their way warily to such success as is within our reach under the conditions.

Sir, it is now a year since I enjoyed the honour of being present, on your invitation, at the inauguration of this University I am here again under your renewed invitation. More than a year has passed and what a year ! The year in which Germany and Japan have been crushed and laid in the dust never to rise in their old malignant shapes. The powers of evil and world tyranny and racial domination have been completely and finally defeated, at least so far as Germany and her allies are concerned. This is the Victory era of humanity. We have escaped a great peril; and because of the escape, we are likely to underrate the

dangers through which we passed and from which we have been liberated. Peril escaped is peril diminished, and underrated. Although some people are beginning openly to wonder whether the Nazi peril was after all such a terrible evil and peril as was described. This is one of the effects of the optimistic psychology of mankind. The moment they escape a danger, they think there was no danger. Another reason for the sobriety of to-day, as contrasted with the intoxication of expectation of the previous days of war, is that our expectations are not being fulfilled either in the measure or with the speed promised. We expect a golden era from victory; no doubt, gold has gone up in value but otherwise to the impatient idealist it looks like being as leaden as ever. War is over but peace has not yet come; a real peace, an enduring peace, a peace based on humanitarian justice and equality and on the freedom charters issued, and idealisms proclaimed. We are fast passing into a mood of pessimism and frustration It has not been realised that a return to normalcy after a terrible struggle waged on land, sea and air for six years could not possibly be straight, simple, easy or quick There is no likelihood of the old normalcy ever being restored. Gradually a new normalcy will emerge but a new level, which will not and ought not to be a mere restoration of the order which bred these wars but at a higher, better level For the moment, the onset of peace has been no less troublesome than war. Think of the paradoxes and problems through which we are passing. The Allies are charged with not fulfilling immediately the promises they had made. But is there no difference between the condition and the anticipations under which they were made and the conditions now actually pervading and the results that have actually come about? Let me give you an illustration The Right Hon'ble Mr Srinivasa Sastry has been demanding that at the Peace Conference, India should be represented by Mr Gandhi and Mr Jawaharlal Nehru After the end of the previous World War Mr Sastry was present at Versailles and he still dreams that another Versailles would be held By now he must have been disillusioned. No such general Peace Conference is likely to be held so soon or in the same manner May be that everybody's war may lead to nobody's peace, while, I suppose, nobody's war would lead to everybody's peace We will have to go through a period of mutual suspicions, jealousies amongst the victors, and broken promises, because friendship made during the war may not stand the sterner test of peace

Here is another paradox. The Allies fought for democracy, and now democracy is fighting them in Indonesia, Indo China and in a different manner in Burma and Malaya. War was abolished, and so the great nations are increasing their armies and improving their armaments electronically and vengeauchly! The global order of President Roosevelt is sought to be put under the tutelage of the Atom Bomb. If a global order is a reality, where is the need for all these preparation for security or for fighting future aggressors, who will be assuredly prevented from coming into existence? It looks absurd that a global order is inaugurated and along with it the Atom Bomb to put down the non-global people who will disturb that order

And yet judged by the standard and experience of history things are not quite so black as arm-chair criticism would paint them to be On the contrary, they are perhaps much better though the movement is slow, with ups and downs, a spiral motion to a more ethical future At the end of the great French Revolution, the victorious European powers met in a Holy Alliance to restore the *ancient regime.* Metternich and Wellington made binding treaty arrangements to march Europe back to Feudalism, which Napoleon had destroyed root and branch For the moment it looked as though restoration had triumphed over revolution, and subsequent events proved that the revolution had got too deep to be uprooted, and Europe took turn towards the liberalism and democracy strong enough to survive a second attempt at their eradication from Germany and Italy In the same way, the ideals held forth by the Allies during the war might look like gone into eclipse. But I am sure the shadows of reaction will not devour the light permanently and that brighter future will emerge

Is there any objective basis for this optimism? a basis in the facts and movements of the world as distinguished from religious and ethical ideals, whose cooperation does not excel in reliability war's opportunist professions? The good that is rooted in historical materialism is likely to be long lived and to flourish. Have there been then any such materialistic changes as would justify our anticipation of a better world? If you analyse the fundamental changes in the constitution of the objective world that have been brought about within the last few years, during the war or in the wake of the war, you will find that time and space have been practi-

**cally annihilated. This is an era of neuclear energy, the atom bomb, micro waves, and electronical engineering. It is quite possible that you will be able to go round the world in a single day; start in Cuttack after breakfast, lunch in Tokio or New York, have tea in London or Paris and come back home to your waiting wife for dinner and a good scolding. The world has become smaller in size. But smaller in size very often means greater in power and potentialities. Indians more than other people must realise, that bulk is not strength. The world is a single neighbourhood. This means, that we will have to revise our ideas of the relationship between races, peoples, nations and states, may be gradually but inevitably. But in the old days, the world was split up by geography into parts separated from each other. The world was cut up, partitioned and segregated by natural frontiers. As a result particularistic tendencies grew, mutual dislikes, hatred and wars ensued. Notions of absolute independence and sovereignty are no longer possible in the atomic world which has become a single neighbourhood and hopes to be a single unity. Natural barriers and difficulty of communications brought about the origin of clans, tribes and nations. These segregations have been dissolved by air power. Air envelopes all equally. One air, one frontier and, therefore, one state. Geography ultimately determines the course of history as it has always done, and in this new era, aerial geography, in which mountains and rivers and seas and oceans have been abridged or abolished, will bring about a new synthesis. There will be no frontier one world and one state, though such changes could not be produced instantaneously but require time. The trend is clear and irresistible. It has already resulted in the emergence of institutions, the embodiment and forerunners of a single global order, like the United Nations Organisation, the World Agreements on economic betterment and social service and other organisations more or less associated with the San Francisco Conference as its precursors or as consequence. The global order need not necessarily be a monotonous uniformity. There would be room in it for different nations and linguistic areas and individuality and artistic and spiritual culture, but that would all be co-ordinated into a harmony, and regulated into a unity in diversity. Geography does not produce its effects with spectacular rapidity of history, like wars and revolutions, but it is a persistent and relatively silent force acting slowly through the ages. The brother-hood of man, which religion has failed to achieve, might yet be achieved by science. There is a school of thought in India which holds that science is the scourge of mankind and should be abolished. History shows that at every stage intellectual progress has led simultaneously to a dual advancement—the constructive as well as the destructive. In ancient times, we are told, there used to be double-edged swords, one edge of which wounded at a touch and the other at a touch healed. The march of science is dualistic. If it has given you the atom bomb, it has given you also penicillin, the D. D. T. and above all, the inspiring probability of a global order. When in primitive times the original weapons of warfare our nails and teeth were replaced by bows and arrows, the philosophers of that day must have been terribly upset over the dire consequences that would thereby befall the human species. Yet, humanity has survived the replacement of nails and teeth by bows and arrows, of bows and arrows by rifles and artillery, and the advent of war not only on land but on sea and now from air. So also, humanity will survive the atom bomb. For after all, the will to live is universal, while the will to die is confined to a few saints.

The global order is not the same as international fellowship. The word "international" is often used in two senses. For instance, when the ambassadors of different countries meet to make political arrangements, it is really an international conference. Questions are viewed from the point of view of the particular nations as principals. There are antagonisms which are sought to be reconciled at such conferences. But take an International Science Congress. Since there is nothing national about science, such congresses are not really international but in the true sense of the term global, for there is no French Science which is opposed to British Science necessitating a compromise formula to be discovered. There is no diversity of interest, say in mathematics, between U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. unless, of course, it leads to the invention of new weapons of war. The question for the future is whether, in the era of air power and neuclear weapons, peace will be organised as an international arrangement, in which the nations would still be supreme and capable of aggression if they found a favourable opportunity, or whether it will be in the true sense of the term a global interest, the subject-matter of world organisation and world enforcement. A global peace would need a super-national sovereign control. Nations will have to part with their present sovereignty and create a new secular power, which they will obey as a matter of binding legal**

obligation under penalty of disciplinary measures if they dare to disobey it. This would also require the establishment of an impartial World Court, in which the Global Law would be administered from the global point of view raised above national contentions. Undoubtedly, the great states will continue to enjoy enormous powers of self-government. But they would be like individuals in a well-ordered society, all the better and more prosperous and happy for having a society or a government to save them from anti-social crimes, and the need to go about armed all their lives.

Mere ideas won't do. Ideas without organisation are like a lamp without oil. They will give no light; only academic smoke. We must, therefore, consider whether there are any signs and symptoms of the global idea taking institutional shape. I have already mentioned San Francisco, the things that led to it and the things that are flowing from it. The recent debate in the House of Commons affords a wonderful illumination that penetrates far and deep into the future. Mr. Anthony Eden, the able Foreign Secretary who saw England through the war, pleaded for the subordination of national sovereignties to a higher power to be instituted by the great powers acting together as a single fraternity. Mr Bevin, the present Foreign Secretary, supported Mr. Eden and declared himself as willing to consider the possibility of a global order to which national sovereignties would be subordinated. If the leftists and the rightists in England envisage the possibility of a world order superior to nation states and imperialisms, it is a great and, in my opinion, a practical step forward. It is a stage towards the resolution of international and nationalistic rivalries and antagonisms in a new synthesis higher and more universal in its scope. At San Francisco, Soviet diplomats brought forward more logical and self-consistent views which unfortunately were resisted by the Anglo-Saxon powers. Since then, as in respect of trusteeship of certain liberated territories, etc., the Soviet view has prevailed and England and America have taken a distinct turn for the better. Madam Chiang-Kai-Shek, years ago, had suggested that all the colonies and liberated countries should be placed under global trusteeships, exercising general supervision and control over National Governments to be formed in those territories as fast as circumstances permitted. This we find has at last been adopted in the interim regime for Korea, pending independence. If the professions and the promises of the Allies could find honest application in Indonesia, Indo-China, Burma and all the territories liberated from the Enemy powers, and Hong-Kong is returned to China, and if, in the Trusteeship Committee, the number of seats given to elected representatives of the territories concerned is equal to the number of the trustees appointed by the guardian powers, a new era of equalitarian justice and practical recognition of human rights would dawn. The question of the trusteeship of Tripolitania and the territories of the Mediterranean might yet be solved from a global point of view instead of national or imperial. A global trusteeship has obvious advantages. Its administration would be primarily directed to the good of the people concerned and secondarily to the entire world. There would be no chance for a particular power, mandatory or annexatory, to exploit the people overtly or covertly.

But are there no hindrances to the establishment of a global order? There are. We that have failed to overcome our caste differences in spite of the millenniums through which we have lived together and our noble Philosophies and Religions, could ill afford to be either over-critical or over-impatient. The hindrances that stand in the way of nations forming themselves into a global union are in some respects parallel to the hindrances in our country to good citizenship. And what are these hindrances? The first is racial antagonisms.—Only Russia seems to have built up a gigantic Union on a non-racial foundation. The Union government refers to its component parts as Soviets; the racial term "Russian" is hardly ever used in their War or other communiques. The Soviet Union appears to be for the present non-racial, though it comprises several Nationalities in the enjoyment of cultural freedom and autonomy. Mr. Wendell Wilkie in his book *One World*, has testified to this remarkable Socio-Economic-Politico phenomenon in the Soviet Union. Mr Edgar Snow, who had many opportunities of studying these things at first hand all over the World has also said in a book published recently, that the Soviet was a real Union and not a species of Racial or Economic Imperialism.

Soviet is a government based on Economic classes and not on supervision of one race over another or of hereditary castes or orders lording it over others doomed to inferiority by birth. Nor is there any exploitation in the Union of one territory by another. It is a true Co-operative Union. Edgar Snow points out how

when the Russian armies of Europe retreated before the Germans and many of them became disorganised, the defence of Moscow was conducted by a Siberian army of Asiatics under a Siberian General, Gouriev. Contrast this with the condition of things in India under British Imperialism. After 150 years of British rule, bent on preparing us for full self-government, we produced two Brigadiers, one of whom was despatched to America as an exhibit, to show the remarkable progess achieved! There is no Herren Volkism in the Soviet Union. It is all Equalitarian; race has been superseded by class; and patriotism has been derided, though not altogether discarded, as an old antiquated racial and nationalistic virtue which does not fit in with the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The International is the objective of Communism, leading to the Global. But there is no individual freedom; life and conduct are regulated by the State. But the objective pursued is the equal good of all the functional sections of society from workers, soldiers, peasants to artists, authors, scientists and intellectuals, generally with a bias towards the working masses.

But as a student of History, I must utter a word of caution Already there are signs that Bolshevism has departed from Leninistic ideals. The war naturally developed in them racial and patriotic feelings It is difficult to say whether the Soviet system, which is after all but 25 years old, has elements of stability and permanence. From this point of view, the Anglo-Saxon Democracies of England and America must be regarded as possessing remarkable power of permanence and and capacity for steady, though slow, growth and an extraordinary genius to adapt themselves, in a constitutional manner and without recourse to revolution, to the changing needs of the times. The Soviet has yet to justify itself at the bar of History

Have you noticed that, with respect to resistance to German occupation in the subjected countries of Europe, a new description has emerged, *viz*, resistance by Partisans as contrasted with patriotic resistance? 'Partisans' denotes those who did not care for race or nationality but opposed Germans as Socialists, Communists or other Leftists It is this Leftist opposition and resistance that proved far more formidable than nationalism and patriotic movements, which seemed to have been relegated to a secondary place Partisans or Leftists fought for the emancipation of the down-trodden masses against Fascism and Nazism—ism against ism! They were not for restoring the old order—monarchical, aristocratic or capitalistic—with which, apparently, they considered British Parliamentarism to be indissolubly bound

In Yugoslavia, to mention an example, the first resistance to the Germans was organised by the nationalistic General Michaelvovitch, a staunch Serb patriot, whom the British patronised. But that did not prove effective Then came the movement organised by Marshal Tito, a Partisan, who is not even a Serb, and it is this Partisan movement that proved effective England was very reluctantly obliged to recognise Marshal Tito and his Partisans as the Government of Yugoslavia Does it mean that in Europe, the old racial feelings are on the down-grade and are being replaced by class feelings, which cut across racial boundaries and may create class based Unions comprising different races, on some such model as the U S S.R.? Anglo-Saxon countries set vast store by individual freedom The Soviet type places higher value on socialistic purposes and State regulation in supercession of individual liberty One of the most remarkable features of contemporary British politics is the way that individual freedom and the Parliamentary system have been reconciled with Socialism, as the recent elections have shown. It is almost a constitutional miracle that has happened in England The people, by their votes, have put a Socialist Government in power. Individualism and Socialism have been reconciled, against the anticipations of Continental theorists, in a Parliamentary synthesis England is a land of compromise and synthesis, in which apparent contradictions are brought together in living, growing harmony.

The ideological conflict between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-Saxon states deserves to be noted. In the Union, there is State planning; it stands for the good of the people without distinction of race; it rests on class concepts; whatever difference it makes between class and class, it is for equality as between race and race, and people and people. It denies individual freedom beyond specified limits as anti-social; it does not accept the democracy of numbers. It is not ruled by a majority but by a party of fulfilment of the ideas of Bolshevism. It is Government by a party, which is the Missionary of that idea Consider truth; it is not determined by the votes of a majority. You don't entrust the Government of a Church to mere numbers; but Bishops and Archbishops are nominated on account of their quality. In similar

wise, the Soviet denies the right of a majority to do what it likes and imposes the mission of minority on the ground that it is only thus that the ideals could be realised. It can point to results in justification—the gigantic industrial development of vast tracts of territories in Europe and Asia, which till the other day were regarded as backward and almost primitive; abolition of un-employment and prevention of economic crises, the betterment of the lower classes; gigantic strides in applied science and improvement of industries and agriculture, prevention of exploitation of man by man by placing all the agencies of production in the hands of the State employer; mass uplift and military efficiency. When England and America say, "Here are the United Nations—some fifty of them—let us carry the affairs of the World by a majority of their votes," naturally the Soviet Union apprehends that they would be using that majority to crush its ideas and the polity through which it seeks to achieve its ideals. It is a difficult problem on which to pronounce an opinion. Can you have democracy without majority rule? And if you are going to have a rule of Ideology, what would become of Democracy? How these differences are going to be reconciled in future is more than I can prophesy. But both systems are united in their objective of promoting the greatest number. Their differences are referred to in current language as differences between Political democracy and Economic democracy, the democracy of form and that of purpose, of means and ends. You can have political equality with disastrous economic inequalities. *Per contra* you can have economic equality without political equality or freedom. The choice presented is a hard one. In the ideal State we would have both political and economic equalities, constituted as an organic whole.

One of the charges against Parliamentary system is that it is a forum of Plutocracy or government by the rich. It is Plutocratic democracy as contrasted with the Soviet, which is Proletarian democracy There seems to be some truth in this charge against the Parliamentary system, *viz*, that it favours the rich Elections cost a good deal, which the poor scholar and thinker cannot afford to meet, however worthy he may be as a Publicist A certain Congress leader in the Madras Presidency was declared to have spent Rs 30,000/ in order to secure his return to the Central Assembly He belonged to the party of truth, and it required Rs. 30,000 to commend that truth to the electorate! Mr. Nevinson, a Radical Journalist, once humorously wrote that to make a President of the United States it required an expenditure of a few million dollars whereas to make a King of England it only required a woman's labour

I have been wondering how in a poor country like India, Parliamentary government, as is known in England, is possible and whether in reality our Parliamentism would not take a different turn suited to our conditions, and function differently.

One of the most helpful tendencies is that Rightist England and Leftist Soviet are coming nearer each other. England is deliberately, though cautiously, moving to the left, at any rate so far her domestic policies are concerned. Mr. Attlee's government is three faced—it is Leftist in England, Rightist in Europe and and Right-aboutist in Asia! The Soviet under Stalin has moved definitely towards the Right: the Holy Synod has been restored, private property in consumers' goods has been allowed and encouraged, salaries are being paid according to the amount of work turned out; capital could be invested in State bonds, on the interest from which a individual might live It is only the right to invest capital in large-scale production that is forbidden. The means of production are state owned—other means not yet.

The Soviet dictatorship, though partly the result of theory, was in no small measure due to her insecurity caused by the antagonism of Europe on the west and Japan on the east. If it feels more secure, then the rigidity of dictatorship may become considerably lessened The Union played a liberal part at San Francisco and she has consistently stood for humanitarian ideals.

While all the world is energetically pursuing the study of Science and their application to Industry and the problems of security, India, strangely enough, seems to be in the grip, at any rate so far as the Hindus concerned, of a very different philosophy, *viz*, non-violence, complete disarmament, a simple life and regression to a primitive Utopia. In our political discussions, are we devoting thought to the problem of security or are we wedded to the slogans that, if only the British leave India, there would be no enemies, external or internal, to contend against? Is there any ground for thinking that once the British quit India, nobody else will enter, and that all will be peace and paradise?

I think the reason why Great Britain is striving to restore the French and the

Dutch Imperialisms smashed by Japan in Indo China and Indonesia is, in the main, her desire to form a Western block in Europe as a counterpoise to the Soviet Union It is the policy of security that has made her false to so many of her democratic and humanitarian profession. And when you come to think of it, security is bound to dominate policy. Internally, it dictates the need for keeping armies and the economic structures related to the strength of armies at their highest efficiency, externally, it points to the need for securing allies on the basis of interest to the sacrifice, if need be, of principles If England wants France and Holland to be with her, she must help them to re impose themselves on Indo-China and Indonesia !

We in India don't seem to be troubled by this problem of security—whether in connection with internal policies, by scientific education and Industrial development, or externally in our conception of foreign relations from the point of view of our security. Would it not be better to continue to be a member of the British Commonwealth of nations, provided we are treated as equals and given full freedom.

This leads me to say a word or two on the facts and problems of India. The world is out of war and the Congress, out of jails ! The world may be drifting to another world-war I sometimes wonder if the Congress is also drifting into another 1942. Till six or seven weeks ago, I was feeling optimistic that things were going in the right way to reconciliation and that soon after the elections, agreed solution of pending problems, which would on the whole be satisfactory to our national rights and ambitions, would be reached I had always felt that under the peculiar conditions in India, slogans and sutras and simple policies would not work Where the problem is complex, the solution cannot be simple I suppose that in the atmosphere of elections it is not easy to maintain moderation of speech. So, if I issued a respectful appeal to Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru to be more circumspect especially in his references to the Muslim League. We have had more sensations than success in India. We are under stress of a double dissatisfaction—dissatisfaction with the British and also with ourselves as we reflect on our past mistakes and miscalculations. If we had agreed to work the Federation in 1937, the spectre of Pakistan would not have arisen. May I just refer to the statment made by Mr. Jinnah in his morning's papers ?

He asks—"How can Government coerce the Muslim minority ?" Apparently, coercing non-Muslim majority is an easier and less unpleasant task than coercing a minority ! As this is not a political gathering, I will leave it at that.

If at the beginning of war, we had shown foresight and the Congress Ministeries remained in office and helped Government, they would have secured that change of heart, which, in their parlance, is more important than a change in the constitution of India. We could have succeeded, as the frequent conferences that Lord Linlithgow, and more recently Lord Wavell, held, have shown, in winning our liberties along with the war. At a critical time, when motives for joint action on the part of England and the factors and parties in India, like the princes and various communities and political organisations were strongest, the Congress failed to take advantage of it to improve our solidarity by adopted courses, which isolated it both in the sight of Indians and in that of the democratic world abroad The recent strident speeches of our leaders have been answered by an equally strident speech by the Secretary of State The speeches made in the House of Lords on the debates for sending a Parliamentary Delegation to India is an ultimatum to our people and not an olive branch held out to conciliate Indian nationalism. Not to be behind hand, Lord Wavell spoke the other day and, instead of forwarding the cause of conciliation he has definitely taken it back In plain but polite language, he insists on on an agreement between the four different factors,—Congress, League, Princes and Government.—as condition precedent to constitutional advancement and he has also introduced to the surprise of the country the idea of safeguards for British commerce and Industrial interests. I remember more than one authoritative pronouncement in recent years in favour of the abolition of foreign safeguards now incorporated in the Government of India Act However, we need not take these threats and warnings too tragically. As promises do not always culminate in fulfilment, so also warnings may fail to culminate in penal measures. Time and circumstances are more powerful than speeches. That is why I lament the way we missed the chance that war gave. Did it not result in an improvement in our Industry ? May it not have done the same by our politics and removed permanently the tragedy of the Indian situation ? Is our frustration not due, not so much to Great Britain's attitude towards us, as to the lack of clear, consistent ideas in our leadership ?

I need not dwell on our internal divisions; they are well-known. I would only point out that the present elections have accentuated the communal differences between Muslims and non-Muslims. When Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru spoke in such confident terms during his recent campaign in North India he must have thought, judging by the large number of Muslims that attended his meetings, that some seats would be captured by Congress or Nationalist Muslims from Leaguers. I don't know if audiences are correct indication of strength As a result of the polls completed, both the Congress and the League have come out stronger than before, absolutely speaking; but relatively to each other, they are as they were This does not bring us any nearer to the solution of the communal problem. On the contrary, League and Congress are further apart than ever No doubt they are united in asking the British to quit It is a negative unity; there is no positive unity to give it strength and stability I am not sure if the League will not be glad to have Pakistan on any terms and whether it is as strong and sincere on independence as it undoubtedly is for the division of India and creation of Moslim States The election have brought out a new feature. Till now Sikhs used to go with Congress as a rule Now they suspect Congress of being too ready to compromise with Muslims, so they have run their own candidates under their famous Akali banner and have won some seats defeating Congress candidates,—a sure indication that in discussion for the settlement of communal problems, the Sikhs will have to be reckoned with in the future as an independent factor, with whom also separate agreement must be reached

Apart from these distracting divisions, there seems to be confusion of ideas in Congress leadership. Its ideological future is a strange and perplexing mixture of contradictions, real or apparent. What is it that Congress would strive to achieve under independence? Here is a tabular statement of the differences in outlook between Mahatma Gandhi and Mr Jawaharlal Nehru, who has been designated as the successor to Mahatma on the *Gadi* of the Congress Mr Nehru stands for Modernism, for Science and Applied Sciences and the atom bomb in due course! Gandhi does not believe in Sciences and Applied Sciences, he is all for simple life which can be hardly distinguished from the primitive and non-violence which can have no use for the atom bomb He would close the Universities, Mr Nehru is for planned economy; Mahatma Gandhi, for different kind of planning which would lead to plain living. One believes in machinery, the other in handicrafts. Mr Nehru is all for civilisation as it is commonly understood, his master for Charkaisation Mr. Nehru would move with the times, the Mahatma would like the times to move with him into the Golden Age, in which there would not be any gold at all but only plenty of old age!

It seems to me there is not only no unity of objective, there is not even general harmony This dubious position is illustrated in the manifesto of the Congress published in to-day's morning papers Here is a sentence which seeks to steer between Mr. Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi—"India, which has always conducted her own struggle for freedom on a non-violent basis, will always throw her weight on the side of the World Peace and Co-operation. She will also champion the freedom of all other subject nations and peoples

I ask whether it is non violent weight that it would throw or weight of more substance? Is its policy to help struggling peoples to win freedom in the usual way and by ordinary means or by non-violence as the basis of our struggle? Is it to be the basis of all struggles everywhere? It will be remembered that when Mahatma Gandhi had an interview with General and Madam Chiang Kai-Shek he impressed the first Lady of Asia as a cloudy thinker according to her own public statement He has also the unique credit of having advised Mr Churchill and his cabinet to lay down arms and allow Hitler a walk-over!! One wonders whether it is this kind of help that Congress, as the champion of the freedom of subject nations, is going to render The method and means of help are left vague in this manifesto, and I believe purposely vague.

The root causes of history have never been settled by votes As I have already mentioned, my sympathies are with the Soviet Union when it declines to subordinate its ideals to the majorities that England and America might muster at meetings of the United Nations. Ballot boxes have a limited scope, they have no place beyond one's own country, and even there, if enough homogeneity does not prevail amongst the people and there is not a spirit of give and take, and readiness to accept the rule of the majority for the time being, it may fail as a means of peaceful government. In the absence of such conditions, resort to force, civil disobe-

dience or civil war may become inevitable. In South America they don't have general elections, but rather periodical revolutions! Take our own country. The scheduled castes are poor, they have not enough finance to fight elections independently of other parties or persons. Their representatives might not be their genuine representatives but more likely protegee of powerful organisations. Why then should they accept the verdict of an election as morally binding on them? For a valid contract, we say that the two parties should be about equal. There could be no valid contract between the millionaire and the starving man ready to sell himself into slavery for a morsel of food. In the same way, might it not be said that unless the voters are about equal to each other materially, their votes cannot be of equal value morally, and that without economic democracy there could be no political Let me not be misunderstood I am trying to reveal the ethical and psychological complexities which cannot be got over by the mechanical expedient of one man—one vote, though in this work-a day world it might not be easy to discover a better expedient But if we realise that these are rough and ready methods, we would be less dogmatic about the absolute value and sanctity of the results thus achieved and more ready to negotiate on principles of natural justice and equity

I am all for Indian integrity and Indian independence; but in our present situation, I ask you, is the Muslim problem going to be settled by shouting slogans or would it be by the Anglo Saxon spirit of understanding and compromise? I utter the same caution to the League.

With respect to our constitutional problem, there are only three ways of achieving a settlement—

1. By agreement between Congress, League and the Princes. Lord Wavell says that he thinks that a general agreement is possible. He goes further and says that it is quite feasible But then, he is a high Official who has to be an optimist by profession. In India, salaried officials are usually optimistic; the higher the salary, the greater the optimism! But do they always achieve the hopes they extend so lavishly? I do hope Lord Wavell will succeed I trust it will not all end by his turning round and saying "In spite of my best efforts and confident expectations it was not possible to achieve much and the blame for this must therefore rest on others!" Optimism sometimes serves as an excuse for failure.

2. In the absence of general agreement, the only other alternative appears to be force. Even arbitration would need the power of somebody to enforce the award and guarantee its observance. In the situation of India, is there any other way out excepting force? Pakistan cannot be given without coercing non-Muslims. The League holds that Pakistan cannot be refused without coercing a section of the Muslims So either way there must be force.

The question arises by whom is this force to be exercised? A certain school seems to be of the opinion "Let England quit and we will settle all our problems one way or the other, by this means or that." As far as I can see, Muslims by themselves cannot enforce Pakistan against non-Muslims, nor do I think that non-Muslims would be able easily to force revolting Muslims into subjection It seems to be fairly obvious that at present it is the British that are in a position to enforce any solution that is thought to be feasible; whether from their point of view or from ours I dare not say. It is only the British Government that has at present sufficient force to secure a settlement. If this be the case, does it not follow that a Government which has to enforce a solution should remain there to see that the solution is observed, for some little time, until things settle down to the new normal?

3 The third alternative is to get on with the present constitution and institute at the Centre a government composed of party leaders or representatives of public opinion. Lord Wavell tried to do this at Simla. As he was presiding under the present constitution, he might have gone ahead with such parties as were prepared to co-operate with him in his scheme. At any rate, he might proceed on that basis after the elections are over, when it will be possible to have a clearer idea of the relative strength of the political force in the country.

I cannot undersand why Lord Wavell extolled not only the ability, but the patriotism of his Executive Councillors. I don't think people in India care very much at the present time to accept the Viceroy's commissions whether in the Army or in patriotism. They would prefer the evalution of public men from the point of view of patriotism to be determined by public opinion. But there may be a deeper significance in this encomium. It may be a notice given to the querulous and quarrelsome political leaders that if they re-enact the fiasco of the Simla conference, he would proceed to carry on Government with the present type of

Councillors however much they may be derided as, to use an American expression, "Career men" And career men have a place under all Governments: they are not outcastes.

This does not mean that we are not willing to co operate with Government in the present critical times to the best of our light and ability. Analysis will show that, in the present interlocked condition of the world, any Government of any country is not only a Government of that country but one which is bound to take a part in the evolution of world politics and world institutions. Why then should I not co-operate with the Government of India, however much I may disapprove of its purely Indian policies. if by so doing I can promote the cause of a more democratic and equalitarian world, which in its turn would be bound to react on the future fortunes of my country? Mr Jawaharlal Nehru, a man of fine international intuition, has often declared that it was a War of not one country but of many, and one in which the democratic or, at any rate, humanitarian Powers like China and Russia and United States were involved. Therefore, it is our duty to try and co-operate and help the better mind of the world to prevail

I myself supported war efforts on the basis of world consideration I had felt pessimistic about much good accruing to us here and now, in view of the failure of some of our parties and their incapacity to come together even in a crisis

It has been said that Indian independence will be a factor for world peace. Undoubtedly it is and not merely Indian, but Indonesian, Indo-Chinese, Burman and Malayan But so far as India is concerned, I ask, if that independence could be achieved without a civil war at present Is it then going to be a factor for world peace? If the British quit India, there is no guarantee that others will not enter; and unless, there is an agreed settlement a united front either to the present power that rules us or new aggressors becomes impossible Analysis will show that what we really desire is independence on an agreed basis with a high probability of peace and order. Now we have no national government in India; and in the present circumstances, I don't know how soon we will have effective Nationalism or an effective Democracy, and until then, should not the British Government carry on? Of course, there is the vicious circle the British rule, to some extent, our union, and lack of union enables the British to continue.

It seems to me that pending transfer of political power, the Government of the country should be carried on, if the British are serious and sincere in their professions, through the administrative instrumentality of Indians. I want the Government to be nationalistic in its administration, giving no preference to Europeans but giving Indians full scope in the Army, the Navy and all Military and Civil Departments Akbar was no democrat, but he made Hindus feel the equal of Moghuls in every respect Racial discrimination is the bane of the British Raj in India, though to a steadily decreasing degree Government has not been functioning as a real national administration would have done. If it had been a national administration, it would have said "It is my duty to make India great and strong and prosperous and I will take whatever steps are necessary to achieve these objects.' But what has been the result of its policy? We are the scheduled castes of South Africa! Government promotes only efficiency in subordination Take, for instance, our education. Our Medical Colleges were started to provide hospital assistants; our Arts Colleges to provide clerks and subordinate services. It knew what real Universities were; many of its higher officials hailed from Oxford and Cambridge But in India till Ashutosh Mukherji reorganised the Calcutta University against their opposition, we have had no real Universities, but degree-giving High Schools in which education was hardly up-to-date, and no research or original work was possible, because the Professors themselves recruited from England were about equal only to the High School teachers of that country Within twenty-five years of Ashutosh Mukherji's reorganisation and the establishment of other Universities on real University lines, we have produced half a dozen Fellows of the Royal Society and one Nobel Laureate who has also received the Franklin Medal of America In view of the distinctions obtained by Indians and their high prestige under proper opportunities, Government found that recruiting "Professors" from the raw graduates of Oxford and Cambridge was no longer feasible but had become ridiculous, and so stopped that inundation! If proper opportunities had been given might not the same thing have happened in every other Department—the Judiciary, the Revenue, the Defence, Trade and Commerce? Here is a curious commentary on the efficiency of the Government of India When we want to undertake big irrigation or other Engineering projects, we have to be importing experts from abroad We could not even manufacture locomotives While Siberia

could give Generals, we produced after all these years of labour two Brigadiers! Economically, we are still a raw-materials-exporting country, getting them back as manufactured goods for consumption

In education we are exporting raw materials called 'Bevin Boys' even for lower grade Technical training and getting them back as Supervisors The fact is, Sir, this British Government will not foresee unless it is *forced* to see It is only when war prevented British exports and it was necessary to develop India to face Japan that it started encouraging research in Sciences and in Applied Sciences, arranging to build locomotives, throwing open the Army and the I M S. to Indians and in other ways trying to make of this enfeebled dependency a power able to stand on its legs and give a leg up to England But does not this mean that it is the needs of England that determine the progress of India and not its own requirements, let alone ambitions?

Its very methods are wrong; what is the usual way in which our Government measures progress? It is by comparison of to-day with the sorry yesterday and the sorrier day before. Their statistical argument is familiar—last year so much was achieved, say in Primary Education, this year, the percentage has gone up by a marvellous 2 or miraculous 3 per cent, hearty congratulations to our Department of Education! The standard employed is comparison with the past. But what is the standard they employ in England? It is a comparison with what other countries are doing and an estimate of what is to be done in order to retain England's position as the premier power in the World In other words, the needs of the present and of the future determine the budgets and measures of England Need you then wonder that I sometimes feel that if this Government had been National in the spirit of its administration, as it could have been without the least care or concern for democracy or other political development, it would have made India a strong country and it would have saved herself and us from many difficulties and disasters? As things are, about some Indian States it has been said that they try to make their people fat but not strong, the British Government does neither!

But I think, Sir, a new chapter has opened The shock of war has opened the eyes of Government, which has sent recently a large number of men for higher training in the Universities abroad But as these are chiefly intended for positions and careers in India, they may not be much of a factor in promoting deeper studies and original research It is not enough for us to be exporting our raw youth abroad and bringing them back as goods for Departmental consumption. We must have producer Universities and Institutes here I also notice that more money is now being given to our Universities to develop our teaching and research There is a new spirit of equality and humanity abroad England has been able to reconcile Empire with Dominion, autonomy and socialism with individual freedom and Parliamentary democracy Is it beyond her to transform dependencies into independent Associates of the Empire? Mr Eden and M. Bevin contemplate surrender of sovereignty for the world's good Why not similarly surrender Imperialism for the good of Asia and Africa and other parts of the world? National Government and independence have fallen into discount. Might not my own country take into account these global changes and modify to the necessary extent its policy in respect of Indian independence and even more of Pakistans and Khalsastans Dravidistans Christustans and other Political fragmentations? It is to to the advantage of all concerned that we should promote a new world Fellowship which would actively interest itself in the Economic and Political advancement of all the races in the world, irrespective of colour and creed. The Imperialism of England is not a mere negation of the liberties and economic freedom of her dependencies, it bids fair to be a positive and effective factor in the development of a higher world order, and in such a development, India, as an associate member of the Empire, would be able to play a noble part.

I appeal to my young friends of the Utkal University to think over the facts and ideas that I have ventured to place before them on this auspicious occasion, and by their conduct as citizens of the World as well as of India, endeavour to promote the evolution of a grand equalitarian and global order.

